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*Amalia Avramidou,
Denise Demetriou (Eds.)*

APPROACHING THE ANCIENT ARTIFACT

REPRESENTATION, NARRATIVE, AND FUNCTION



Approaching the Ancient Artifact

Approaching the Ancient Artifact

Representation, Narrative, and Function
A Festschrift in Honor of H. Alan Shapiro

Edited by
Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou

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Abbreviations

All translations are the authors' own unless otherwise indicated. In general, Greek names and words appear transliterated rather than anglicized, but the more familiar spellings in English are also used for common names.

Abbreviations of journals follow the conventions set by *L'année philologique*. Abbreviations of corpora of inscriptions and standard works, including ancient ones, follow the conventions set by Hornblower, Simon/Spawforth, Anthony/Eidinow, Esther (eds.) (2012), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edn., Oxford. In addition, authors in this volume have used the following works:

ABC 1854	(1854), <i>Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage</i> , St. Petersburg.
ABV	Beazley, J. D. (John Davidson) (1956), <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-painters</i> , Oxford.
Add ²	Carpenter, Thomas H./Mannack, Thomas/Mendonça, Melanie (eds.) (1989), <i>Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² & Paralipomena</i> , 2 nd edn., Oxford.
ARV ²	Beazley, J. D. (John Davidson) (1963), <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , Oxford.
ASR 1, 4	Amedick, Rita (1991), <i>Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Vita Privata</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 1, 4, Berlin.
ASR 2	Robert, Carl (1890), <i>Mythologische Cyklen</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 2, Berlin.
ASR 5, 1	Rumpf, Andreas (1939), <i>Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5, 1, Berlin.
ASR 5 2,1	Kranz, Peter (1999), <i>Die stadtrömischen Erosen-Sarkophage. Dionysische Themen mit Ausnahme der Weinlese- und Ernteszenen</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5 2,1, Berlin.
ASR 5 2,3	Schauenburg, Konrad (1995), <i>Die Stadtrömischen Erosen-Sarkophage. Zirkusrennen und verwandte Darstellungen</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5 2,3, Berlin.
ASR 6, 1	Stroszeck, Jutta (1998), <i>Die dekorativen römischen Sarkophage. Löwen-Sarkophage. Sarkophage mit Löwenköpfen, schreitenden Löwen und Löwen-Kampfgruppen</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 6, 1, Berlin.
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ASR 12, 6	Koch, Guntram (1975), <i>Die mythologischen Sarkophage. Meleager</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 12, 6, Berlin.
<i>Ausgegraben!</i>	Pruvot, Chantal Martin et al. (eds.) (2010), <i>Ausgegraben! Schweizer Archäologen erforschen die griechische Stadt Eretria</i> , Exhibition Catalogue Antikenmuseum Basel and Museum Ludwig, Basel.
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database, http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm
CAVI	<i>A Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions</i> , by Henry R. Immerwahr.
EAA	Bianchi Bandinelli, Ranuccio (ed.) (1958–1966), <i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica ed orientale</i> , 7 vols., Rome.
<i>Euphronios</i>	Pasquier, Alain/Denoyelle, Martine (eds.) (1990), <i>Euphronios, peintre à Athènes au VI^e siècle avant J.-C.</i> , Exhibition Catalogue, Paris.
<i>Getty Handbook</i> 2002	True, Marion (2002), <i>The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Antiquities Collection</i> , Malibu.
<i>Getty Handbook</i> 2010	Lapatin, Kenneth/Wight, Karol (2010), <i>The J. Paul Getty Museum: Handbook of the Antiquities Collection</i> , 2 nd edn. Malibu.
LCS	Trendall, Arthur Dale (1967), <i>The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily</i> , 2 vols., Oxford.
ML	Roscher, W. H. (ed.) (1884–1937), <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> , 9 vols., Leipzig.
OLD	Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) (1968–1982), <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford.
Para	Beazley, J. D. (John Davidson) (1971), <i>Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , 2 nd edn., Oxford.
RVAp I	Trendall, Arthur Dale/Cambitoglou, Alexander (1978), <i>The Red-figured Vases of Apulia</i> , Vol. I: <i>Early and Middle Apulian</i> , Oxford.
RVAp Suppl. 1	Trendall, Arthur Dale/Cambitoglou, Alexander (1983), <i>Supplement to the Red-figured Vases of Apulia</i> , Vol. 1, London.
Solmsen-Fraenkel	Solmsen, Felix/Fraenkel, Ernst (eds.) (1905), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae: Ad illustrandas dialectos selectae</i> , Leipzig.
<i>Vasi Antichi</i>	(2009), <i>Vasi antichi: Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli</i> , Naples.
<i>Vaso François</i>	(1981), <i>Materiali per servire alla storia del vaso François</i> , Bollettino d'arte. Serie speciale 1, Rome.

Foreword

Approaching an ancient artifact, be it a vase, a sculpture, or a text, is a multifaceted process that transcends a number of fields, including archaeology and archaeological science, history and art history, classics and anthropology. Alan Shapiro's prolific work on ancient Greek art best exemplifies this process, and it is with great pleasure that we offer him this volume on the anniversary of his sixty-fifth birthday.

Alan Shapiro's unique contributions to the field of Classical Studies are remarkable in both scope and content. His pathbreaking work has enriched the scholarly community with diverse models of approaching visual artistic production and helped transform the study of ancient iconography into a field of its own merit. A simple look at his publication record suffices to showcase his outstanding career: six highly influential monographs (one co-authored), eight edited volumes, over ninety much-cited articles, masterful translations of seminal works into English that have made them accessible to a wider audience, and more to come! In addition, our honorand has been involved in the creation of indispensable reference works, such as the LIMC and the ThesCRA, and his work with museum exhibits and catalogues has drawn attention to previously unpublished artifacts and images and brought together bodies of evidence that have revealed aspects of the ancient Greek world not discussed before.

It is precisely Alan Shapiro's engaging writing, high-quality scholarship, and genuine enthusiasm for the ancient world that is the starting point for this volume. Anyone studying the ancient world has encountered and been inspired by his work; his generosity towards his peers, colleagues, younger scholars, and students has aided their scholarly pursuits many-a-time; his excitement for ancient art is contagious and has transformed the way we approach the field. In this volume, his friends, colleagues, and former students, have all come together to offer a fresh perspective on how one approaches an ancient artifact – a heartfelt token of their appreciation for Alan Shapiro.

The topics of the contributions vary but each scholar deals with subjects familiar to Alan Shapiro, such as myth and art, ritual and politics, style and function, and their interrelation. The papers are united in their attempt to build upon his work, through an investigation of the nature of the links between text and image, and innovative readings of narrative scenes on pottery, sculpture, and texts. To this end, we have organized the volume in five sections, all named after titles of Alan Shapiro's distinguished books and articles: *Myth into Art* (1994a), *The Iconography of Mourning* (1991), *Art and Cult* (1989), *Courtship Scenes* (1981b), and *Narrative Strategies* (1992c). All contributions showcase that an ancient artifact can worthily be the epicenter of a multifaceted and interdisciplinary approach that leads to a better understanding of the society that produced it.

The essays in this volume adopt a comparative perspective, transgressing regional, chronological, and cultural boundaries that usually confine scholarship in the field. In this way, authors are able to explore the dynamic nature of interactions among Near Eastern civilizations (e.g., Morris, Picón), Etruria (e.g., Simon, Steingrā-

ber), Magna Grecia (e.g., Marconi, Matheson, Tiverios), the Roman world (e.g., Barbera, Boschung, Oakley, Roller, Rose), and the Greek world (the majority of authors). Moreover, the essays here highlight the importance of considering both text and art within their archaeological and historical contexts and traditions, and are motivated by their authors' firm belief that there is no simple link among artistic expression, mythological production, and ritual practice. Instead, the essays focus on the interplay among art, myth, and cult, and provide new frameworks for debating their representation, narrative, and function.

By adopting an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective, this volume hopes to shift the paradigm of the study of ancient artifacts. The contextual and symbolic analyses of images and texts offered in this volume treat artistic and literary production as activities that do not merely mirror social or cultural relationships but rather, and more significantly, as activities that create social and cultural relationships. This is very much in tune with Alan Shapiro's approach towards the ancient artifact and – we hope – a fitting way to celebrate such a stunning academic career!

Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou

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Myth into Art

Sarah P. Morris

Helen Re-Claimed, Troy Re-Visited: Scenes of Troy in Archaic Greek Art

Our view of the Trojan War is in many ways so largely and vividly shaped by the work of Athenian artists that we often neglect familiar episodes, from both Homer's poems and the epic cycle, in non-Attic form. In tribute to a scholar who has illuminated so much of archaic narrative and iconography, including how it develops outside Athens, my exploration moves abroad to consider the following: how did artists and audiences outside Athens, beyond a community known for the reperformance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (if not its initial transcription, but certainly self-identified as guardians of the text), visualize and narrate the story of Troy? How were the diverse cultural communities of Archaic Greece differently invested in separate episodes of the Trojan War and its legacy, and why?

Reclaiming Helen, Recovering Aithra: The Trojan War in Corinth

Ever since J. D. Beazley drew modern attention to an extraordinary vase now in the Vatican Museums, readers of Homer have appreciated how alternatives to engaged combat, and averting long years of battle at Troy, inspired hope in poetry and art. A colorful volute krater, the work of a Late Corinthian painter once in the collection of Mario Astarita (in Naples, thus presumably from Central Italy), depicts the Greek embassy to request the return of Helen, an episode from the lost epic poem, the *Kypria* (color figs. 1 and 2).¹ From the left (color fig. 1), Odysseus, Menelaos, and the herald Talthybios wait on the walls of Troy (according to Beazley), or on the steps of an altar (Mark Davies), to be received and allowed to request the return of Helen and her property. They are approached by four women, robed in ankle-length chitons under colored mantles they hold closed below the neck, and all are named. The first female facing the Greeks is Theano, known in the *Iliad* as a Trojan priestess (6.286–311); here she carries a spindle, and is followed by three women, labeled Dia, Malo, and a nurse (*trophos*). Behind the female reception line for the Greek visitors, fifteen young men on horseback, plus two on foot, are identified by name as some of the fifty sons of Theano, presumably assembled to protect the women (?) or the sanctuary (?) from the

¹ Beazley 1958; Davies 1977; Wachter 2001, Cor 74, 83–85; Danek 2005; Kaltsas/Shapiro 2008, 196 (M. Sannibale).

enemy, even on a diplomatic mission. Mentioned briefly in the *Iliad* for its failure (11.138–142), this mission costs two young Trojans their lives at the hands of Agamemnon, in atonement for what their father urged on the Trojans: death to the ambassadors. But this early appeal is recalled more warmly by Theano's husband, Antenor, who tells Helen herself (*Il.* 3.205–224) of receiving these Greeks as guest friends, and who still argues for returning Helen and her possessions to the Greeks (*Il.* 7.348–353). So why are Theano and her three female attendants, rather than leading Trojan males, the focus of this scene, and the target of a Greek request?

In the first place, Theano's presence helps set the scene on the Corinthian krater in the sanctuary of Athena at Troy, where the ambassadors, accompanied by their herald, are protected by divine law. This would make their mission more of a suppliant appeal than a diplomatic embassy to recover Helen. Indeed, while the embassy failed – the Trojans refused to return Helen, and the war began (or continued) – it brought its Greek ambassadors, or at least Odysseus, under lasting, even life-saving, guest-friend protection by Antenor and Theano (*Il.* 11.123–125, 138–142; Proclus, *Chrest.* 152–154), and his Trojan hosts, their home, and son under that of Odysseus (Pausanias 10.26.8, 10.27.3–4; Strabo 13.1.53, citing Sophocles).² Yet this scene set at Troy could also conjure up Odysseus' later infiltration in the citadel, this time in disguise on a mission to steal the Palladion (with or without the complicity of Helen, Theano, and Antenor: *Od.* 4.244–251; P. Köln VI 245; Proclus, *Chrest.* 224–227).³ Thus, an artist might stage their first encounter on sacred premises, for the sake of later events in the same sanctuary. If so, a Corinthian artist may have designed an East Greek or Ionian setting for the scene, by rendering three steps of a monumental (marble?) altar as the seat of the Greek embassy.⁴ Claude Bérard prefers a political setting, with young mounted Trojans assembling to meet the envoys seated on the steps of a theatron.⁵

More answers are provided by Bacchylides, whose dithyramb 15, “the sons of Antenor” (*Antenoridai*) or the *Request for Helen*, gives Theano a prominent role in the embassy, as priestess of Athena.⁶ According to a scholion on *Iliad* 24.496, the poet also gives her fifty sons, in the tradition of King Priam himself (*Il.* 6.243–250, 24.495–497), of whom we see some on this krater. Surviving fragments of the papyrus give us few lines but help flesh out this intriguing episode in poetic terms. It opens, in fact, with Theano – Ἀθήνας πρόσπολος – who [opens the] golden [door?] of battle-rousing Pallas' [temple?] to Menelaos and Odysseus. She may have addressed the envoys – a verb,

² Davies 1977; Danek 2005. Cf. Williams 1991 on Onesimos' Ilioupersis cup (BAPD 13363) where both Antenor and Theano are spared by the Greeks, and Aithra is rescued by her grandsons.

³ Parca 1991 on a late tragic version (where Odysseus delivered letters to Helen).

⁴ As argued by Davies 1977, 78–70; in the Corinthia, a limestone altar on a smaller scale, with Doric triglyph frieze, would be typical of the Archaic period.

⁵ Bérard 1977, with response by Davies 1977, 83–85; Danek 2005.

⁶ Espermann 1980, 35–49; the story also appealed to comic poets (Epicharmus).

προσήνεπεν, has no clear subject – in a short speech, whose content is unclear but involved the gods, and obtaining something, without guile. Next, the sons of Antenor seem to have led the envoys (to the marketplace?), while Antenor delivered their message to Priam and sons, and heralds convened the Trojans in the marketplace. Part of the speech by Menelaos survives, invoking Dike, Eunomia, and Themis against Hybris, which robbed him of his wife, but not the words of Odysseus (unless verses 10–30 are restored to him), which might have allowed readers to compare their rhetoric and arguments. In short, a tradition like this poem could account for most of the figures and their placement on the vase.

As a priestess, Theano is highly intrusive in Homer, where she first appears in person at the propitiation of Athena in *Iliad* 6. After the rampage of Diomedes in *Iliad* 5, the Trojans return to their citadel to propitiate their chief deity. How this action is initiated is telling: the prophet Helenus (son of Priam) urges his brother Hektor to return to the city and activate a special appeal to Athena: their mother, Hecuba, shall gather the “old women,” ascend to the acropolis, unlock the doors of the *hieron* and offer the finest peplos to Athena by placing it on her knees. This offering enforces a vow: twelve heifers will be sacrificed, if the goddess will take pity on Troy and hold back Diomedes (86–97). No priestess is mentioned in these initial instructions, but once repeated by Hektor to his mother (271–278), they are carried out by Theano, with a prayer to the goddess in direct speech, after Hecuba chooses a fine cloth to offer to Athena. The priestess is introduced, in Homeric fashion, with three lines that give us her name, pedigree, and office (6.298–301), formulaic for a new character in Greek epic. Nevertheless, an ancient reader of Homer had to comment on and explain this sudden change of actors and duties at a crucial moment (scholia on the *Iliad* 6.304), and modern scholars find Theano problematic.

To begin with, she is only mentioned elsewhere in epic as daughter, wife, and mother, not as a priestess, nor does any other female serve the gods in Homer.⁷ Cassandra is merely a marriageable daughter (*Il.* 13.365), and a sister mourning her brother (24.699), rather than a virgin or priestess as in Greek tragedy. Thus, Theano’s intrusion into Bronze Age epic is even more striking, as noted by ancient and modern scholars, while the highly Athenian details of the temple, statue, peplos, and cult of Athena make the entire passage, for some, an Athenian interpolation.⁸

Beyond those concerns, why does Theano upstage the queen, to whom ritual instructions are directed as if she is to carry them out in person? In prehistoric Anatolia, it would in fact be the queen herself, at least under the reign of Hattusili III and his wife Putuhepa, daughter of the priest of Ishtar from Kizzuwatna, who would carry out these prayers and vows to the gods. In a recently published Hittite votive

⁷ Kirk 1990, 165: “Theano, then, is a curious innovation ... No other priestess is mentioned in Homer;” cf. Espermann 1980, 43–44; Sauge 2000, 548; Laughy 2010: 67–68; Graziosi/Haubold 2010.

⁸ Aristarchus athetized line 311 (Athena’s response); Sauge 2000, 547–549; some view the *Iliad* itself as a Peisistratid work: Skafte Jensen 2011.

text, the queen (probably Putuhepa) is to make special prayers and vows to persuade the gods to stop the action of Piyamaradu, a perennial pest in western Anatolia under the reign of at least three Hittite kings.⁹ In one of the more striking parallels to Homeric poetics, as I have argued elsewhere, this text prefigures the Trojan appeal to Athena against Diomedes, but in the *Iliad*, Hecuba as queen is upstaged by an actual priestess, Theano, who bears the key and opens the temple door. It sounds for all the world as if an Anatolian, Aegean tradition (queen as priestess) has been updated for the sake of an actual priestess, Theano, more familiar to a Greek audience. Moreover, once she appears, Theano delivers the prayer, instead of the queen (without prompting from Hecuba). Holding the keys to a sanctuary, Theano also performs as a proper functionary in Bronze Age Greece. Linear B texts in Mycenaean Greek (ca. 1250 BCE) list two separate officials, a priestess (i-je-re-ja, *hiereia*) named just before (and with a connective suffix, *qe* = *kai*?) a *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (-*qe*) or a *klawiphoros*; in PY Eb 32, both priestess and keyholder hold land, and in PY Eb 30, a *klawiphoros* even has a name (“Karpathia”). Thus one way to understand this passage in *Iliad* 6 is in prehistoric terms, if we imagine an older tradition of two separate functions, priestess and keyholder, who operate together in cult. In the Homeric division of labor, Hecuba controls the royal stores and brings a gift, while Theano holds keys to the temple and leads the prayer.

There are other peculiarities to the passage worth mentioning here: Athena is never addressed in epic as *Potnia*, a title reserved for more maternal figures (Hera, etc.) or qualifying Artemis as Mistress of Animals [*Potnia Theron*]; there are metrical anomalies in the phrase ἄξον δὲ ἔγχο; the prayer is delivered in a collective voice, without prior verbal instructions; the ritual cry (*ololyge*) is uttered prior to sacrifice, unlike its function in other Homeric passages. All combine to compromise its authenticity for some scholars.¹⁰ In my understanding of these anomalies (as I have explored more fully elsewhere), they are due to memories of Anatolian practices, projected onto a Trojan population by a Greek poet.

But interest is piqued further by Theano’s companions on the Corinthian krater: “Dia” could be a divine attendant but is also a common epithet for a goddess in Homer (as Athena is addressed in *Iliad* 6, in prayer, as “*dia theaon*”). Malo [Melo] could likewise be a common Greek name, but also recalls an Anatolian deity, [Athena] Malis or Maliya, invoked by Hipponax (40 IEG), and glossed by Hesychius as a local (Lycian, in some contexts) name for Athena, successor to Hittite Maliya.¹¹

This poetic fragment returns us to the image of Theano on the Corinthian krater: why is she spinning? Distaff and spindle are attributes buried with a queen in the Hittite royal funeral (KUB XXX.15, A II 60–62), but also appropriate to cults of Athena

⁹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 248–252 (AhT 26 = CTH 590); Morris 2013.

¹⁰ Sauge 2000.

¹¹ Watkins 2007.

where a peplos is woven for her by temple personnel, as in Athens. In Greek art and culture, spinning wool distinguishes “reverent behavior” of an elite or leisured class of women.¹² Perhaps we are seeing a visual equivalent of the conflation of queen and priestess, as observed in their divided duties in the propitiation scene in *Iliad* 6.

Other crucial details on this krater link it closely to epic versions of the story. The name of Menelaos is spelled, not in Corinthian dialect, but in poetic form (with intervocalic digamma, curiously missing from the name Dia on the same vase), as if the artist knew the name from hexameter verses, possibly even from an East Greek tradition.¹³ Moreover, the nurse may be not Trojan but Greek, in fact, the Athenian who accompanied Helen to Troy, Aithra, the mother of Theseus (*Il.* 3.143; Plutarch, *Thes.* 3–7, 31–34).¹⁴ Captured from Attica when Helen’s brothers rescued her from Theseus, or from Thessaly by Hektor (Plutarch, *Thes.* 34), her recovery by her grandsons, Akamas and Demophon, was popular in Attic paintings of the fall of Troy, giving Athenians a noble cause for native heroes in the Trojan War (Pausanias 10.25.5). But its oldest attestation was on the Early Archaic chest of Kypselos (Pausanias 5.19.3), a Corinthian dedication at Olympia made of cedar wood inlaid with ivory and gold, which also featured other themes popular in Corinthian vase painting (Amphiaraos and Eriphyle, etc.). A possible Spartan source for such works, as in the later archaic ivory carvings found at Delphi, would give the Peloponnese a leading role in the design of narrative scenes from the Trojan cycle in early Greek art, prior to their lasting canonization by Athenian artists.¹⁵

But what did such figures represent for Corinthian poets or artists, and why? M. L. West doubts that works attributed to the epic poet of Corinth, Eumelos, represent any early, independent poetic tradition, rather than post-Iliadic fabrications.¹⁶ How commonly do Corinthian artists show such deep engagement with their Eastern neighbors, or with Near Eastern traditions?

The biography and adventures of Bellerophon link Corinth (or Ephrya) and Lycia, at least since Homer, in the same book of the *Iliad* where Theano makes her debut as priestess (6.119–236). But beyond the Chimaera, with its prehistoric roots in Anatolian art and legend, other monsters may have inspired opponents of gods and heroes in Corinthian art.¹⁷ A version of Typhon, opponent of Zeus, may appear (as a snake) on a Middle Corinthian alabastron now in the National Archaeological Museum, and an unusual Late Corinthian spherical aryballos has an archer hunting horses – if not the man-eating horses of Diomedes, then perhaps the type of wild onager common on

¹² Lowenstam 2008, 31; on priestesses, see Georgoudi 2005.

¹³ Wachter 2001, 84, 335–340; I am grateful to Ann Patnaude for pointing this out.

¹⁴ LIMC I (1981) 420–430, s.v. Aithra (U. Kron); Williams 1991, 52–53 fig. 8g; Wachter 2001, 304; Finglass 2013, 38.

¹⁵ Croissant 1988, 161–162; Carter 1989; Shapiro 1990c, 116–117, 126–128.

¹⁶ West 2002 even denies that Homeric Ephrya (*Il.* 6.152, 210) lay in the Corinthia.

¹⁷ Iozzo 2009, 39–44; Soldi 2012.

Assyrian reliefs.¹⁸ Some years ago, Ann Gunter argued for direct influence from Assyrian reliefs (lion-hunting scenes) on Corinthian art, even on such famous miniature vases as the Chigi Vase, and some of us have argued for close relations between Phoenicians and Greeks at Corinth.¹⁹ Such encounters could also have happened in the West, where Corinthians and other Greeks met Phoenicians on Sicily, and remind us of the far-flung contexts for telling Greek stories under the spell of Near Eastern tales and demons.

Gathering more of these examples might lead us to understand a view of a formal embassy, spanning mainland Greek and East Aegean traditions, where Anatolian offices of priestesses played a public role in encounters with foreigners and matters of national security. Thus, more than a tribute to the influence of Bacchylides or a sign of the popularity of the epic cycle in early Greek art, this configuration of temple officials and foreign guests on the Astarita krater could appeal to an era when Greek sanctuaries attracted international, even royal visitors, and Greek artists imagined epic relations of the Trojan War in contemporary circumstances.²⁰

Homer's Homeland? Stories of Troy in Ionia

Farther from Athens but closer to Troy, the coast of western Anatolia plays an enigmatic role in the construction of the Greek narrative about Ilion. Active in the second millennium as a region engaged in warfare, subjugation, rebellion, and negotiation with Hittite kings of Central Anatolia, and productive of poetic traditions of its own centered on Pergamon (with Telephos/Telepinu, and the “Mysian war”), coastal Anatolia is home to Homer but not to its own epic tradition.²¹ The cities and regions that encircle the birthplace of Homer in Greek legend, (Smyrna, Chios, etc), are conspicuously absent from the action on both the Greek and Trojan sides, and even from the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* 2. Miletus, a Greek city in the Early Archaic period, and once a Minoan, then Mycenaean, settlement in the Bronze Age, is too barbarian, or too Carian, to join the Greek side and shows up instead among the Anatolian allies of Troy (*Il.* 2.867–875). How do these Greek cities insert themselves into Homeric action, through art as well as through local epic cycles, now lost?

Evocative of the Trojan dynasty and its story is an archaic Klazomenian hydria, whose fragments are now separated in two locales, both far from its original home. On a fragment now in Athens, its dislocation the legacy of a failed modern Greek expedition to Asia Minor, a herald moving right looks back at two or more horses (two heads are all that survive, of what could be a four-horse team or cavalcade), as he

¹⁸ Arvanitaki 2012.

¹⁹ Gunter 1990; Morris/Papadopoulos 1998.

²⁰ Morris 1992; Naso 2006; on early Greek diplomacy, see Karavites 1986 and 1987.

²¹ See Davies 2000, on the “Teuthranian” (Mysian) war; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011.



Fig. 1: King (on throne) flanked by standing female, receiving herald and team of horses. Body fragment of North Ionian black-figure hydria from Klazomenai, 550–540 BCE. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5610. Photo: Eleftherios Galanopoulos. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

approaches a royal couple seated on a throne, facing left (the bearded king is certainly on a throne, the female behind him may be standing) (fig. 1).²² While there is no way to certify that the royal pair represents Priam and Hecuba, rather than another epic couple, another fragment of the hydria introduces the sad story of the fate of their son.

On the shoulder of the same vase (now in Brussels), Achilles drags Hektor's body from his chariot, in a composition rendered more pitiful by the way the crown prince of Troy is tied face down, his visage ground into the dust.²³ This is also the oldest known image of this cruel and savage treatment of the enemy corpse by the Greek hero, later celebrated (or deplored?) from Attic vases to Roman sarcophagi, as if the fate of Troy's hero attracted artists, earlier, and in graphic form, on Asian soil. With such a scene on the shoulder of the vase, one can only hope that the rest of the body of the vase shows the more merciful resolution of the *Iliad*, the return of Hektor's body in Book 24 that closes the poem with a royal Trojan funeral.

²² LIMC VII (1994) 517 no. 36, s.v. Priamos (J. Neils); Cook/Dupont 2003, 106 fig. 12.8 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5610). See Davies 2000 on the Greek expedition to Klazomenai.

²³ Cook/Dupont 2003, 186 n. 11; CVA Brussels 3, pl. 106.5; Kephaliidou 2010, 131–134 fig. 7.

Elsewhere in the repertoire of Klazomenai, only three of its famous painted clay coffins bear mythological scenes, next to dozens with colorful but anonymous hoplites, riders, and chariots in battle and procession, and it is perhaps not surprising that they tell a tale of Trojan royalty.²⁴ One from the city itself, now in Izmir, tells the story of Troilos, with Achilles crouching behind a tree at the far left, although the figure of the young Trojan prince himself is missing in the lost central portion.²⁵ A twin found at Abdera gives us both more and less of the story, without Achilles, but complete as to its Trojan protagonists (from left to right: a seated Priam, riding Troilos, and women with water jars heading to the fountain or filling up from it).²⁶ Finally, most poignant of all, a sarcophagus now in Leiden shows the sacrifice of Polyxena, with figures Greek and Trojan grouped around the central, egg-shaped tomb of Achilles (fig. 2): armed soldiers approach it from the left, while another armed Greek drags a woman towards it from the right, his left hand gripping her wrist, while his right holds a dagger or sword, ready for execution.²⁷ Polyxena and her pitiful fate seem sadly popular on Anatolian soil, in both local and imported works of art. In addition to the magnificent Early Classical marble sarcophagus from the Troad with the scene of her sacrifice, an Attic red-figure column krater from Tekirdağ across the Hellespont (ancient Bisanthe/Rhaidestos) seems to show the Trojan princess being offered by her father Priam (escorted by Hermes) as part of the ransom for her brother's corpse.²⁸ It is interesting to speculate whether, and how, Trojan hero/ines and non-Homeric episodes may have captured the imagination of artists and poets in a separate, even local, tradition.

These two stories are closely linked in both narrative and art, for both young royal Trojans were pursued by Achilles, in love and ambush: the young prince died at the fountainhouse, his sister who refused Achilles or was refused by him, while the Greek hero was alive, ended up a sacrifice on his tomb. To find these tales of love and loss (for such is what they are) painted on three archaic clay coffins and on related pottery from the same city suggests how close artists in Anatolia may have felt to the dynasty that once ruled Troy and lost to Greek heroes. Centuries later, Apulian artists still remembered the story of Troilos, and even gave the fountainhouse where he met his death an Anatolian setting with archaic "Aeolic" column bases and capitals.²⁹ Like the monumental altar that received Greek heroes on a Corinthian krater, it indicates

²⁴ Cook/Dupont 2003, 123.

²⁵ Cook 1981, 36 (G.7) pl. 48.1–2.

²⁶ Cook 1981, 177 (G.7A) pl. 77.

²⁷ Cook 1981, 36 (G.8) pl. 48.3. For Attic vase paintings of Polyxena at the fountain, see Cohen in this volume.

²⁸ Sevinç 1996; Tuna-Nörling 2001, but see LIMC Suppl. (2009) Add. 45, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann) (the female may be Briseis); See Knittlmayer 1997, 80–99, on Troilos and Polyxena in Attic vase painting.

²⁹ LIMC I (1981) 269, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann): St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum B2085 (from Potenza); the architectural façade on this vase supports the identification of the early "mushroom capitals" from Old Smyrna (Bayraklı) as bases, not capitals: Akurgal 1983, fig. 72a.

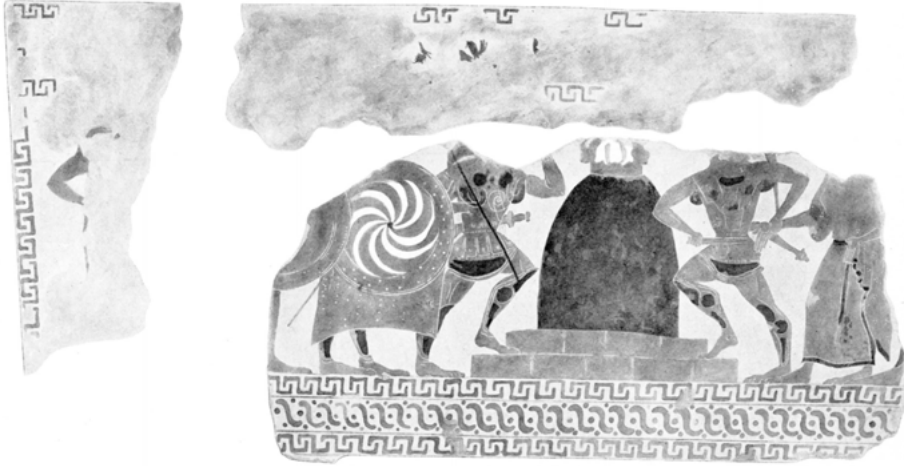


Fig. 2: Sacrifice of Polyxena, from Klazomenian sarcophagus. Albertinum Group (500–470 BCE). Leyden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I.1896/12.1: once Izmir market, said to be from Klazomenai. After Cook 1981, G.8.

how artists suggested native settings for the epic cycle with the inclusion of architectural features local to the action of the *Iliad*.

From Troy to Samothrace

In my third and final iteration of what we imagine may be royal reception scenes set at Troy, a remarkable fragment of a carved marble relief, said to have been found at Samothrace and now in the Louvre, represents a seated Agamemnon on a royal stool, facing left, and flanked to the right by Talthybios and Ep[eios] (fig. 3).³⁰ Broken off at the right, and closed by vestiges of a griffin head (protome) of which only a long spiral curl survives, the original shape, full scene, and onetime function of this marble slab remain enigmas. Purchased on Tenedos by Count Choiseul-Gouffier in the eighteenth century, it was said to have been found on Samothrace, thus it belongs somewhat broadly to the archaic art of the northeast Aegean, and must depict a scene set at Troy. What kind of embassy was received by Agamemnon? One might naturally imagine the opening of the *Iliad* 1 (8–32), when Chryses approaches the Greek king with gifts and suppliant wool strands to request the

³⁰ Bothmer/Mertens 1979, 195; LIMC I (1981) 258, s.v. Agamemnon (Y. Touchefeu); Hamiaux 2001, 84–85 no. 76 (also identified as the throne armrest of a cult statue, with an initiation scene, but myth is more likely).



Fig. 3: Fragmentary marble relief: seated Agamemnon, Talhybios, and Ep[eios?] behind throne. Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. Clarac 608 (Ma 697): from Samothrace? (bought on Tenedos, 1818), 550–520 BCE. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

return (ransom) of his daughter. Agamemnon's refusal to do so brings on the anger of Apollo and disease among the Greeks, the substitution of Briseis as the king's prize when Chryseis is finally returned, and the anger of Achilles, so such a scene would launch the entire plot of the *Iliad*, and was popular for that reason throughout the history of Greek and Roman art.³¹ As in the Corinthian krater and the scenes from Klazomenai, an artist has framed a formal scene with details that emphasize royal and official attributes (herald's scepter, etc.).

Meanwhile, in Attic art, a single work (the François Vase, ca. 560 BCE) shows Priam's seat as a mere *thakos*, in contrast to the elaborate throne where Zeus sits. Could one reason be, as I argued years ago, the proximity of Eastern Greeks to impressive Lydian, Phrygian, and, eventually, Persian rulers?³² While these shaped

³¹ Ben Abed 2006, 124 fig. 6.13, from the House of the Nymphs, Nabeul (Tunisia).

³² Morris 2003, 11–16.

the depiction of kings like Priam, the events of his life most popular in mainland Greek art – his abject appeal to Achilles for his son's body, or pitiful death at the hands of Achilles' son, Neoptolemos – do not offer occasions for a noble image of a king enthroned in all his power and regal trappings. Nor does the Trojan cycle give Agamemnon many opportunities for displays of royal power, as the epic cycle focuses on tragic moments in his life (sacrifice of his daughter, quarrel with Achilles, and murder at the hands of his wife). Instead, one wonders if East Greek or Anatolian audiences, with their different memories and experience of kingship, imagined Homeric kings, both Greek and Trojan, in such moments of dignity and rulership.

Back to Athens: Homer in Athenian Art and Poetry

This range of Trojan stories in Greek art returns us to a perennial question on the date of origin of these tales in written and “final” form. Recent studies on the chronology of early Greek poetry differ widely on dating the final formation of Homeric epic, as they range from arguments for an eighth-century date (Joachim Latacz), to a seventh-century literate poet (M. L. West), to an evolutionary model that embraces a spectrum of development from prehistory to archaic fixation (Gregory Nagy), to an argument for the role of Solon (André Sauge), to a precise date of 522 BCE as the date when Hipparchos, tyrant of Athens, commissioned the recitation and dictation of the earliest written epic (Minna Skafte Jensen).³³ Beyond these arguments, all agree on certain factors observed long ago: the relatively late appearance of scenes specific to our *Iliad* (sixth century BCE) and the great popularity of episodes outside of Homeric epic, drawn from the *Kypria* and *Ilioupersis* traditions, in early Greek art.³⁴

In these arguments, vases both Attic and other continue to contribute important evidence on the chronology and formation of the *Iliad*. For example, Walter Burkert has recently drawn attention to two early sixth-century BCE vases, one Attic and one Corinthian, whose decoration (early scenes of the ransom of Hektor) supports the idea that Book 24 of the *Iliad* was well known before the middle of the sixth century.³⁵ Such testimonia (the Attic vase is one of three to represent this episode, in 570–560 BCE) certainly help dispel the notion that a complete poem only took shape under the Peisistratids, a generation later. Perhaps even earlier (ca. 580 BCE) is the Corinthian plate now in Princeton, with a less explicitly Iliadic version of the ransom, but one which finds parallels in contemporary “Argive” shield bands. Made at the same time, the famous dinos by Sophilos with the funeral games of Patroklos has labels that imply knowledge of the division of the epic into books with titles (however “adven-

³³ Anderson/Haug 2012 presents a recent survey of the chronology of Greek epic poetry.

³⁴ Snodgrass 1998; Lowenstam 2008.

³⁵ Burkert 2012.

turesome” the artist’s spelling). The fact that this *dinos* was enjoyed outside Athens, in the homeland of Achilles (Thessaly), enhances our sense of how widely the poem was enjoyed, read, or performed. And, the fact that the artist includes another Homeric detail, Tethys (*Il.* 14.302), in the wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis on his London *dinos*, makes his learning loom even larger.

In short, Shapiro’s own argument for the “emancipation” of Attic iconography from non-Athenian traditions rested on a comparison of the chest of Kypselos, as a quintessentially Peloponnesian work, with the mythological encyclopedia represented by the François Vase, a masterpiece and collaboration between two Athenian artists. In the lead-up to this key moment, some of the vases treated here exemplify its predecessors: “large vases crowded with many figures.”³⁶

More intriguing is the fact that the artist of one of the vases noted by Burkert, the hydria in Zurich, is also the painter of London B76 (another hydria with a Homeric scene, the chariot of Hektor, from Kameiros, Rhodes), and even painted the Burgon amphora, the earliest Panathenaic vase. Thus, he was involved both in a Homeric, Iliadic subject and in producing prize vases for the first festival where Homer’s poems came to be regularly recited. This implies the kind of patron-centered productivity that changed the Athenian pottery industry, from the seventh century BCE onwards.³⁷ But it also captures the fusion of ritual (re)performance of Homeric poetry with its deployment in visual panoramas across the fields of painted pottery, a process that we associate with Athens but that may have flowered in many regions of Greece. This allows us to have our epic, and eat it too: while versions of the Trojan War captured artists across many early cultures of Greece, and called forth scenarios designed for different social settings of the archaic period, its definitive sequence of episodes, and even verses, still owes much to Athenian poets, patrons, and artists.

³⁶ Shapiro 1990c, 143.

³⁷ See essays in Paleothodoros 2012.

Beth Cohen

Polyxena's Dropped Hydria: The Epic Cycle and the Iconography of Gravity in Athenian Vase Painting

"Ancient Greek Art and Iconography," a symposium of enduring significance organized by the late Warren G. Moon,¹ was held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison more than thirty years ago. At this symposium, I first got my toes wet iconographically and also established a collegial relationship with the honorand. Alan Shapiro and I subsequently collaborated on several scholarly projects, "mostly iconographic."²

Introduction: Harnessing Gravity

My contribution to this *Festschrift* is inspired by the centerpiece of my Wisconsin talk: an Athenian red-figure stamnos attributed to the Kleophrades Painter in the Louvre Museum,³ depicting Kaineus attacked by centaurs during the battle in the Thessalian countryside after the disrupted wedding feast of Peirithoos. The invulnerable Lapith warrior Kaineus is normally represented in vase painting pummeled into the ground (i.e., groundline) by these *Mischwesen* wielding branches and rocks as weapons,⁴ but on this stamnos, Kaineus' pummeling will be finished by a thrown rock, shown suspended in mid-air above his head, which "in an instant will complete its fall."⁵

As early moderns understood after Galileo and Newton, rocks and other objects fall (at the same speed) in a downward trajectory because of the earth's gravitational pull. Ancient Greeks perceived the phenomenon of gravity differently. Aristotle, in book four of the *Physics*, proposed that objects moved toward their own natural place: thus objects composed primarily of the heavy "element" earth, moved (at a speed determined by their weight) toward the center of the Universe, i.e., the Earth.

Athenian vase painters of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE recorded not only ubiquitous natural effects of gravity but also their harnessing. In the Antimenēs Painter's depiction of olive harvesting on a black-figure neck amphora of ca. 520–

1 Moon 1983.

2 Panofsky 1969.

3 Paris, Musée du Louvre G55: ARV² 187.58, 1632; BAPD 201756; see Cohen 1983.

4 E.g., François Vase, black-figure volute krater, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, neck, side B: ABV 76.1, 682; BAPD 300000. See LIMC V (1990) 884–891, s.v. Kaineus (E. Laufer).

5 Cohen 1983, 179.

510 BCE,⁶ for example, men and a youth hit a tree with sticks causing fruit to fall to the ground where another youth gathers it in a basket. Many of the falling olives are shown still in mid-air – “rather, the red background becomes air *because* of the falling fruit.”⁷

Leitmotifs of Gravity in the Epic Cycle

Falling or fallen forms play significant roles in the iconography of Athenian vase paintings about the Trojan War and its aftermath. Unlike the harnessing of gravity in the olive-harvesting or Kaineus-pummeling scenes, most epic gravity motifs explored here result from surprising situations and/or occur accidentally or incidentally. These particular motifs also stand in contradistinction to the famous exemplar of gravity in Homer’s Underworld (*Od.* 11.593–600): Sisyphos’ eternal punishment of pushing a rock up a hill, only for it to roll back down, which, as I have discussed elsewhere, is represented infrequently and – in showing only a tiny hillock – not particularly effectively in Athenian vase painting.⁸ In addition, many of the epic gravity motifs surveyed here may have appeared in visual art rather than or before occurring in literary sources: the visual images themselves are therefore the focus of the present discussion.

a. Polyxena’s Dropped Hydria

Evidently, the death of Troilos, the youngest son of the Trojan king Priam and his wife Hecuba, was required in order for Troy to fall to the Greeks: as shown in art and presumably as told in the lost *Kypria*, after arriving at a countryside fountainhouse or fountain outside Troy’s walls to water his horses, Troilos is ambushed, chased down, and then killed by Achilles in the sanctuary of the Thymbrian Apollo.⁹ In retribution, Apollo, in the lost *Aithiopis*, engineered Achilles’ death from an arrow shot by Paris. Significantly, vase paintings of Achilles’ “ambush” and “pursuit” of Troilos generally include a young woman who *coincidentally* comes to the fountainhouse to fetch water: a now-fragmentary inscription on Kleitias’ renowned pursuit frieze of the

⁶ London, British Museum 1837.6–9.42: ABV 273.116; BAPD 320127; see Rühfel 2003, 111–113.

⁷ Hurwit 1991, 49.

⁸ Buitron/Cohen 1992, 100–102, 105–107 nos. 31–32 (B. Cohen); see also LIMC VII (1994) 781–787, s.v. Sisyphos (J. H. Oakley); Hatzivassiliou 2010, 36, 146 nos. 541–542; Walter-Karydi 2010, 213–214, in relation to Polygnotos’ lost Nekyia (Pausanias 10.25–31). Sisyphos in vase painting is the only Greek gravity depiction mentioned by Edwards/Bailey 2012, 1.

⁹ For the lack of preserved early sources and the later literary tradition and variations summarized, see, e.g., Gantz 1993, I: 597–602.

François Vase, ca. 570–560 BCE, identifies this female character as Polyxena, Troilos' sister.¹⁰

In the ambush, while Achilles lurks behind the fountainhouse or fountain, Polyxena arrives before her brother and may be shown filling a water jar from the copiously flowing spout.¹¹ Polyxena's presence is important: according to Martin Robertson, "waiting at the fountainhouse to kill the boy, Achilles sees and loves his sister."¹² Guy Hedreen believes the fountainhouse scene is an artistic rather than literary invention,¹³ which provides "the occasion when Achilles first developed an interest in the girl."¹⁴ Thus interpreted, this encounter would explain why Achilles' ghost later selects Polyxena as the virgin to be sacrificed at the hero's tomb, either to be his bride in the afterlife or to secure fair sailing for the Greek fleet. Recalling the tradition in which the Greek maiden Iphigeneia had earlier been sacrificed, "the mirrored fates of these two figures serve as brackets to the Trojan War."¹⁵ In a vignette omitting Troilos, the Berlin Painter spotlights Polyxena's fateful fountain encounter with Achilles while she fills her hydria, a curvaceous kalpis, on a red-figure kalpis of ca. 500–490 BCE in St. Petersburg.¹⁶

In the pursuit, as on the central portion of Kleitias' François-Vase frieze, Achilles (partially preserved) has leapt from cover and gives chase. Terrified, Polyxena (lower portion preserved) runs away before the mounted spear-bearing Troilos, whose long hair streams. Significantly, the fleet-footed Polyxena has dropped her hydria, whose name is likewise inscribed.¹⁷ The fallen vessel has come to rest sideways on the ground behind the maiden, framed beneath Troilos' galloping horses like prizes in the funerary games for Patroklos shown on the krater's neck. While the partially preserved ovoid vessel's horizontal side handle articulated with internal incised lines might suggest this vase is metal,¹⁸ its visible side lifting handle does indicate that the hydria has fallen in profile view, the modern loss of its top-rear vertical pouring handle notwithstanding.

¹⁰ Above n. 4; *Vaso François* 1981, figs. 135, 229; see also Robertson 1990, 63; Hedreen 2001, 126, and, in general, Knaus 2006.

¹¹ The earliest "Polyxena" filling her hydria: Corinthian bottle, ca. 580–570 BCE, signed by Timonidas, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 277; Rühfel 2003, 76–77 fig. 46, 78; see also Hedreen 2001, esp. 125–126, 130–131, on the fountain as a "visual tradition."

¹² Robertson 1990, 65.

¹³ Hedreen 2001, 125.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 133.

¹⁵ Lyons 1997, 155; cf. Woodford 1993, 111–112.

¹⁶ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ST 1588: ARV² 210.174; BAPD 201992; see Henle 1973, 131; Robertson 1990, 65–66, but cf. Carpenter 1991, 18–19, and Knittlmayer 1997, 91. On ominous elements – the bird, lion's head water spout and Achilles' lion shield device – see Schefold/Jung 1989, 167. For Polyxena/Achilles in black figure, see Hatzivassiliou 2010, 28, 136 nos. 406–409. Hydrias in Troilos depictions reflect the vase shape's development: Clark/Elston/Hart 2002, 98–99; hydrias were also used in burials.

¹⁷ *Vaso François* 1981, [166] fig. 135; 191 fig. 228.

¹⁸ Cf. handles of bronze hydria: Mertens 2010, 96 fig. 36, and 98, on identifying bronze hydrias in vase painting.

The pursuit scene's major elements, shown in the same order – fountainhouse, running Achilles, mounted, spear-bearing Troilos fleeing with two congruent horses, and running Polyxena (lower portion preserved) – already appear in the colorful frieze on the earlier overlap Siana cup of ca. 575 BCE attributed to the C Painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (color fig. 3).¹⁹ This “composition may be considered an invention of the C Painter, which became standard for the rest of the century.”²⁰ The C Painter also incorporates narrative symbols: between Troilos and Achilles, a leftward flying eagle – “a bad omen;”²¹ beneath Troilos' galloping horses, a “frightened hare” – a symbol of speed.²² And, here, speedy Polyxena's dropped hydria – an early round-bodied model – lies on the ground far away from her in the left half of the composition, beneath the widespread legs of Achilles, thereby creating a connection between maiden and hero.²³ The dropped, fallen vessel – lying sideways with its contents spilling from its mouth – is an omen presaging Polyxena's own fate.

Polyxena's dropped hydria – always shown in diagnostic profile view – is a persistent element of Troilos representations for over a century. On the C Painter's New York cup and in most pursuit representations, the dropped vessel's mouth faces right. But on the François Vase,²⁴ it faces left – opposite the action's direction – a position that recurs, for example, on a black-figure amphora of type B in Berlin of ca. 550–540 BCE, attributed to Lydos.²⁵ And Lydos includes a notable innovation: Polyxena's hydria is shown during its fall – here, both tilting sideways and spilling its water while still in mid-air. Later, her hydria is likewise depicted in mid-air on the Troilos Painter's name vase, a red-figure kalpis of ca. 480 BCE, whose excerpted pursuit omits Achilles.²⁶ Here, however, the falling vessel (a shoulder hydria shown in profile facing right) spills its contents because it has broken in two but this is odd because it has not yet hit the ground.²⁷ Susan Woodford concludes, the vase's “water pours out, just as, all too soon,

19 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 01.8.6: ABV 51.4, 681; BAPD 300381; Brijder 1983, 131, 236 no. 6; see Beazley 1934, 93.

20 Brijder 1991, 360.

21 Brijder 1983, 131. See Pollard 1977, esp. 14, 116–119.

22 Bothmer 1987, 18 no. 7; see also Brijder 1983, 131; Knittlmayer 1997, 94.

23 See Beazley 1986, 20. The hydria also rests beneath Achilles' legs on the C Painter's middle-period Troilos cup, ca. 570–565, unusually showing Achilles running but still behind the fountainhouse and then Polyxena, running away looking back: Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 6113: BAPD 6896; Brijder 1983, 130–131, 237–238 no. 20; Kauffmann-Samaras 1987, 342 figs. 4–5, 343 fig. 9. See also Schefold 1978, 205–206; Schefold et al. 1993, 307.

24 Above nn. 4 and 17.

25 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 1685, side B: ABV 109.24, 685; BAPD 310170; Latacz et al. 2008, 401 no. 151 (A. Bignasca). For this position, see also Lydos' fragmentary black-figure column krater, Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University Y1989.89: BAPD 9028346.

26 London, British Museum 1899.7–21.4: ARV² 296, 297.15, 1643; BAPD 203082.

27 Cf. Woodford 2003, 46, “smashed to the ground.” Polyxena's hydria always breaks into two pieces on hitting the ground, e.g., black-figure lekythos, Sappho Painter, ca. 500–490 BCE, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1976.68: BAPD 3506.

the blood of Troilos will be spilt.”²⁸ But, as we have seen, the dropped hydria alludes to Polyxena's own bloody fate: drawing a potent association between a vase and a woman's body hardly began with Picasso.²⁹ Although rarely depicted, Polyxena's sacrifice is documented early in Athenian art by the inscribed black-figure Tyrrenian neck amphora of ca. 560–555 BCE, attributed to the Timiades Painter.³⁰ As several Greek warriors hold the maiden aloft, Neoptolemos slits her throat, and Polyxena's red blood gushes down toward what may here be an altar topped by a fire rather than Achilles' tomb mound.³¹

Polyxena's overriding importance in Athenian visual tradition is emphasized by her inclusion on early fifth-century red-figure cups that juxtapose different incidents from the Fall of Troy.³² The beautiful Polyxena (name inscribed) tears her hair on the inscribed tondo of the Ilioupersis cup of type C, ca. 500–490 BCE, potted by Euphronios and painted by Onesimos,³³ while – in a synthetic artistic tradition discussed below – Achilles' son Neoptolemos wields her nephew Astyanax, as a lethal weapon against her father, the boy's grandfather Priam, seated on an altar of Zeus Herkeios. And, on the Brygos Painter's Louvre Ilioupersis cup, Akamas leads Polyxena to her own sacrifice.³⁴

The earliest known Athenian red-figure Ilioupersis cup, a fragmentary model of ca. 520–510 BCE, whose exterior frieze includes Menelaos leading away Helen, Neoptolemos flinging Astyanax (fig. 1) at Priam, and Cassandra's rape, is attributed to Oltos.³⁵ According to Bonna Wescoat, “Oltos often decorates both sides of a cup's exterior with Trojan themes, but reserves the interior tondo for lighter subject matter, such as this loosely dressed girl, who runs with a hydria in one hand and a wreath in the other.”³⁶ Beyond depicting “lighter subject matter,” given the exterior's Trojan rout, the interior's running female figure carrying a hydria likely evokes Polyxena.³⁷

28 Woodford 2003, 46.

29 See esp. Picasso's clay sculptures and vases “Woman with an amphora,” “Tanagra with an Amphora,” 1947, and “Bikini,” 1961; McCully 1998, 20 fig. 14; 31 fig. 23; [79] no. 32, and 227 no. 192.

30 London, British Museum 1897.7–27.2; ABV 97.27, 683; BAPD 310027; Kluiver 2003, 151 no. 45; Latacz et al. 2008, 405 no. 156 (L. Fitton); see also Neils 2011, 46 fig. 47. On literary sources see Gantz 1993, II: 658–659.

31 Robertson 1970, 13; cf. Carpenter 1991, [29] fig. 23, caption.

32 Hedreen 2001, 138–139. See also Schefold 1978, 257.

33 Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 12110: BAPD 13363; Williams 1991, 50–53.

34 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 152: ARV² 369.1, 398, 1649; BAPD 203900; see Papadakis 1994, 155; Giuliani 2003, 215.

35 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection 80.AE.154: BAPD 16776. For more vases that depict Neoptolemos flinging Astyanax at Priam, see Matheson in this volume.

36 Wescoat 1986, 60; 58–61 no. 15. Cf., Harnecker 1991, 142, 235 no. 106, “Frau mit Hydria.”

37 Others omit the tondo, e.g., Mangold 2000, 23, 24 fig. 13, 44 fig. 22; Hedreen 2001, 64, 67; Muth 2008, 557 fig. 399, 558.

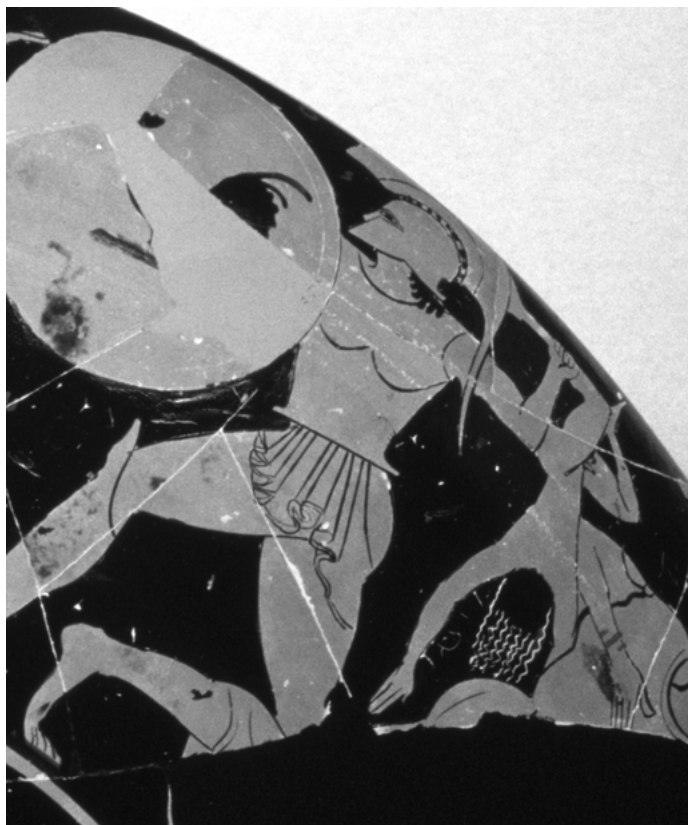


Fig. 1: Neoptolemos flinging Astyanax at the Fall of Troy, fragmentary Athenian red-figure cup, attributed to Oltos, ca. 520–510 BCE (detail of exterior), The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California, Gift of Dr. R. Almirante, 80.AE.154.

b. Hanging Hair: Achilles, Troilos, and Astyanax

One effect of gravity described in Athenian vase painting – hanging long hair on a head turned upside down – constitutes a motif arrestingly employed for dead and mortally threatened figures in several Trojan War depictions. Kleitias poignantly portrayed this motif, with variations, on both handles of the François Vase in the earliest inscribed representations of the body of Achilles carried from the battlefield by Ajax,³⁸ an incident in the *Aithiopsis*. On the B/A handle (fig. 2), where Ajax’s

³⁸ Above n. 4; see also *Vaso François* 1981, 148–149 figs. 106–107. See Giuliani 2003, 140–141.



Fig. 2: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles from the battlefield at Troy, Athenian black-figure volute krater known as the François Vase, signed by Kleitias as painter and Ergotimos as potter, ca. 570–560 BCE (detail of B/A handle), Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4209. Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.

upward-pointing rigid spear crosses the composition diagonally, the well-preserved hair of the beardless profile head of Achilles' limp naked corpse falls forward and hangs straight downward in six long, thick, pointed locks separated by wavy incised lines. These locks (coarser than A/B Achilles' less well-preserved ten)³⁹ contrast with the fine incised strands of B/A Ajax's hair and beard as well as with the hair of most living male figures on the vase.

Downward-falling hanging long hair first appeared in preserved Athenian vase painting on an unscribed black-figure lekanis lid of ca. 570 BCE, attributed to the C Painter.⁴⁰ It shows a left-facing warrior, flinging a helpless naked boy held upside

³⁹ On the A/B body of Achilles see Woodford 1993, [95]; also Schefold et al. 1993, 326.

⁴⁰ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 132642: ABV 58.119, 681; BAPD 300496; *Vasi antichi* 2009, 24–25 (L. Chazalon).

down by the ankle toward an altar; an old white-haired man and a woman approach from the left with their arms raised in entreaty, while armed horsemen and hoplites also approach. The boy's inverted head, shown in profile view, has downward-hanging long hair with separately incised locks.

The iconography of the C Painter's lid is not standard, and scholarly opinion is divided about what it depicts. J. D. Beazley – and many other scholars – identify it as the earliest preserved Athenian representation of the death of Astyanax.⁴¹ Rather than showing the child thrown from the city's walls as described in the *Little Iliad*, vases, including the above-mentioned red-figure cups (cf. fig. 1),⁴² employ the artistic invention of Neoptolemos swinging Astyanax to bludgeon to death simultaneously the boy himself and Priam, shown seated on an altar.⁴³ The old man on the lid, however, is not sitting upon the altar, which is topped by a sacrificial fire. According to a second interpretation, the lid depicts Achilles killing Troilos at the altar of Apollo Thymbraios as Priam and Hecuba approach entreating for their son's life, and Trojan troops attempt to rescue him.⁴⁴ Perhaps the lid's congruent pair of spearmen on galloping horses adjacent to the upended boy is an associative image evoking the previously mounted Troilos (cf. color fig. 3).

If the second interpretation is correct, the inverted male child with downward-falling hanging long hair familiar from later depictions of Astyanax, including impressive examples by Lydos ca. 560–550 BCE,⁴⁵ would have first been employed in Athenian vase painting for Troilos.⁴⁶ In Early Archaic Athenian iconography, the hanging long hair motif may thus have linked the helpless young Troilos, flung in mid-air, being killed by Achilles, with Achilles' beardless corpse, lifted off the ground, being carried by Ajax (fig. 2).

⁴¹ ABV 58.119; Beazley 1986, 22–23; see also, e.g., Rühfel 1984, 52–53; Schefold et al. 1993, 333–334 fig. 379; Recke 2002, 42–43, 280 no. 1.

⁴² Above nn. 33–35.

⁴³ See, e.g., Dugas, 1937, 14; Touchefeu 1983, 23–27; LIMC II (1984) 929–937, s.v. Astyanax I (O. Touchefeu); LIMC VII (1994) 507–522, s.v. Priamos (J. Neils); Anderson 1997, 192–193; Mangold 2000, 13–14, 20–26; Hedreen 2001, 64–66; Recke 2002, 41–45; Woodford 2003, 115–116.

⁴⁴ Proposed by Schmidt 1917, 40–42; championed by Dugas 1937, 22–23; accepted by, e.g., LIMC VII (1994) 512 no. 34, s.v. Priamos (J. Neils); Mangold 2000, 29–31; Hedreen 2001, 147.

⁴⁵ Black-figure amphoras of type B: Paris, Musée du Louvre F 29: ABV 109.21, 685; BAPD 310167, and Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 1685 (Astyanax's head sideways): above n. 25, and see Shapiro 1994a, 163–164, on the “subtle thematic link” between the vase's two sides.

⁴⁶ In inscribed depictions of the fight over Troilos' body on Tyrrhenian amphoras, ca. 570–560 BCE, Troilos' severed head has long hair, e.g., Timiades Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1426: ABV 95.5; BAPD 310005; see Kluiver 2003, 88, 150 no. 37; Knaus 2006, 167–168, 169 fig. 22.12 and no. 57. In Late Archaic red figure, Achilles seizes Troilos by the hair before slaughtering him, e.g., cup, Onesimos, ca. 500–490 BCE, Perugia, Museo Civico 89: ARV² 313, 320.8, 1595; BAPD 203224; see Schefold/Jung 1989, 164–165, and, recently, Muth 2008, 558–559.

Space does not permit a full review here of the downward-hanging long hair motif's history.⁴⁷ Exekias appears to have appropriately changed black-figure Achillean iconography in the century's third quarter to show (in uninscribed depictions) Ajax – who will later fall on his sword, committing suicide after losing Achilles' armor to Odysseus – carrying Achilles' corpse clad in body armor and wearing a hair-covering helmet.⁴⁸ In red figure, hanging hair for the dead Achilles was revived by Euphronios: for example, on a red-figure calyx-krater fragment of ca. 515–510 BCE, Ajax lifts separately Achilles' bare-headed corpse and his fallen Corinthian helmet.⁴⁹ Here Ajax's vertical paired spears partially obscure Achilles' now bearded profile face but not the fact that “his long locks fall forward with a lank lifelessness that announces his death with unmistakable finality.”⁵⁰ Euphronios translates Achilles' long hair into red figure employing wavy black lines over an orangey wash of dilute slip upon reserve.⁵¹

Downward-hanging hair for the flung Astyanax has a long life in red figure, where the motif is depicted in different ways, each expressing the moment's horror. There are remarkable departures from traditional profile view. On Oltos' early Ilioupersis cup (fig. 1),⁵² Astyanax's inverted and contorted body is further dehumanized by the head being shown from the back:⁵³ the viewer is confronted with a faceless shock of downward-falling long black hair whose contour and individual wavy locks are *incised* in the black background. And Astyanax is commonly depicted with the mask of frontal face, including on Onesimos' tondo featuring Polyxena, where the boy sports a halo of wavy black hanging locks painted upon reserve,⁵⁴ and, much later, on the Niobid Painter's red-figure volute krater in Bologna of ca. 460–450 BCE, where (shown below Kaineus sinking into the ground on the vessel's neck) the doomed Astyanax's hanging hair, rendered in dilute on reserve, is blond.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ See esp. Padgett 2001, 7–11.

⁴⁸ See Moore 1980, 424–431; Woodford/Loudon 1980, 25–30; LIMC I (1981) 185–193, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Moore 2000, 176–178, Simon 2004, and Wünsche 2006b; cf. Mackay 2010, esp. 31–38, 56–57.

⁴⁹ Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia: BAPD 29570; see Padgett 2001, cover, 2 fig. 1.

⁵⁰ Padgett 2001, 8.

⁵¹ Cf. Padgett 2001, 5, 7–8.

⁵² Above nn. 35–36.

⁵³ See Harnecker 1991, 142; Papadakis 1994, 150; Mangold 2000, 23, 160 no. I 26; Muth 2008, 557 fig. 399, 558.

⁵⁴ Above n. 33.

⁵⁵ Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 268/18108: ARV² 598.1; BAPD 206929.

c. Menelaos' Dropped Sword

The re-encounter of Menelaos and Helen at the Fall of Troy can be depicted ominously: in several compositional types employed in vase painting, the husband is often shown with his sword drawn, signifying his intent to kill his unfaithful abducted wife.⁵⁶ But the tone shifts at the beginning of the fifth century, when the representational tradition also embraces the moment Menelaos changes his mind, dropping his sword. Although later fifth-century Classical drama (Euripides, *Andr.* 627–631; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 149–156) mentions Menelaos dropping his sword specifically at the sight of Helen's breast, the sword dropping motif – without notable emphasis on Helen's (bared) breast – may have been created in visual art.⁵⁷

The first known artistic occurrence – which differs from subsequent representations (cf. fig. 3) – appears on the zone inside Onesimos' red-figure Ilioupersis cup.⁵⁸ Here Helen rushes pleadingly toward Menelaos while a flying Eros imbues her husband with love. Menelaos has just dropped his sword: his now-empty right hand is shown from the pinky side with the fingers still slightly bent. The weapon itself is depicted while falling; it overlaps the Greek hero's greaved right leg and the raised heel of someone else's foot, reinforcing the fact that it has not yet reached the ground. Because of this overlapping, here the dropped sword is not an emphatic compositional focus.

In subsequent red figure, including a neck amphora of ca. 470 BCE in Vienna, attributed to the Berlin Painter,⁵⁹ and a Classical bell krater of ca. 440 BCE in Toledo, attributed to the Persephone Painter (fig. 3),⁶⁰ Menelaos' sword-dropping generally appears in a pursuit scene, showing a mature bearded warrior carrying a round shield chasing a dressed female figure, who runs for her life.⁶¹ Significantly, the sword dropped from Menelaos' open right hand (now commonly shown from the top with fingers extended) is always depicted still in mid-air and usually strikingly silhouetted

⁵⁶ Classified by Ghali-Kahil 1955 and in LIMC IV (1988) 498–563, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil), assuming strong literary associations. Menelaos with drawn sword, e.g.: black-figure amphora, ca. 550–525 BCE, Painter of the Vatican Mourner, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16589: ABV 140.1; BAPD 310352; LIMC IV (1988) 537 no. 213 pl. 329, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil); red-figure Nicosthenic amphora, ca. 520 BCE, Oltos, Paris, Musée du Louvre G 3: ARV² 53.1, 1618; BAPD 200435; LIMC IV (1988) 540 no. 237 pl. 333, s.v. Helene 237 (L. Kahil); Lorenz 2006, 330.

⁵⁷ See Dipla 1997, esp. 119–120, 125–126; Hedreen 2001, 32–37. On Aristophanes scholia attributing this incident to the *Little Iliad* and Ibykos, see also Gantz 1993, II: 650.

⁵⁸ Above n. 33; LIMC IV (1988) 544 no. 277, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil); Williams 1991, 56; Mangold 2000, 92–93; Giuliani 2003, 211.

⁵⁹ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 741: ARV² 203.101; BAPD 20199.

⁶⁰ Toledo, Museum of Art 1967.154: BAPD 695.

⁶¹ As in fig. 4, setting elements, e.g., altar and/or cult statue, and tree, now often suggest various deities' sanctuaries where the female figure seeks refuge: See Hedreen 1996, 178–182; Hedreen 2001, 32–33, 57–63. See below at n. 67.



Fig. 3: Menelaos dropping his sword while pursuing Helen at the Fall of Troy, Athenian red-figure bell krater, attributed to the Persephone Painter, ca. 440 BCE (side A), Toledo Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1967.154. Photo: Museum.

against the scene's black background.⁶² As in fig. 3, while Menelaos rushes forward, his right arm swings back, and the sword falls behind him. But the sword may also be less convincingly positioned falling between Menelaos' legs.⁶³ Unusually, on the Toledo bell krater, Helen's ungirt peplos opens along the side revealing her body (but not her breast):⁶⁴ here accidental female undress during the fraught action, rather than the epiphany of a love deity, reinforces the implications of Menelaos' dropped weapon.

⁶² Variations include: black-outlined dropped dagger overlapping the panel's side border: red-figure column krater, Earlier Mannerist, Undetermined, Tübingen University 67.5806: ARV² 585.27; BAPD 206757; and black-silhouette dagger overlapping a red figure chlamys: red-figure column krater, Florence Painter, Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2688: ARV² 541.3, BAPD 206130; Mangold 2000, 96 fig. 54.

⁶³ E.g., Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 57, red-figure amphora, Kleophon Painter, ca. 430 BCE: BAPD 5713; Latacz et al. 2008, 399–400 no. 148 (P. Blome). On dropped sword positions, Mangold 2000, 94.

⁶⁴ See Dipla 1997, 125, 129 n. 70.

d. Kirke's Dropped Cup and Wand

According to Homer, during Odysseus' return from Troy, a scouting party of his men is outwardly turned into pigs by the goddess cum witch Kirke (*Od.* 10.230–241). In mid-sixth-century Archaic Greek representations, alongside Odysseus' transformed companions boasting heads of beasts, Kirke stands in the nude holding her sorcery equipment: the mixing bowl for her potion (a cup or skyphos) and a stirring stick – usually doubling as her magic wand.⁶⁵ Athenian vases focus increasingly on her reaction to the enraged hero: he is impervious to transformation because of the herb moly supplied by Hermes (*Od.* 10.277–306) and threatens Kirke with sword drawn. In the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 10.321–335), Kirke ducks under Odysseus' sword and, clasping his knees, pleads for mercy. In late black figure, however, as Shapiro quips, “[t]he nicest touch is the drinking cup that Circe lets slip in her fright as Odysseus charges at her.”⁶⁶ And in fifth-century red figure, Kirke flees while looking back at the advancing, sword-wielding hero: the composition thus becomes a violent pursuit comparable to depictions of Menelaos and Helen.⁶⁷ Yet, while Menelaos ultimately drops his sword, when the sword-wielding Odysseus threatens Kirke, she is the one who does the dropping. For example, the Persephone Painter, who elsewhere represents Menelaos' dropped sword (fig. 3), depicts Kirke running away empty-handed with arms flung wide while her cup and wand are shown falling, silhouetted in mid-air against the black background of a double-register red-figure calyx krater of ca. 440 BCE.⁶⁸ With her magic powers defeated by the hero, Kirke goes to bed with Odysseus and, afterwards, returns the companions to human form (*Od.* 10.345–399). Menelaos' sword and Kirke's dropped sorcery equipment stand apart from other epic gravity motifs since their depictions veer away from the dominion of death.

⁶⁵ E.g., black-figure cup, side A, Painter of the Boston Polyphemos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.518; ABV 198; BAPD 302569. See, e.g., Scheffold 1978, 266–267; Buitron-Oliver/Cohen 1995, 36–37; Giuliani 2004, 87–88; Lampis 2007, 115, 122–124; Bettini/Franco 2010, 139–144; Schneider 2010, esp. 41, 47.

⁶⁶ Shapiro 1994a, 59; describing 58–59 figs. 36 (reversed)–37, black-figure lekythos, Daybreak Painter, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 9125: Para 213 (compare with Painter of Syracuse 20541); BAPD 340780; see also Hatzivassiliou 2010, 35, 145 no. 522 (Leagros Group).

⁶⁷ See Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, esp. 44, 48; Odysseus' pose recalls Aristogeiton of the Tyrannicides group, 49; cf. Schneider 2010, 49–50. See also Benson 1995, 403; Buitron-Oliver/Cohen 1995, 37–38.

⁶⁸ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.83: ARV² 1012.3; BAPD 214160; Buitron/Cohen 1992, 79, 90–91, no. 25; LIMC VI (1992) 53 no. 25 pl. 27, s.v. Kirke (L. Canciani); Lampis 2007, 117–118, 129–131. In the earliest pursuit with Kirke's dropped attributes, she still holds a separate wand: red-figure lekythos, Nikon Painter, ca. 470–460 BCE, Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander Universität 261: ARV² 651.21; BAPD 207587; Giuliani 2003, 192 figs. 38a–b, 193; Giuliani 2004, 90–91; Schmidlin 2006, 361.

e. A Falling Siren

The Siren Painter's name vase, a red-figure stamnos of ca. 480–470 BCE,⁶⁹ does not present the scene of Odysseus tied to his ship's mast following Kirke's advice about passing the Sirens safely exactly as told by Homer (*Od.* 12.39–55, 12.158–200). Homer does not describe the Sirens physically: the Siren Painter's monsters, with women's heads on bird bodies, belong to an old artistic type. And here three Sirens instead of Homer's two inhabit two promontories rather than an island. Most remarkably, one giant Siren, shown in profile view with her eye(s) closed and her extended wings not employed for gravity-defying flight, plunges from the right promontory downward toward the sea headfirst. The image of a falling Siren, traditionally interpreted as either already dead or making a suicide leap, perhaps documents the later literary tradition that Sirens died when their song was resisted (e.g., Lykophron, *Alex.* 5.712–716; Hyginus, *Fab.* 141) or perhaps the visual image inspired the literary tradition.⁷⁰

Finale: Ikaros Falling

Daidalos planned to escape from Crete, with his son Ikaros, by employing hand-crafted wings of feathers and wax to fly over the sea.⁷¹ In Roman wall painting, while Daidalos soared, Ikaros was shown twice amid a land and seascape – flying too close to the sun (melting the artificial wings' wax) and after plunging to his death.⁷² But the fall of Ikaros was not commonly depicted on Athenian vases.⁷³

The now-enigmatic image on a red-figure lekythos of ca. 470 BCE in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4)⁷⁴ and its replica on a chous from the Vlasto collection in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens,⁷⁵ were attributed to the "Icarus Painter" by C. H. E. Haspels,⁷⁶ inspired by Edward Perry Warren's identification and Beazley's description of the Metropolitan vase's depiction:

⁶⁹ London, British Museum GR 1843.11–3.31: ARV² 289.1, 1642; BAPD 202628.

⁷⁰ See Buitron/Cohen 1992, 130–131 no. 42; Buitron-Oliver/Cohen 1995, 30–31, 33–34; cf. Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 149–151 no. 250, 177–78; Henle 1973, 166–167; Schefold/Jung 1989, 342; Latacz et al. 2008, 426–427 no. 184; Lowenstam 2008, 47–51. See also Tsiafakis 2003, 74–77; Aston 2011, esp. 68–76, on Sirens and death.

⁷¹ Gantz 1993, I: 274, and Kilinski 2002, 7–12, 43–45, summarize literary sources.

⁷² Bergmann 2012.

⁷³ LIMC III (1986) 313–321, s.v. Daidalos et Ikaros (J. E. Nyenhuis); Gantz 1993, I: 274; see also Thomsen 2011, 50–51, 303n. 182.

⁷⁴ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.37: ARV² 696.1, 1666; BAPD 208331.

⁷⁵ ARV² 700.83; BAPD 208413.

⁷⁶ Haspels 1936, 270 no. 1, 271 no. 17.



Fig. 4: Ikaros falling, red-figure lekythos, attributed to the Icarus Painter, ca. 470 BCE, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1924 (24.97.37). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

... a winged youth in a curious position, with a bit of the left foot and the whole lower part of the right leg, including the knee, cut off by the ground-line. The figure is either rising out of something or sinking into it. Which? A case could be made for rising – were it not for the bird above, which is flying almost straight down ... The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography: the figure is sinking: into what, the painter has not stated. But sea is as likely as earth, for neither earth nor sea would the artist think it necessary to indicate: when Gaia or Persephone rise from the earth or Kaineus is rammed into it ... the element is left, as often as not, for the spectator to supply.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Beazley 1927, 231.

Beazley had second thoughts about the interpretation, however.⁷⁸ According to Dietrich von Bothmer, the male figure is simply squatting “in the posture of sleep” and represents Hypnos, “and the bird ... underlines the direction of Hypnos’s gaze which is downward, toward the world that receives his blessing.”⁷⁹ Beyond being a directional signal, a downward-plunging bird with spread wings probably is a negative omen.⁸⁰ “The figure is most often called Icarus or Hypnos. The former seems more plausible, given the contorted pose of the figure and the position of the bird that suggests a precipitous descent.”⁸¹

A fifth-century Greek bronze statuette shows Ikaros’ artificial wings attached to his arms.⁸² Representing an artificially winged human figure’s hands clasped before his chest as in fig. 4 might indicate that these wings cannot flap properly and would thereby suggest Ikaros’ fall.

Roughly contemporaneous with the Kleophrades Painter’s Kaineus sinking into the earth beneath a falling rock and with the Siren Painter’s Siren falling into the sea, the Icarus Painter’s crumpled naked winged youths sinking beneath plunging birds may be our first Athenian vase paintings of the falling Ikaros, who – rather than the motifs from the Epic Cycle discussed above – was destined to become the enduring symbol in Western culture of the inexorable force of gravity.⁸³

78 See ARV² 696.1, “Icarus?” and 700.83, “Icarus?”

79 Bothmer 1979, 67; see also LIMC VIII (1997) 644 nos. 5–6, s.v. Hypnos 6 (J. Bažant); Kilinski 2002, 42–43. Cf. LIMC III (1986) 933 no. 1012, s.v. Eros (A. Hermacy).

80 Cf. black-figure neck amphora, ca. 540–530 BCE, Bucci Painter, Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection, depicting bird catching with limed tree branches: incapacitated birds plunge downward headfirst, wings extended: BAPD 14902; Bothmer 1990, 139–140 no. 106. See also, above n. 21.

81 Metropolitan Museum of Art (2013): <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/130011985?rpp=20&pg=21..> (seen 3.17.2013). See also LIMC III (1986) 319 no. 47, s.v. Daidalos et Ikaros (J. E. Nyenhuis); Gantz 1993, I: 274; Thomsen (2011) 51, 407 no. A 38.

82 London, British Museum 1451, Kilinski 2002, fig. 5.

83 Ovid, *Met.* 8.183–235 has, of course, been an important source.

Tyler Jo Smith

Myth into Art: A Black-figure Column Krater from Castle Ashby at the University of Virginia*

“The question, then, is not when Greek artists first depicted heroic stories, but how they developed the narrative technique of making these stories immediately recognizable and increasingly complex, within the confines of the pot surface.”¹

The Athenian black-figure column krater currently housed at the Fralin Museum of Art, University of Virginia was acquired in 1988.² The large open vessel (35.5 cm high) formerly belonged to the collection of the second Marquess of Northampton at Castle Ashby, England, and was published by Martin Robertson and John Boardman in the CVA of that collection in 1979.³ Auctioned by Christie’s along with other classical antiquities from Castle Ashby, the Greek vase made an unexpected detour from London to Nairobi en route to central Virginia.⁴ Although unattributed, the krater has been dated based on style to the late sixth century BCE.⁵ With a duel on one side, and a wedding scene on the other, this impressive and well-preserved object offers an opportunity to explore the connections between its two iconographic themes.⁶ Although the figures are not named by inscriptions, it seems likely – based on known parallels – that each of the two sides is related to the Trojan War, and thus to the poems

* My sincere thanks are extended to The Fralin Art Museum, University of Virginia for permission to publish the krater and to John Boardman and the late Robert L. Wilkins for providing photographs. The Institute of Classical Studies, London, kindly provided the necessary resources and space to do the writing. With Trojan matters I have benefited from discussions with Jenny Clay and Anna Stelow; and for help with Thetis and Peleus, I thank Renee Gondek. It is a pleasure to dedicate this piece to Alan Shapiro – a dear friend and a true source of inspiration.

1 Shapiro 1994a, 5.

2 Inv. no. 1988.62, purchased with funds from the Volunteer Board Endowment and Curriculum Support Funds. The museum, formerly the Bayly Art Museum and more recently known simply as University of Virginia Art Museum, received its current name in 2012.

3 CVA Northampton, Castle Ashby, 12–13 pls. 20.3–4, 21.5. The vase was not included in Beazley 1929. On the collection, see further CVA Northampton, Castle Ashby, v and Boardman 1980.

4 *Christie, Manson and Woods, London, Sale Catalogue*, 2 July 1980, 123–125 lot 81 and 13 December 1988, 69 lot 374. The theft was documented in the *The Wall Street Journal* (see Lowenthal 1989). The krater eventually found its way to Charlottesville, Virginia, where it “arrived in good condition.” However, according to museum records, it almost immediately underwent conservation, even though it had been repaired prior to arrival in America.

5 A close parallel of shape and style, though not the exact iconography, is the slightly larger krater in a German private collection: Korzus 1984, 95–96 no. 29.

6 See Smith 2004. The scenes were also described in detail by John J. Dobbins in the *Bayly Art Museum Newsletter* 5, Fall 1989; and one side by Gondek 2011, 77–78 fig. 1.

of the Epic Cycle.⁷ With a humble nod in the direction of *Myth into Art: Poet and Painter in Classical Greece* (Shapiro 1994a), this homage to Alan Shapiro uses the Castle Ashby krater to take another look at the association between text and image, and the strategies employed by vase painters to convey heroic narratives, messages, and meanings.

The Duel

One side of the krater (fig. 1) is dominated by a battle scene with two female spectators. At the center of the composition, two well-armed males are engaged in a duel, while a third warrior, who is also still armed, has fallen to the ground between them. The upright male figures strike typical aggressive striding poses, each with one arm raised to hold up a spear and the other arm supporting a shield. The shields are rotated towards the viewer (one from the outside perspective, one from the inside) and are clearly of different types (Boeotian on the left, round on the right).⁸ Meanwhile, the fallen figure, presumably injured, is down but not totally out; he supports his weight on one elbow as he struggles to lift his shield (foreshortened, but probably of round hoplite type) that is emblazoned with a bull's head device. With one last gasp, he uses what little strength he has left to point his spear in the direction of the enemy. His exhaustion is also apparent by the position of his head, now turned away from the action and inclined slightly toward the ground. The Corinthian helmets of all three warriors are pulled down to cover their faces and heads, but at least two of the figures are visibly bearded. This well-structured central composition is framed by two draped women who stand facing the fight and “make gestures of encouragement and alarm” as they watch the events unfold.⁹ It is important to note that each woman makes physical contact (at least from the outside viewer's perspective) with the soldier closest to her. The painter is indicating that each, in her own way, is also taking part in this horrific and bloody business.

Based on comparisons of this scene with others in both black and red figure, it seems highly likely that the episode being shown here is the duel between Achilles and Memnon over the fallen body of Antilochos.¹⁰ The story of their confrontation is told in the *Aithiopis*, a lost epic poem of uncertain date and author, but considered a part of the Epic Cycle.¹¹ Chronologically, the contents of the poem begin where the *Iliad*

⁷ For the distinction between Homeric and “cyclic” poems, see Burgess 2001, 7–46 esp. 35–44 with regard to imagery.

⁸ Boardman 1974, 207. Cf. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1492; CVA Munich 8, pl. 416.

⁹ Christie, Manson and Woods, London, *Sale Catalogue*, 2 July 1980, 123–125 lot 81.

¹⁰ As opposed to a “generic” battle scene, as recently suggested by Saunders (2008, 87 n. 21), due to the lack of inscriptions. On duels in Attic black figure, see now Alexandridou 2011a, 60–61.

¹¹ Burgess 1997, on the poem; Ready 2007, 120; Anderson 1997, 11–12. See Schefold 1992, 265–278, on its relation to art, and Hedreen 2001, 173 n. 170.



Fig. 1: Athenian black-figure column krater, University of Virginia. Side: Duel of Achilles and Memnon.

leaves off. According to Proclus' summary, the poem recounts the arrival of Penthesileia and Memnon, both of whom have come from far off lands (Black Sea and Egypt) to fight on the side of the Trojans. As described by Karl Schefold, their timely appearance corresponded to "the final challenge of the Greeks ... to prove themselves in battle against two actual children of gods."¹² In both instances, however, it falls on the mightiest of all Greek warriors, Achilles, to fight such formidable and exotic opponents. But the painted pot surface can offer only a glimpse of such a large and complex tale.¹³ The *Aithiopis* contains the stories of their deaths, and concludes with Achilles' own death, along with his burial and funeral games. Memnon was the son of the goddess Eos (Dawn) and Tithonos (Priam's brother), and as a child had been relocated to Ethiopia by his mother. A Trojan by birth, he is seen on vases in the presence of Africans, an overt visual reference to his adopted homeland. He is said to have killed Antilochos, the son of Nestor and friend of Achilles, who had also taken part in the chariot race during the funeral games for Patroklos.¹⁴ The death of Antilochos at the

¹² He goes on to claim that the large quantity of scenes in art deriving from the poem indicate it was "every bit as popular as the *Iliad*" (Schefold 1992, 267). Cf. Woodford 1993, 92 and Heiden 2008, 228 n. 62.

¹³ Cf. Junker 2012, ch. 1, on Achilles and Patroklos. On Achilles and Penthesileia, see Fantuzzi 2012, 267–287.

¹⁴ Carpenter 1991, 206; Shapiro 1994a, 32–33; see Griffith 1998b, on his origins.

hands of Memnon is mentioned in the *Odyssey* (4.187–188; 11.522) and also at least once in lyric poetry.¹⁵ Other literary sources for the duel between Achilles and Memnon include Pindar, who mentions it multiple times (e.g., *Ol.* 2.82), as well as Aeschylus, whose lost play, *Psychostasia*, is thought to have dealt with the subject.¹⁶

The duel of Achilles and Memnon was not uncommon in Archaic art, and has been recognized on the vases of Athens, Corinth, and elsewhere, as well as in architectural sculpture (Siphnian Treasury east frieze), and on long-lost treasures (i.e., Chest of Kypselos, Throne of Bathykles at Amyklai).¹⁷ The earliest extant example may well be a seventh-century “Melian” amphora in Athens, displaying on its neck a pair of dueling warriors with a set of armor situated at their feet.¹⁸ If this vase reveals the Achilles-Memnon confrontation, the painter gives Antilochos a symbolic rather than literal form; in fact, in some later scenes on vases, the defeated soldier is excluded altogether.¹⁹ The names of the fighting figures on the Castle Ashby krater are not inscribed, making their exact identification and the specific skirmish difficult, if not impossible to determine.²⁰ On other vases, however, the characters’ names are inscribed, providing adequate comparisons with the figures shown here.²¹ On Attic black-figure vases assigned to the Tyrrhenian Group alone, no fewer than twenty-five have been identified as portrayals of the armed combat between Memnon and Achilles, “flanked by their mothers Thetis and Eos.”²² Jeroen Kluiver believes that even the less certain scenes belonging to this distinctive shape group (i.e., unin-

¹⁵ Burgess 2004, 34; Strauss 2006, 161–164.

¹⁶ Burgess 2004, 34 n. 6 (lists Pindar’s references); Schefold 1992, 268; and LIMC I (1981) 175–179, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). For the *Psychostasia* in art, see LIMC VI (1992) 452–453 nos. 14–25, s.v. Memnon (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), esp. no. 18 (London, British Museum B 639), a black-figure lekythos attributed to the Sappho Painter (ca. 490 BCE) combining the subject with the duel. Also, Wünsche 2006a, 253.

¹⁷ The examples have been collected and cited in various studies: LIMC VI (1992) 453–455 nos. 26–56, s.v. Memnon (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); LIMC I (1981) 175–181 nos. 807–844, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Cook 1983, 10, Table 3; Carpenter 1991, 206; Schefold 1992, 268–270; Burgess 2001, 180 and 185; Wünsche 2006a. On the Siphnian Treasury, see Schefold 1992, 237; Watrous 1982 (who identifies the fallen figure as Sarpedon); Erskine 2001, 59 n. 66; and Wünsche 2006a, 253–255. On the chest: Pollitt 1990, 210–215, esp. 214 (Pausanias 5.17.5–5.19.10); and Snodgrass 2006. On the throne: Pausanias 3.18.12; Pipili 1987, 82. For Etruscan art, see Lowenstam 2008, 128–136.

¹⁸ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3961: LIMC I (1981) 180 no. 846, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). See also Burgess 2004, 36–38, and n. 17 (for bibliography) and 2001, 40–42.

¹⁹ Burgess 2001, 41–42 and 2004, 38.

²⁰ Cf. Albersmeier 2008, 53 (A. Kokkinou).

²¹ Beazley 1986, 83. For the names of Memnon and Achilles inscribed on Athenian vases, see, e.g., Athens, Acropolis Museum 2611a.b (black-figure epinetron fr.; LIMC VI [1992] 454 no. 39, s.v. Memnon [A. Kossatz-Deissmann]); and London, British Museum E 468 (red-figure volute krater, Berlin Painter; LIMC VI [1992] 454 no. 44, s.v. Memnon [A. Kossatz-Deissmann]). See also the Chalcidian black-figure amphora of ca. 550 BC (Feoli Collection: LIMC I [1981] 835 no. 29, s.v. Antilochos I [A. Kossatz-Deissmann]), where the names of all the figures, including Antilochos, are clearly inscribed.

²² Kluiver 2003, 87–88, 138.

scribed, nonsense inscriptions) should be considered examples of the same dueling pair. The Tyrrhenian series of images is dated ca. 565–560 BCE, just slightly later than the earliest black-figure version in Athens.²³

A distinctive feature of many representations of the Achilles-Memnon duel, among them our own, is the involvement of their mothers, Thetis and Eos, as witnesses to the battle, a detail already noted by past scholars. It is their animated presence here that helps to confirm the event being shown.²⁴ According to Pausanias (5.19.1), in his description of the Chest of Kypselos: “There is also the fight between Achilles and Memnon, whose mothers stand by them.”²⁵ Interpretation of the iconographic function of the mothers in the scenes on vases has been tied to their divinity, which serves to elevate the conflict and the strength of the opponents; to their ability to focus the viewer’s attention on the epic theme; to the expression of the dramatic details of the (textual) narrative (i.e., fate, irony, violence); and, as Shapiro himself has put it: “it was a favorite device of Attic painters to make heroes’ mothers witness their sons’ death in combat (e.g., Eos, goddess of the Dawn, whose son Memnon was slain by Achilles).”²⁶ To be sure, the frantic mothers lend an air of pathos and a dose of grief, and offer the viewer a fuller picture of the characters and circumstances, not only leading up to this moment but also following it. The specifics are too many to capture at once; thus the painter selects just enough of them to make the story recognizable, the composition visually pleasing, and the narrative convincing.²⁷ On some vases, one or both of the mothers may be shown with wings, but this particular detail is highly inconsistent among the known examples, and it was not deemed necessary by the painter of the krater.²⁸ Whatever their form or gestures, the flanking females play a consistent role, here as elsewhere, in the struggle of their enemy sons.²⁹

The rise in popularity of the duel in art has been attributed by some scholars to the possible later date of the poem, and to the assumption that the *Aithiopis* “narrated just one version of the tale within a multifarious and long-standing tradition about the Trojan War.”³⁰ The fight between Memnon and Achilles may well have been known to the author of the *Iliad*, even though it does not occur in the poem. According to Proclus’ summary, Memnon killed Antilochos, and then Achilles killed Memnon, and, to quote Jonathan Burgess: “Some artistic representations of the duel between

23 Kluiver 2003, 88 n. 17 (Athens, Acropolis Museum 586), attributed to Sophilos. The Tyrrhenian vases have been discovered, expectedly, in Etruscan contexts.

24 Robertson/Boardman 1979, 13 (see above n. 3) and Boardman 1974, 230.

25 Trans. by Pollitt (1990, 214). See also Burkert 1985, 121, who mentions this in relation to the gods as “divine onlookers” and Pucci 1998, 69–80.

26 Schefold 1992, 269–270; Woodford 1993, 92; Lissarrague 2001, 84 and 88; Hedreen 2001, 173; Shapiro 1994a, 76. For the sake of textual comparison, see Loudon 2006, 14–52.

27 Cf. Shapiro 1994a, 7–10. See also the range of examples in Blome 2001.

28 Woodford 1993, 92–93.

29 Friis Johansen 1967, 279–280.

30 Burgess 1997, 2 and 2004, 33–34.

Achilles and Memnon place the corpse of Antilochos on the ground between them, which suggests that Achilles was present on the battlefield and killed Memnon immediately after the death of Antilochos.”³¹ The fight has been regarded as an act of vengeance towards the pro-Trojan Memnon on the part of the Greek hero, Achilles, for the death of his close friend Antilochos (himself often compared with Patroklos).³² Regardless of the chain of events, the story’s exact ancient transmission, or the reasons the fight occurred in the first place, it is clear that Archaic Greek vase painters working in Athens developed a conventional method of presenting the scene and its participants. As is evident on the Castle Ashby krater, Antilochos need not be well and truly dead for Achilles to take part in the fight. A final point, and one already noted by Andrew Erksine, is that the Trojans are not normally shown in artistic reproductions as foreign.³³ Even Memnon, with his multicultural Trojan-Ethiopian roots, is normally indistinguishable from other figures.

The Wedding

The second side of the krater (fig. 2) depicts a wedding procession, and again none of the figures has an accompanying inscription. Nevertheless, based on our reading of the duel on the other side of the same vessel, there is every reason to believe that this is a representation of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.³⁴ Following their difficult courtship and an extravagant ceremony, the union of the mortal and the sea nymph resulted in the birth of Achilles, the greatest Greek hero of the Trojan War.³⁵ The future parents of Achilles are identified by name on the Sophilos dinos in London and on the François Vase in Florence (both Athenian black-figure examples dating to the first half of the sixth century) as they greet an entourage of divine wedding guests.³⁶ The Castle Ashby krater, however, shows a different stage of the marital proceedings: the procession. Here the bride and the groom are riding in a chariot pulled by four horses. Also present is a draped male lyre player who moves in step with the couple, and two well-draped women who face them. One of the women holds up torches in both hands, while her companion gestures in the direction of the chariot. If this is intended

³¹ Burgess 1997, 3. See also Wünsche 2006b. On the version by Exekias in Philadelphia (3442), with the duel on one side and the death of Achilles on the other, see Beazley 1986, 63 pl. 69.1–2. For the corpse of Antilochos at the duel, see LIMC I (1981) 835 no. 27–32, s.v. Antilochos I (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

³² For the theory and criticisms of it, see Burgess 1997. Also, Wünsche 2006a, 253.

³³ Erskine 2001, 82–83 and Bérard 2000, esp. 395–402.

³⁴ For this scene and its identification, see also Gondek 2011, 78.

³⁵ The pursuit of Peleus by Thetis is more frequently shown by vase painters than the procession: Kaeser 2006, 89–99.

³⁶ Boardman 1974, figs. 24 (Sophilos) and 46.5 (François). See further Woodford 1993, 14–17 and Oakley/Sinos 1993, 24 n. 11.



Fig. 2: Athenian black-figure column krater, University of Virginia.
Side: Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

to be an extract from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, then the lyre player must be Apollo (so named on other vases), playing music to accompany the procession. The two women may well be the mothers of the happy couple, Endeis and Doris, one of whom carries the requisite torches.³⁷ On an Athenian black-figure amphora from Eretria, the names of Peleus and Thetis are inscribed, as is the name of Nereus, the bride's father, who stands beside their chariot; but no such figure has been included by the painter here.

The wedding procession, which moved from the bride's family home to the groom's house, was an integral part of the ancient Greek ceremony, whose details are known based on both literary and visual evidence. Although the groom did not always take part in the procession, black-figure vase painters regularly include the groom, standing in a chariot next to his bride, who tugs at her veil using a conventional gesture associated with the ritual unveiling (*anakalypteria*).³⁸ It has been posited that in representations of the marriage procession, such as ours, where the participants are

³⁷ Robertson/Boardman 1979 (see above n. 3); Smith 2004, 76. For torches, see Gondek 2011, 77 and Oakley/Sinos 1993, 26. On their mythology and the textual references, see LIMC VII (1994) 251–252, s.v. Peleus (R. Vollkommer).

³⁸ Oakley/Sinos 1993, 25–26 (*anakalypteria*), 26–30 (processions). See further Goff 2004, 30–31, 116 and Demand 1994, 11–14.

not identified, the “anonymity of the figures allows the scene to float between the mortal and divine levels.”³⁹ Another suggestion given for vases where the attendant deities can be identified by their attributes (i.e., Apollo, Hermes, Dionysos), but the betrothed riding in the chariot are exhibited as a conventional bride and groom, is that the couple would have been understood in each instance to be Peleus and Thetis.⁴⁰ Whether mortal or divine, the importance of the matrimonial proceedings is further increased by the chariot, the high-status vehicle of transport portrayed most often in black-figure procession iconography.⁴¹ It is also quite possible that vases of certain shapes (e.g., kraters, dinoi) decorated with wedding scenes might have functioned within the context of the occasion itself, with the Archaic examples assumed to have been used during a wedding banquet (or symposion) and/or given as presents; in such instances Peleus and Thetis – whose nuptials we witness – would be viewed as “mythological paradigms.”⁴²

Myth into Art

With the figures and scenes on both sides of the krater proposed, it is reasonable to consider the visual and thematic program of the vase as a whole. In order to do so, we will begin top-down, by looking at the vessel from above in order to share the perspective of a person standing at the krater to collect mixed wine from it (fig. 3). The frieze of animals decorating the rim at once process and confront in pairs. Although not moving in a unified manner or direction, there is a certain logic to their arrangement. Each facing pair represents a pending animal combat, comprised of an advantaged winner (feline) and disadvantaged loser (stag). Two additional stag pairs are separated by the handle plates, yet it could be said that one is moving uniformly in the same direction and the other in the opposite one. The themes of aggression and conflict/procession and mobility, detectable amongst these animal groupings, are identical to those occurring below in the multi-figure compositions on both sides of the vase.

The most obvious link, however, between the two figure-decorated sides of the black-figure krater is the epic hero extraordinaire, namely Achilles. The marriage of his parents, on the one hand, was a necessity that culminated in his birth; the death of a friend and the slaying of an enemy, on the other, both foreshadowed his demise. The juxtaposition of the two sides can also be articulated by a series of more general terms

³⁹ Oakley/Sinos 1993, 29. This is arguably in keeping with general ideas about marriage understood during this period; Vernant 1990, 55–77.

⁴⁰ Carpenter 1991, 197.

⁴¹ Kaeser 2006, 99–100; Manakidou 1994.

⁴² Webster 1972, 106; Mertens 2010, 70–73, for the possibility applied to a neck amphora by Exekias (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.230.14a,b). On pursuit scenes, see Lewis 2002, 199–205 (and n. 35 above), and on ancient perceptions of wedding scenes, see Blundell 2004.

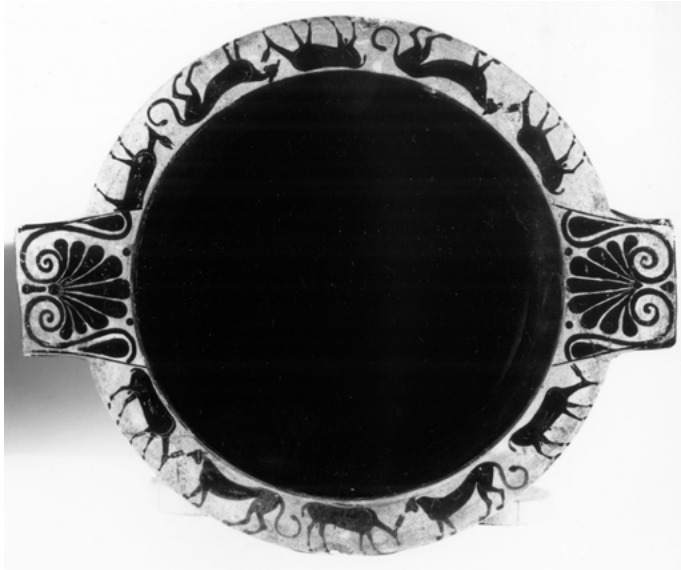


Fig. 3: Athenian black-figure column krater, University of Virginia. Top rim: Animal Frieze.

(i.e., birth/death; peace/war; happiness/sadness; celebration/violence; processional movement/static action). Furthermore, the addition of the mothers on *both* sides of the vessel allows the viewer to comprehend the separate yet combined narratives temporally (i.e., by generations and by chronology) and on an additional emotional level.⁴³ By portraying the maternal figures with the same dress and similar gestures, the painter highlights their collective role as mothers and mourners and encourages the ancient drinker at a symposium or wedding banquet to do so as well.⁴⁴

Another aspect of the iconography that might be said to serve a unifying purpose is the pairing of chariot and battle scenes on the same vessel.⁴⁵ A useful comparison with the Castle Ashby krater can be made with an Athenian black-figure amphora in Rhodes published in detail by Anna Lemos.⁴⁶ On one side of the vase is a duel over a fallen warrior framed by two women; on the other, is a chariot scene with a pair of male riders and both male and female attendants. The combative pair is surely

⁴³ Both mothers of the dueling pair outlived their sons. For Eos mourning over the corpse of her son, see Blome 2001, 136; and Vatican, Vatican Museum 16598, from Vulci: LIMC III (1986) 784 no. 327, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss).

⁴⁴ Smith 2004, 76. On “combined” scenes with Trojan themes, see Anderson 1997, 192–208.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., Munich, Antikensammlungen vase n. 8, above; and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 21.88.76 (CVA 3, 18–19 pl. 23).

⁴⁶ Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 1346, attributed to the Princeton Painter by Beazley (ca. 550–540); CVA Rhodes Archaeological Museum 1, pls. 12–13, and frontispiece (color).

Achilles and Memnon over the corpse of Antilochos, with Thetis and Eos looking on.⁴⁷ Rather than combining the fight with the wedding, as on our krater, the painter of the amphora chooses instead to depict a warrior's departure. Although Lemos believes the departure to be "an everyday-life scene," this interpretation seems questionable with the appearance of Achilles and Memnon on the same vessel.⁴⁸ Regardless, there is a distinct visual link to be made between the duel and the chariots, and this combination appears with variations on other Archaic black-figure vases made in Athens. Interestingly, and in numerous cases, these subjects are expressed in terms of pairs or couples (i.e., warriors, bride/groom, mothers, animals) to such an extent as to merit further exploration.

Finally, when considering the present state of the study of Homeric/Epic Cycle/Trojan War iconography, it seems we may comfortably have moved on from the matching up of text and image. How accurately ancient painters followed Homer, or other writers, or if they did it at all for that matter, has ceased to be the issue for modern minds that it once was.⁴⁹ And, in place of the current obsession with archaeological context, something that can almost certainly never be recovered for the Castle Ashby krater, an equally profitable exercise would be to consider how Greek vase painters interpreted the "mythological material they inherit," in much the same way as the poets themselves did.⁵⁰ Just as it has been argued that ancient myths were "flexible" and the versions ever-evolving, it is likely that vase painters, working in a visual medium, adapted the stories for which they themselves may have known multiple versions or at least one or two variations. While Homer provided a particular account, his text need not have been the sole authority for artists, who were involved in their own creative business venture.⁵¹ Modern conceptions of Homeric epic range from Alice Oswald's poetic retelling of the *Iliad*, which capitalizes on laments for dead soldiers, to the sculptor Anthony Caro's, *The Trojan War* series, a "battlefield of abstract portraiture" designed "to find a language to explore and express the full range of human emotion and outlook."⁵² Like the modern writer or artist, ancient vase painters brought Homeric epic to life in their own manner, using the techniques, conventions, and styles familiar and available to them. They were storytellers in their own right, and not simple translators of known or lost

⁴⁷ CVA Rhodes Archaeological Museum 1, 29–30 with comparanda.

⁴⁸ CVA Rhodes Archaeological Museum 1, 29. On departures, see Shapiro 1990a and Matheson 2005.

⁴⁹ Friis Johansen 1967; Fittschen 1969; Cook 1983 (esp. 1, "four possible relationships"); Ahlberg-Cornell 1992; Lowenstam 1992, 1997.

⁵⁰ Slatkin 1991, 2.

⁵¹ Lowenstam 2008, 3, and 4–7 on the connection of painters to poets. According to Snodgrass (1998), the artists were less acquainted with the Homeric epics than has routinely been thought. See also Shapiro 1990a, 113–114 and here n. 49.

⁵² Oswald 2011, 1: "This version, trying to retrieve the poem's *enargeia*, which takes away its narrative, as you might lift the roof off a church in order to remember what you're worshipping;" cf. Clay 2011, 29 n. 42. On Caro: Spurling/Bryant 1994, 3 and 10.

literature.⁵³ For the painters and potters at work in the ateliers of Athens, the objects they produced afforded opportunities to develop “the narrative technique of making these stories immediately recognizable and increasingly complex, within the confines of the pot surface.”⁵⁴ For decades, vase painting served as the ideal mechanism for converting myth into art.

⁵³ Cf. Clay 2011, a fascinating study of visualized narrative in the *Iliad*; and the accompanying website (<http://www.homerstrojantheater.org/>). Also relevant in this regard is Heiden 2008.

⁵⁴ See n. 1, above.

J. Michael Padgett

The Serpent in the Garden: Herakles, Ladon, and the Hydra

The identification of mythical subjects in Attic vase painting is often facilitated by the repetition of standard compositions, but false cognates can lead to misinterpretation. No one knows this better than Alan Shapiro, whose distinguished career we celebrate and whose friendship is a cherished possession. This short study in his honor concerns the artistic intention and viewer reception of certain depictions of Herakles battling a monstrous, multi-headed serpent.

In Greek art, a hero battling a giant snake with multiple heads is first encountered engraved on the catch plate of a Boeotian bronze fibula of the late eighth or early seventh century, itself reflecting Near Eastern narrative images with roots reaching back to the Sumerian tale of the god Ninurta combating a seven-headed serpent.¹ The scene on the fibula has nearly always been interpreted as Herakles' battle with the Hydra, the malevolent, multi-headed serpent that lurked at the spring of Amymone, at Lerna. This identification is certainly correct, for from this modest beginning the representation of the second of Herakles' canonical Labors followed a basic scheme. Hesiod (*Theog.* 313–318) tells us that Herakles was helped in this fight by his nephew, Iolaos, and on the fibula he is already present, as is the vicious crab that Hera sent to bedevil Herakles during the battle. By the late seventh century, Herakles and Iolaos are identified by inscriptions on Early Corinthian vases, and the canonical composition was well established, with the hero attacking the Hydra from the left and Iolaos coming in from the right.² The scheme occurs on Tyrrhenian amphoras made in Athens before 550 BCE, and it was repeated, with minor variations, on numerous black-figure works, Attic and non-Attic, of the second half of the century. It occurs on far fewer red-figure vases of the early fifth century, thereafter largely disappearing, though it continued to appear in sculpted depictions of Herakles' Twelve Labors, such as the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.³ In vase painting, most examples,

1 For Herakles and the Hydra, see Brommer 1949, 3–8 and 1986, 12–18; Schauenburg 1971; Amandry/Amyx 1982; Venit 1989; LIMC V (1990) 34–43 pls. 52–60, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.); Grabow 1998, 262–269. For the Boeotian fibula (London, British Museum 3205), see Schweitzer 1971, 214 fig. 126. For a Sumerian plaque with Ninurta fighting the serpent, see Westenholz 2004, 191 no. 160. For the relationship between the myth of Herakles and the Hydra and its Near Eastern parallels, see West 1997, 461, 467–469.

2 Amandry/Amyx 1982, passim; Maffre 1985, 84–85 figs. 1–2. On a splendid Middle Corinthian aryballos in Malibu, Herakles and Iolaos are joined by Hermes, Athena, and Iphikles: Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AE.4; *Getty Handbook* 2002, 55.

3 Ashmole/Yalouris 1967, 25 pl. 152.

whether black-figure or red-figure, agree with Hesiod in having Iolaos present and in having Herakles attack the monster with a sword, though the latter is often replaced with the *harpe*, the distinctive implement also used by Perseus to decapitate Medusa. Sometimes it is Iolaos who wields the *harpe*, as he does on the Boeotian fibula, while Herakles may use his club or bow instead of a sword. Hermes and/or Athena are frequently present. The Hydra may possess the traditional nine heads, but sometimes has as few as seven or as many as twelve. Some ancient authors relate that Herakles defeated the Hydra by cutting off the heads of the snakes while Iolaos quickly cauterized the stumps with a torch, thus preventing them from instantly growing back twofold. Since the torches held by Iolaos apparently do not appear before the last quarter of the sixth century, one wonders if the Hydra's famous power of regeneration was actually a late embellishment of the myth.⁴

On two vases dating to about 510 BCE, Herakles attacks a multi-headed serpent coiled in the branches of a tree, which most scholars have identified as the Hydra. One is a red-figure neck amphora in St. Petersburg that Beazley thought was by an artist close to Euphronios and that now is generally accepted as being by Euphronios himself (fig. 1).⁵ Herakles stands alone on the obverse, drawing his bow to shoot the seven-headed serpent, which is isolated on the reverse. The tree supporting the snake is hung with red fruit. Neither Iolaos nor the crab is present, but that is not unusual. Herakles sometimes is shown attacking the Hydra with a bow, and in one account he first drives it from its lair by pelting it with fiery shafts (ps.-Apollodorus 2.5.2). The tree, however, is a distinctly extraneous element.⁶

⁴ The earliest mentions of the Hydra's regenerative power are by Euripides (*Ion* 190–200; *HF* 1274–1275). The weapon carried by Iolaos on Louvre E 851, a Tyrrhenian amphora of ca. 565–550 BCE, has been described as a torch (LIMC V [1990], 36 no. 1998, s.v. Herakles [J. Boardman et al.]), but in Maffre's careful description it is identified as a sword (Maffre 1985, 93 n. 23). The torches may have figured in a sculpted depiction of the Labor (a metope?) on the Temple of Apollo at Delphi (Euripides, *Ion* 190–200). They are, in fact, rarely depicted in vase painting. On a black-figure lekythos in Tel Aviv (Eretz Israel Museum, MH P8.98), ca. 500 BCE, attributed by me to the Edinburgh Painter, Herakles attacks the Hydra with the *harpe* while Iolaos brandishes two torches; Hermes and the crab also are present: Westenholz 2004, 193 no. 162. Of similar date and composition, but without Hermes and the crab, is a red-figure amphora of type A in the White-Levy collection: Zimmermann 1975; Maffre 1985, 89 fig. 10; Bothmer 1990, 153–54 no. 115. Zimmermann attributed the amphora to the early Kleophrades Painter, a judgment supported by J. Robert Guy in an unpublished paper delivered at the “Glories of the Past” symposium, New York, November 11, 1991. Guy came to this conclusion by a different path, for he recognized that the amphora is by the same artist responsible for the majority of the vases in Beazley's Pezzino Group, whom he believes is the early Kleophrades Painter. I prefer to keep the Pezzino Painter, as we should call him, separate from the Kleophrades Painter and to credit him with the White-Levy amphora.

⁵ St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum B 2351: ARV² 18.2; BAPD 200089; Brommer 1949, 29 pl. 3; *Euphronios*, no. 17; Schefold 1992, 102–103 pls. 117–118.

⁶ On the Olympia metope, one of the coils of the Hydra is apparently looped over a tree branch: Ashmole/Yalouris 1967, pl. 152.



Fig. 1: Attic red-figure neck amphora with twisted handles, attributed to Euphronios. Detail of the reverse: Ladon in the Golden Apple Tree. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum B 2351. Photo: Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets. © The State Hermitage Museum.

The tree appears again on a second vase, a black-figure skyphos of the Sub-Krokotos Group, in Athens.⁷ The scenes on either side are nearly identical, with Herakles approaching the serpent from the right while Athena stands at the left, extending a hand toward the monster, whose nine heads are interspersed among the leafy branches. On the obverse, Herakles seizes one of the snake heads and prepares to club it; Athena strides forward as though to assist. On the reverse (fig. 2), Athena watches calmly as Herakles approaches the tree, carrying in his left arm a pile of small objects, another of which, painted white, he holds in his extended right hand. This has been interpreted as Herakles attacking the Hydra with stones,⁸ an otherwise unprecedented strategy that we would not expect from the heavily armed hero. Stones are the

⁷ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 416: BAPD 14957; CVA Athens 4, pl. 32; LIMC V (1990) 38 no. 2030 pl. 57, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.).

⁸ Ure 1955, 92; CVA Athens 4, 44. Brommer instead – and even less convincingly – suggested that Herakles holds either a magic drug (1949, 3) or food (1986, 15).



Fig. 2: Black-figure skyphos, attributed to the Sub-Krokotos Group. Reverse: Herakles picking the Golden Apples. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 416. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Cultures and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

weapons of rude, uncivilized foes like the centaurs or the Minotaur. Moreover, the white “stone” is lobed on top, like an apple, and Herakles holds it on his palm, as though plucking it from the tree. It seems clear, in fact, that what Herakles is actually doing is collecting the Golden Apples from the Garden of the Hesperides, his Eleventh Labor. On the obverse, he first subdues the monstrous protector of the Apples, the serpent Ladon, offspring of Keto and Phorkys.⁹ A red-figure hydria by the Syracuse Painter, of about 470–460 BCE, shows the aftermath, with Herakles cradling the apples in the same way as he leaves the Garden, the locale identified by three female nymphs – the Hesperides – and by Ladon twined round the fruit-laden tree.¹⁰ The Syracuse Painter gave the serpent a single head, and indeed the principal reason that Frank Brommer, Maria Pipili, and others have resisted identifying the scenes on the vases in Athens and St. Petersburg as the encounter between Herakles and Ladon was that it was believed that in all other depictions of the subject, the giant reptile was represented with only one head, or at most two.¹¹ This, however, is no longer the case.

⁹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 333–336. For Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides, see Brommer 1942b and 1986, 49–54; LIMC V (1990) 100–111 pls. 102–107, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.); Schauenburg 1989; Grabow 1998, 123–127.

¹⁰ Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois 70-8-4: Moon/Berge 1979, 177 no. 100.

¹¹ Brommer consistently identified the scenes on both vases as Herakles and the Hydra: Brommer 1949, 3–8 pls. 2–3; 1973, 80 no. B1 [St. Petersburg], and 80 no. 28 [Athens]; 1986, 15. Pipili also called

On two other vases, Ladon is clearly represented with multiple heads. The earlier of the two is a Tyrrhenian amphora in Princeton, with three animal friezes and depictions of two of Herakles' Labors.¹² On the obverse, the hero captures the Keryneian Hind, his Third Labor (color fig. 4). As Herakles seizes the deer by the antlers, he is watched from the left by the seated Zeus, thunderbolt in hand, and by the striding Athena, whose upraised arm the vase painter neglected to provide with a spear. Rushing in from the right with winged boots and drawn bows are the Hind's divine protectors, Apollo and Artemis, each wearing a crested helmet.¹³

The scene on the reverse shows Herakles battling a multi-headed serpent (fig. 3).¹⁴ The monster has nine heads, like the Hydra, and Herakles attacks it in the same way he does the Hydra in so many early depictions, approaching from the left, sword in hand and clutching one of the snake heads. In this case, however, the serpent is in a tree hung with white apples, and any doubt that the setting is the Garden of the Hesperides is dispelled by the appearance, at the far right, of two of the guardian nymphs themselves. With white, upraised limbs they are helping Atlas to support the vault of heaven, rendered as a black slab edged with white.¹⁵ To the left of this trio of figures, Herakles is approached by a woman and a bearded man, the latter dressed in a white chiton and red himation and proffering a wreath of victory. This is surely Herakles' father, Zeus, who is shown wearing similar garments on the obverse. The woman, then, is likely to be Hera, whose hatred of Herakles was a source of torment throughout his life. Here she gestures in alarm – or perhaps resigned admiration – as

the serpent on the Athens skyphos the Hydra (CVA Athens 4, 44), and Boardman agreed: LIMC V (1990) 38 no. 2030, s.v. Herakles. Schefold identified the serpents in both St. Petersburg and Athens as the Hydra (Schefold 1992, 102–103). For a two-headed Ladon, cf. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 3261, a black-figure lekythos by the Cactus Painter, where Herakles again cradles the apples as on the Athens skyphos: Haspels 1936, 198 no. 2 pl. 18.1; Brommer 1942b, 109 fig. 2; LIMC V (1990) 102 no. 2692 pl. 102, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.); Carpenter 1991, fig. 211. Pherekydes (FGrH 3 F 16.17) said that the snake, which he never names, had a hundred heads.

12 Princeton University Art Museum 2001-218, Carl Otto von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial Collection Fund. Height 41.4 cm. Padgett 2007; Mommsen 2009, 206–207 figs. 9–10, color pl. 14.

13 There are at least two other Tyrrhenian amphoras where the helmeted Artemis and Apollo again rush in with drawn bows. On Tarquinia RC 1043 they attack the children of Niobe (not Tityos, as Beazley thought: ABV 97.32; BAPD 310032), while on Louvre E 864 their victim is, indeed, Tityos (ABV 97.33; BAPD 310033). Outside the Tyrrhenian Group, Apollo is seldom, if ever, represented helmeted by vase painters, but in a roughly contemporary bronze cult statue from Thessaly he wears both helmet and cuirass: Intzesiloglou 2002, 111, 115 pl. 30.

14 The obverse, with the Keryneian Hind, is defined by the central placement of a palmette quatrefoil in the center of the second animal frieze, where it is flanked by sirens; and by the group above of a sphinx framed by sirens. These creatures appear nowhere else in the three animal friezes, which otherwise are filled with panthers, lions, goats, rams, and bulls.

15 Mommsen (2009) noted the close similarity of this trio of figures on the Princeton vase to those on the black-figure neck amphora Munich 1540, where two nude nymphs support the flexed arms of a giant, whom Mommsen likewise recognized as Atlas.

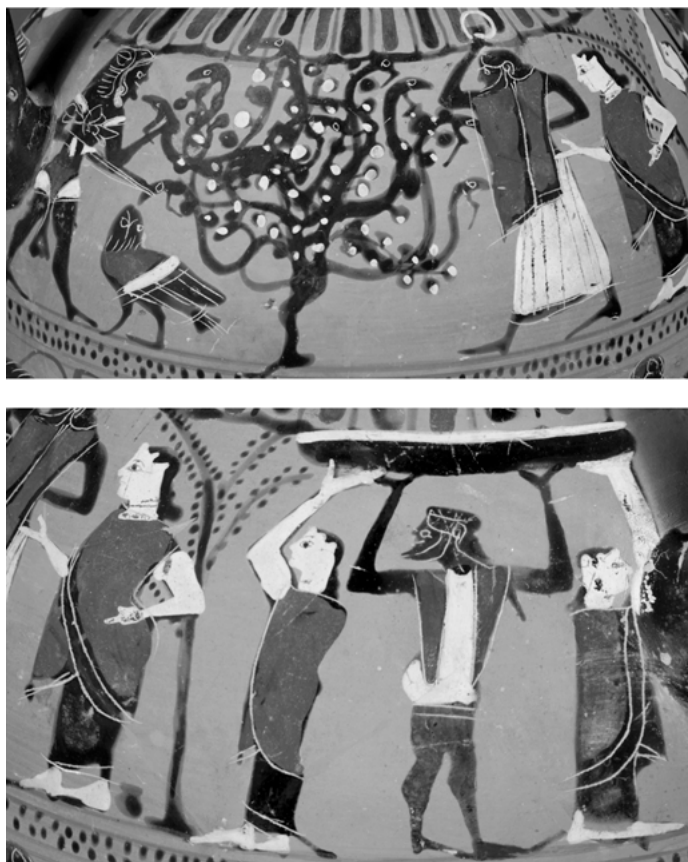


Fig. 3: Tyrrhenian amphora, attributed to the Guglielmi Painter. Details of the reverse: Herakles battling Ladon, Zeus and Hera; Atlas and two Hesperids. Princeton University Art Museum, Carl Otto von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial Collection Fund, 2001-218.

the hero, having traveled literally to the ends of the earth, nears the completion of his Labors. As on the obverse, Athena, too, is present, but in the form of an owl. In this avian form, she stands by Herakles' legs in the same spot that, in images of the fight with the Hydra, is often reserved for the malevolent crab.

The reeded mouth, the choice of ornament, the multiple animal friezes, and the rather crude draftsmanship identify the Princeton amphora as the work of the Guglielmi Painter, who was active late in the second quarter of the sixth century.¹⁶ As such,

¹⁶ Carpenter's attempts to lower the chronology of Tyrrhenian amphoras and move their production outside Attica have not met with general acceptance: Carpenter, 1982; Kluiver 2003, 15, 19–23, 108–110. For the Guglielmi Painter, see Kluiver 2003, 76–81.

it is by far the oldest known depiction of Herakles battling Ladon and is roughly contemporary with the earliest representations of Herakles together with Atlas.¹⁷ It is clear that in devising a scheme for representing the Eleventh Labor, the artist borrowed from the established iconography of the battle with the Hydra, even giving Ladon the traditional nine heads. The addition of Atlas and the helpful Hesperides fleshes out the narrative while helping distinguish it from that of the Hydra. The artist seems to have had in mind the version of the myth in which Herakles kills the serpent and gathers the apples himself, as described by Sophocles (*Trach.* 1099–1100) and Euripides (*HF* 394–399), rather than the alternative version in which the fruits can be fetched only by Atlas, for whom Herakles briefly stands in as the supporter of the heavens (Pherekydes, FGrH 3 F 16.17). The same is true of the skyphos in Athens and the amphora by Euphronios in St. Petersburg, neither of which any longer can be excluded from the small corpus of representations of Herakles fighting Ladon.

A single, fragmentary vase of exceptional character brings together Herakles' battles with both Ladon and the Hydra (fig. 4). The fragments, formerly divided between Paris and Malibu, now have been united at the J. Paul Getty Museum.¹⁸ The vase is a red-figure volute krater, one of six known to have been painted by the Kleophrades Painter. In the tradition of the black-figure volute kraters of the late sixth century, the body of the Getty krater is all black, with the figure decoration confined to the neck. Both the upper and lower zones of the neck are decorated, which is unusual. The smallness of the figures necessitated some abbreviation and compression of the painter's normal style, but his hand is unmistakable.¹⁹ On one side of the upper neck,

17 Until now, the earliest depictions of Herakles and Atlas have been an Attic lip cup by Nearchos, ca. 560, in a Bern private collection (Jucker 1977, 191–199; Mommsen 2009, 206 fig. 8), and a bronze shield band, ca. 550, in the Antikenmuseum, Basel (Carpenter 1991, fig. 210). The proposed identification of Herakles and Ladon on an unpublished fragment from the Acropolis (AP 840), said to be by Kleitias and dating ca. 560 BCE, is puzzling, since it preserves no portion of either a serpent or a tree: Fales 1963. In several cases, Herakles is represented fighting individual snakes, large and small, but there is no indication – tree, apples, nymphs, Atlas – that his foe is Ladon: LIMC V (1990) 119 nos. 2820–2829 pls. 110–11, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.); Boardman 1996b, 26–29.

18 Beazley knew only the Louvre fragments, G 166 (ARV 186.51; BAPD 201704). For their combination with the Getty fragments (77.AE.11), formerly in the Geneva market, see: Greifenhagen 1972, 24–41 pls. 14–25; Frel 1977, 63–70 figs. 1–12; Brommer 1985, 188, 196–201 figs. 6, 15, 18, 20; *Getty Handbook*, 2002, 72; Mommsen 2009, 203 fig. 5.

19 While the style of the figures on another volute krater in the Getty (84.AE.974) is less “unmistakable” as the work of the Kleophrades Painter, and his authorship has been denied by some scholars, it perhaps should not be denied to him. This remarkable vase has a coral-red body and, in red figure, four deeds of Herakles on the upper neck, including a spirited fight with the Hydra. In *Getty Handbook* 2002, 73, it is suggested that only the side with Herakles and Alkyoneus is by the Kleophrades Painter, while that with the Hydra, the Keryneian Hind, and the Nemean Lion are by a pupil. Cohen feels that “the mediocre draftsmanship and odd details ... are hardly worthy of this supremely gifted ... vase-painter” (Cohen 2006, 67). In a personal communication, Dietrich von Bothmer insisted that a noble artist like the Kleophrades Painter never would have descended to the vulgar representation of the Keryneian



Fig. 4: Attic red-figure volute krater, attributed to the Kleophrades Painter. Details of the reverse: Herakles and Iolaos battling the Hydra; Herakles battling Ladon, Atlas supporting the heavens. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Gift of Gordon McLendon, 77.AE.11.

the Amazons arm themselves for the fight with Herakles on the opposite side. On the side below the arming scene, the entire lower register is devoted to the Rape of Thetis, with the centaur Chiron present to witness his protégé's wooing, and pairs of Nereids running toward their mother, Doris, and their father, Nereus. In the lower register, on

Hind as an antlered donkey, as, indeed, occurs on the Getty krater. These sentiments notwithstanding, and acknowledging a certain casualness in the execution of the figures on the reverse, it seems likely that both sides are from his hand. In such a compressed format we should allow for a certain abbreviation of the artist's usual style, which is not unlike that exhibited on his other volute krater in the Getty (77.AE.11; here fig. 4), and in the athletes on the neck of the pointed amphora Munich 2344 (ARV 182.6; BAPD 201659), for details of which see Wünsche/Knauss 2004, 130 fig. 15.4, 134 fig. 15.11. On the Munich amphora, cf. also the "labyrinthine" meander enclosing saltire-squares with that on the rim of the Getty krater.

the opposite side, are Herakles' fights with the Hydra, Geryon, and Ladon. In the Hydra combat, all that remains of Herakles is his foot, while Iolaos, at the right, is better preserved and is shown assaulting the monster with a single torch (fig. 4, upper detail). In the next group, Herakles has killed the herdsman Eurytion and the dog Orthos and is advancing on the triple-bodied Geryon. Beyond this is the hero's penultimate Labor, the retrieval of the Golden Apples. Herakles cautiously reaches for the gilded fruit, shielding himself with his lion skin from the snapping serpent. Close by, at the right, Atlas stands frontally, his arms akimbo as he shoulders the burden of the sky. The body of the monstrous serpent twines sinuously around the tree, looking very much like its counterpart on Euphronios' amphora in St. Petersburg, painted some twenty years earlier. Since this is the only other red-figure depiction of Ladon with multiple heads – at least three and probably more – we may wonder if the Kleophrades Painter was resurrecting a motif he had seen during his apprenticeship among the Pioneers, itself a reinvention of one that had been dormant since its first appearance nearly half a century earlier on the Tyrrhenian amphora in Princeton. Now that the subject of Euphronios' neck amphora in St. Petersburg has been identified as the fight with Ladon, we have no depiction of Herakles and the Hydra by a Pioneer artist, but it would not be surprising if an example eventually came to light, perhaps by Euphronios himself.

Heide Mommsen

Reflections on Triton*

Triton has a rather bad reputation. The main reason is that he is generally represented wrestling with Herakles, who is renowned for clearing the land from monstrous and dangerous creatures, such as the Nemean lion, the Erymanthian boar, the Cretan bull, Geryon, and many others. Pindar mentions (*Nem.* 3.20–26; cf. *Isthm.* 4.55–57)¹ that Herakles also cleansed the seas from terrible monsters, enabling seafaring up to the “Pillars of Herakles.” Triton, therefore, is generally included in this breed of dangerous and frightening monsters.² Additional reasons are his hybrid nature of half man and half sea dragon,³ and also the epithet δεινός in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (933). Even more kindly disposed discussions judge the struggle between Herakles and Triton as a civilizing act, in which Herakles as ἀλεξίκακος (e.g., Lucian, *Alex.* 4) subdues the rude forces of nature. I would like to suggest that we should see Triton in a different light.

The literary sources on Triton are not very helpful;⁴ his encounter with Herakles, though most popular in vase painting, is not mentioned in any written text. The earliest source on Triton is to be found in Hesiod (*Theog.* 930–933), who describes his genealogy: “And of Amphitrite and the loud-roaring Earth-Shaker was born great wide-ruling Triton, and he owns the depths of the sea, living with his dear mother and the lord his father in their golden house, an awful god.”⁵ This passage is questioned by M. L. West, who regards it as a later addition.⁶ Poseidon and Amphitrite, however,

* My warmest thanks are due to Ursula Hosch who improved my English with much sympathetic understanding. I am also greatly indebted to Joan R. Mertens, Jasper Gaunt, and Nassi Malagardis for their help in providing photographs, and Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou for their friendly assistance.

1 See also Boardman 1989, 192.

2 For this widely held opinion, I mention only Muth 2000, 467–468, who opposes the terrifying archaic sea monsters to the cheerful world of Roman sea deities: “Dort eine Welt furchtbaren Schreckens, hier eine Welt verspielter Heiterkeit und erotischer Ausgelassenheit.” The bibliography on Triton is compiled in LIMC VIII (1997) 69, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio). For a careful discussion of the literary sources and the representations of the struggle with Herakles, see Brize 1980, 66–107, 151–172. Most of the pictures are illustrated in Ahlberg-Cornell 1984. For a survey of the various interpretations, see Wescoat 2012, 158–164. After finishing this article, I realized that Mackay’s understanding (2010, 137–141) of Triton’s struggle with Herakles is largely the same as mine: I take it as a welcome corroboration.

3 For the mixed nature of the fish body, see Mommsen 2002, 227. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius 4.1613–1616.

4 See LIMC VIII (1997) 68, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio); more exhaustive ML 5 (1916–1924) 1150–1207, s.v. Triton, Tritonen (F. R. Dressler).

5 All quoted passages from Hesiod’s *Theogony* are translations by Evelyn-White.

6 West 1966, 414: “The poet seems to be no longer following a Hesiodic original, for Hesiod would surely have put such a figure as Triton, a μέγας and δεινός θεός who lives in the sea, among the descendants of Pontos with Nereus, Phorkys, and Keto; and Poseidon’s daughter Kymopoleia (819) has been forgotten.”

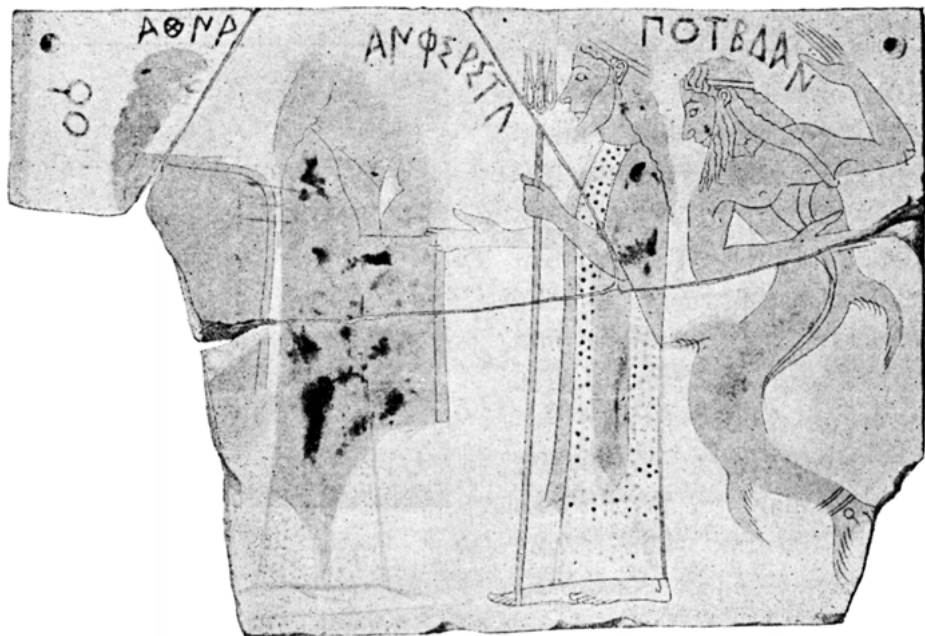


Fig. 1: Corinthian pinax from Penteskouphia, mid-sixth century BCE: Athena, Amphitrite, Poseidon, and Triton. Berlin. After Pernice 1897, 20 fig. 10.

are already known as the respectable parents of Triton in the first half of the sixth century BCE, judging by their depiction on the Corinthian pinax from Penteskouphia (fig. 1).⁷ Amphitrite and Poseidon, both named, stand face to face and join hands; behind Poseidon, the upright swimming Triton moves in the water without touching the ground with his twisted body. Triton is rather small, bearded, and unclothed, as usual. His name, however, is not inscribed. Behind Amphitrite stands a female figure, whose name is given by a joining plaque fragment: Athena. Her presence in this company is difficult to explain,⁸ but we should recall that Athena was the main goddess of Corinth and may be illustrated here in this capacity.⁹

Triton's mother, Amphitrite, is one of Nereus' fifty daughters; all of them are, therefore, Triton's close relatives, and Nereus is his grandfather. Triton's hybrid nature is not necessarily a sign of wickedness; rather, it can also signify a mythical creature endowed with natural wisdom or possessing a special knowledge of the world, namely, the depth of the sea or the future, as did Chiron, Nereus, or Silenos. In general, sea deities have the gift of prophecy, and some of them, including Nereus,

⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F485+F765. Pernice 1897, 19–20 fig. 10; Brize 1980, 85, 155 (II 1); LIMC VIII (1997) 70 no. 21, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio).

⁸ Discussed by Brize 1980, 103–104; Finster-Hotz 1984, 45.

⁹ LIMC VII (1994) 458 no. 112 pl. 360, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon).

Proteus, and Thetis, are also capable of changing into various forms. Triton, however, does not possess the power to shape-shift.¹⁰ His characterization in the passage of the *Theogony* is not negative, except for the epithet δεινός, which is mainly used in the sense of “fearful, terrible.” But this is not the sole meaning: it can also be used in the sense of “marvelously strong, powerful.”¹¹ Which sense applies to Triton remains to be determined.

As a sea deity with the special qualities of that species, Triton appears in various mythical contexts. For example, he helped the Argonauts when they got stuck in the shallows of the Tritonian Lake and showed them the passage to open seas (Herodotus 4.179).¹² For his help, Triton claimed the bronze tripod, which Jason intended to dedicate at Delphi, when he was caught by the north wind and carried away to Libya. Jason gave the tripod to Triton, who set it up in his own sanctuary after having used it for a prophecy referring to the descendants of the Argo’s crew and the Tritonian Lake. The adventure he shared with the Argonauts has not found any expression in art, and the encounter between Herakles and Triton, most popular in black figure, was abandoned in red-figure vase painting,¹³ like many other standardized black-figure themes.

But Triton did not fall into oblivion. He reappears on vase paintings of Theseus’ visit to the golden house of Poseidon and Amphitrite in the depths of the sea. This adventure is reported in literature by Bacchylides 17, Hyginus (*Poet. astr.* 2.5), and Pausanias (1.17.3), but there is never a mention of Triton;¹⁴ Bacchylides and Hyginus report, instead, that Theseus was carried by dolphins. Triton’s presence in the house of his parents, however, is not far fetched and may have been added by the vase painters, provided that Triton was known to have a gentle nature. Well known is the masterpiece by Onesimos in the large tondo of a cup signed by Euphronios as potter,¹⁵ where Amphitrite welcomes her stepson, who is accompanied by his patron goddess, Athena. Triton, identified by his inscribed name, carries Theseus on the palms of his raised hands and is represented as a very small fish-tailed figure in the background on the bottom of the tondo.

10 His manifestation as Eurypylos in Apollonius Rhodius 4.1551–1561 is the usual capacity of a god to appear as a mortal, and is different from the mutations of sea deities.

11 LSJ, s.v. δεινός. See, e.g., Hesiod, *Theog.* 759, where Hypnos and Thanatos are called δεινοὶ θεοὶ although “the former of them roams peacefully over the earth and the sea’s broad back and is kindly to men” (762–763).

12 See also the version of Apollonius Rhodius 4.1597–1622, cf. Brize 1980, 73–76.

13 Brize 1980, 164 quotes three red-figure examples: no. 62 is only a small fragment not to be reconstructed without doubt; no. 63 does not show a fight; no. 64 is from a South Italian krater of the fourth century and shows Herakles trying to kill a beardless sea demon with his club – hardly Triton.

14 LIMC VII (1994) 939–940, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).

15 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 104: ARV² 318.1, 1645; Para 358; LIMC VII (1994) 926 no. 36 pl. 624, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).



Fig. 2: Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Briseis Painter, ca. 480 BCE: Triton with Theseus in the golden house of Poseidon and Amphitrite. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1953 (53.11.4). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Quite different is the picture of the same adventure by the Briseis Painter in New York (fig. 2).¹⁶ It depicts a mighty Triton, who protects the small Theseus between his outstretched arms, in the colonnaded porch of Poseidon's golden house. Dressed in a richly folded chiton and adorned with a diadem, Triton turns back towards his father Poseidon, who holds out his hand giving orders or just bidding farewell to Triton and Theseus, as do the two Nereids behind him. At the right, stands another Nereid, probably Triton's mother Amphitrite, pouring a libation for a safe return.

A krater of later date by the Kadmos Painter in Bologna¹⁷ shows the same adventure with Triton carrying the youthful Theseus tenderly in his arms. This motif is also known from two Melian reliefs.¹⁸ The myth of Theseus' exploits is in many ways influenced by that of Herakles.¹⁹ It is, therefore, likely that Triton was also adopted from Herakles' legend. But how are we to understand Triton's hostility towards Herakles and his friendliness towards Theseus? Is it possible that he had a different relationship with Theseus because he was his half-brother? Or, is it more likely that the classical Triton has a completely different nature from the archaic Triton?

¹⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.4; ARV² 406.7; LIMC VII (1994) 939 no. 219 pl. 660, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).

¹⁷ Bologna, Museo Civico 303; ARV² 1184–1185.6; Para 460; LIMC I (1981) 731 no. 79 pl. 591, s.v. Amphitrite (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou).

¹⁸ LIMC VIII (1997) 71 no. 27a–b pl. 45, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio).

¹⁹ See LIMC VII (1994) 947, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils) and also Iozzo, in this volume, for another example of Theseus' representations being influenced by those of Herakles.

Triton also appears in some images of the struggle between Peleus and Thetis, where the frightened Nereids are usually shown fleeing towards their father Nereus, and sometimes also towards Triton.²⁰ If a fish-tailed sea deity appears alone, identifying him either as Nereus or Triton becomes a problem. I am inclined to take the fish-tailed deity in red figure always as Triton, since there is no safe representation of a fish-tailed Nereus after the mid-sixth century BCE. Even though Triton is usually portrayed as being young, he can also be represented as an old sea deity, as for example on the fragmentary cup in London by the Kleophrades Painter,²¹ where he is identified by an inscription. Just as Nereus, he has white hair and a white beard, holds a scepter and a dolphin, and even the excited Nereid rushing towards him considers him as equal to her father. On a Nolan amphora by the Berlin Painter in Cambridge, MA,²² we see a fish-tailed Triton of royal dignity, holding a scepter and a dolphin; he is dressed in a long chiton and himation, and is crowned with a myrtle or olive twig. On the other side of the amphora, a Nereid is rushing with outstretched arms towards him; the composition is an excerpt of the struggle between Peleus and Thetis, a scene more elaborately represented on a stamnos in Munich by the same painter,²³ in which Chiron and the grey-haired, fish-tailed Triton offer shelter to the agitated Nereids. Finally, on a pyxis in Athens by the Amphitrite Painter,²⁴ a fish-tailed deity is talking peacefully to a veiled woman, while Poseidon pursues the fleeing Amphitrite. The fish-tailed deity is dressed and has dark hair. I follow Beazley in calling him Triton, although this is an anachronism, since here Amphitrite, his mother, has not yet been conquered by Poseidon. The painter probably did not care or followed a different tradition.

From this brief overview, it is clear that on all red-figure paintings, and in different contexts, Triton is represented as a friendly and helpful sea deity. The possibility that his nature changes depending on the hero he deals with can therefore be excluded. We saw that the red-figure Triton is assimilated in appearance to his grandfather Nereus, except for the fish tail. Always dressed in a chiton, he is occasionally portrayed white-haired, holding a dolphin and a scepter, or even taking on the role of Nereus in the struggle between Peleus and Thetis. Thus, in red-figure vase painting Triton has adopted a very close relationship to Nereus; like him, he is gentle and friendly towards mortals. But was he really a terrible god in earlier times?

20 LIMC VI (1992) 830–831 nos. 71, 83 pls. 524, 526, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili).

21 London, British Museum E73 (64.10–7.1685): ARV² 192.106; Para 341; LIMC VI (1992) 830 no. 71 pl. 524, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili).

22 Cambridge, Sackler Museum 1927.150 (ex 1643.95): ARV² 200.49; LIMC VIII (1997) 69 no. 1 pl. 42, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio); Mitten 2003, 346–348 no. 97.

23 Munich, Antikensammlungen 8738: ARV² 209.161, 1633; Para 343; CVA Munich 5, pls. 259–262.

24 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1708: ARV² 833.46; CVA Athens 2, pls. 18.2–4, 19.1, 20.2–3; Caskey/Beazley 1954, 92–93.

Hesiod draws a most positive image of Nereus (*Theog.* 233–236): “And Sea begat Nereus, the eldest of his children, who is true and lies not: and men call him the Old Man because he is trusty and gentle and does not forget the laws of righteousness, but thinks just and kindly thoughts.” Nevertheless, this “blameless” Nereus (*Theog.* 263) also has an encounter with Herakles: Pherekydes (FGrH 3 F 16a; see also ps.-Apollodorus 2.5.11) tells us that when Herakles was unable to find the Hesperides and the golden apples, he was advised by the nymphs, daughters of Zeus and Themis, to ask Nereus. Herakles seized the Old Man when he slept and held him with force while Nereus transformed into all kinds of shapes, until he returned to his original appearance and revealed himself. The work of Pherekydes has come down to us only in fragments, but Homer (*Od.* 4.351–480) tells quite a similar story in great detail. When Menelaos was held back on the island of Pharos by a long calm, he was advised by the daughter of the sea deity, Proteus, how to outwit her father and make him reveal a way of returning home (*Od.* 4.414–424):

“Now so soon as you see him laid to rest, thereafter let your hearts be filled with strength and courage, and do you hold him there despite his striving and struggling to escape. For try he will, and will assume all manner of shapes of all things that move upon the earth, and of water and of wondrous blazing fire. Yet do ye hold him unflinchingly and grip him yet the more. But when at length of his own will he speaks and questions thee in that shape in which you saw him laid to rest, then, hero, stay thy might, and set the old man free, and ask him who of the gods is wroth with thee, and of thy return, how thou mayest go over the teeming deep.”²⁵

Seen in this light, neither the encounter with Nereus nor Proteus – both of whom are called Halios Geron – is a real fight. Herakles and Menelaos must not do anything but hold the god tightly, long enough until “of his own will” he returns to his former shape and starts to speak. The same happened to Peleus, when he tried to conquer the Nereid Thetis: she tried to escape by turning into fire, water, and various beasts, but Peleus had been advised by Chiron (ps.-Apollodorus 3.13.5) “to seize her and hold her fast in spite of her shape-shifting ... till he saw that she had resumed her former shape.”²⁶ The three stories show that it is a special task for a mortal hero to ask a sea deity for a favor, and it always happens according to the same pattern.

There are at least seven Attic vase paintings of Herakles’ adventure with the old fish-tailed Nereus.²⁷ In these, Nereus is represented with the foreparts of various animals emerging from his fish body to show that he tries to escape by changing his shape. Herakles sits astride turning his head back towards the frightening mutations, while his arms are flung around Nereus’ left shoulder, breast, and right upper arm.

²⁵ All passages quoted from Homer’s *Odyssey* are translations by Murray.

²⁶ Translated by Frazer.

²⁷ LIMC VI (1992) 826 nos. 16–21 pl. 519, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili); add the amphoriskos in Basel, Collection Cahn HC 1459; Kreuzer 1992, 30 no. 19; for the fragment in Samos with the inscriptions, see Kreuzer 1998, 109–111 no. 5 pl. 2.

The large Nereus is shown quite calm and superior, defending himself only by changing his shape. This theme had a short lifespan: all Attic vases that depict the struggle between Herakles and Nereus date within ca. 590–570 BCE. After 570 BCE, Nereus obtains a human form, as we already see on the Kleitias krater,²⁸ and his fish-tailed form is forgotten after 550–540 BCE. Three Siana cups by the Heidelberg Painter show Herakles seizing a fully human Nereus.²⁹ This new version was not immediately successful but was resumed at the end of the sixth century.

The adventure of Herakles with a fish-tailed sea deity went on, but Nereus was replaced by Triton, a similar fish-tailed sea deity and a more suitable figure to match Herakles, as he was younger in appearance and incapable of changing his hybrid nature. Unlike Nereus, Triton generally appears undressed in black-figure vase painting, and he never has white hair or is depicted balding. Since there are no threatening metamorphoses, Herakles does not look back in the new version. In the period of transition, the two sea deities are sometimes confused, as on the cup in Atlanta (fig. 3),³⁰ where Triton is dressed in a short chiton like Nereus. In addition to the similarity and continuity of Herakles' encounter with the sea god, these ambivalent depictions confirm that the story's core remained the same, featuring either Triton or Nereus. It is hardly by chance that the change from Nereus to Triton coincides with the new appearance of Nereus as a fully human figure, and is of approximately the same date as the creation of the limestone pediment of temple H on the Acropolis of Athens, with Herakles and Triton.³¹

Both this sculpture, thought to belong to the old Hekatompedos, and a second smaller pediment with Herakles and Triton,³² which cannot be easily reconstructed or dated, show that the subject was of vital interest to Athens. The composition of the larger pediment had an influence on some of the early vase paintings,³³ where we see Herakles and Triton both turned to the right, naked Herakles in a wide step parallel to

28 Torelli 2007, 98 below. The non-Attic examples (LIMC VI [1992] nos. 23–27, s.v. Nereus [M. Pipili]) have a longer lifespan, they end ca. 550–540 BCE. After that date, there is no evidence of a fish-tailed Nereus and the latest such example I know, is on an early lip cup by the Tleson Painter: Gaunt 2003, 340–342 no. 95; Heesen 2011, 295 pl. 83a–c no. 292 (“550/45 BC”); his white hair and his chiton point to Nereus, unless he is Halios Geron who can be identified with several sea deities (Nereus, Proteus, Phorkys, and Glaukos). Simon, in this volume, discusses a misidentification of an old man as Nereus on an Etruscan cornelian pseudo-scarab.

29 Brijder 1991, 336 pls. 107c, 117a, 127e.

30 Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2000.1.2: Gaunt 2003, 343–346 no. 96 (“ca. 540–530 B.C., attributed to the Oakeshott Painter”); Heesen 2011, 270 no. 100 pl. 30c–d (“c. 550 BC, Phrynros Painter”). More of that confusion can be found on the vase paintings in Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, II 1, II 4 and Blinkenberg Hastrup 2003, 37–38, 94 no. 132.

31 Brouskari 1974, 39–41 nos. 35–36 figs. 53–56; Trianti 1998, 53–57 figs. 20–24; Santi 2010, 118–132 for the dating, see 149 with n. 162; LIMC VI (1992) 834 no. 125, s.v. Nereus with literature (M. Pipili).

32 Brouskari 1974, 38 no. 2 fig. 47; Trianti 1998, 58 fig. 27; Santi 2010, 181–183.

33 Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, II. 3, III 7, IV 5, IV 6, IV 13.



Fig. 3: Attic black-figure band cup, ca. 550 BCE: Herakles and Triton between Nereids and Poseidon. Atlanta. © Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo: Bruce M. White 2006.

or astride the fish body, holding Triton diagonally around the breast. There is no wrestling in these scenes; instead, Herakles endeavors to keep a firm hold on the sea deity who does not try to defend himself, but rather stretches his hands out or holds a little dolphin or two. The small picture on the band cup in Atlanta (fig. 3)³⁴ shows a variation of this type in so far as Herakles – holding his club as an attribute – seems to ride on Triton’s back and does not try to hold him tightly. The group is surrounded by Triton’s family, with his father, Poseidon, rushing over in excitement, and fleeing Nereids. The latter are also shown on the other side of the cup, where the struggle between Peleus and Thetis is represented, a story which, as we saw, has a pattern similar to the encounter between Herakles and Nereus.

Shortly after the middle of the century a new chiastic grouping for Herakles and Triton was invented and had a compelling success in the Kerameikos. It was repeated again and again from the same device with delightful variations; about 150 examples have come down to us, all in black figure.³⁵ As a fragmentary early amphora by Exekias found near Taras depicts Herakles and Triton in the new chiastic grouping on

³⁴ See above n. 30.

³⁵ There are very few exceptions in this scheme in the second half of the sixth century BCE. Besides our fig. 4, see the lip cup in Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC4194: Simon 1976, pl. XXI; the amphora in New Orleans, New Orleans Museum of Art 16.39 (formerly 2035): Shapiro 1981a, 62–63 no. 22; and the neck amphora from Fratte in Salerno, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 117b: Greco/Pontrandolfo 1990, 223–224 no. 7 figs. 370–372.

both sides,³⁶ it is likely that this artist was the first to conceive the new integrated group, or at least to create the model for all the following struggles between Herakles and Triton. His amphora has the earliest known TPITON inscription and is signed by Exekias as potter and painter on both sides. The new composition shows a more vigorous and dramatic encounter. Herakles has seized the sea god from behind and has pulled his upper body back with his right arm under Triton's shoulder, the left arm above the other shoulder and the hands in front of his breast intertwined like a meander. This meander grip, which is also used by Peleus to keep a firm hold on Thetis,³⁷ seems to make its first appearance on the amphora by Exekias in Taras and illustrates quite well what the daughter of Proteus advised Menelaos to do (*Od.* 4.419): "Yet do ye hold him unflinchingly and grip him yet the more." Triton's mighty upper torso is turned to the front and his large noble head dominates the group. It is surrounded by an artful hairdo and adorned with a fillet or a myrtle wreath, which might point to his prophetic gift.³⁸ Triton's profile can be drawn more or less carefully, but it is never characterized as that of a villain. The god does not seriously defend himself; usually he just tries to loosen Herakles' grip with one hand whereas the other is outstretched, and only the tense windings of Triton's fish body betray his resistance.

This is not the kind of fight we know from Herakles' other deeds. He normally confronts his opponent, his posture showing that he will be victorious.³⁹ With Triton, everything is different: Herakles is smaller and attacks from the back, and nearly disappears behind the broad upper torso of Triton; even Herakles' head is often only partially visible. Dolphins and fish grouped around them allude to the aquatic setting, which is bound to make Herakles' situation even worse; sometimes Triton or both figures are not touching the groundline (fig. 4).⁴⁰ Moreover, Herakles' patron goddess, Athena, who supports him faithfully in his other deeds, is always missing from his struggles with Nereus and Triton. There are other bystanders instead: in about one half of the vase paintings Nereus is present: he sits or stands calmly aside watching what happens, sometimes named by an inscription.⁴¹ We meet Nereids fleeing, dancing, or approaching, we come across the name of Amphitrite, in one case, and we also encounter Poseidon. All these spectators are divine supporters of Triton. There is clearly no chance that the hero will defeat this mighty god in the same way as his other opponents.

36 Mommsen 2002, 225–232 pls. 61–62; Mackay 2010, 135–143 no. 12 pls. 33–34.

37 This has been noticed by Krieger 1975, 39–42.

38 Kunze-Götte 2006, 33–34 fig. 13. Wünsche 2003, 192–197.

39 It is quite instructive to compare the fight between Herakles and the fish-bodied Acheloos by Olto on the stamnos in London, British Museum E437: ARV² 54.5; Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 105 fig. 37. Herakles is depicted in a different posture, and Acheloos has the features of a satyr, something that never happens with Triton, who always keeps his noble profile.

40 Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum 1961.8: ABV 293.9, 1622; Para 127 (Psiax): Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, VI 19.

41 Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, 83–84: LIMC VI (1992) 833–834 nos. 107–124 pls. 529–533, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili).



Fig. 4: Attic black-figure hydria attributed to Psiax, 510–500 BCE: Herakles and Triton struggling between two Nereids and Nereus. Hartford. © Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art. The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund. Photo: Allen Phillips.

Herakles' adventure with Triton seems to follow the same pattern as other encounters between a hero and a sea deity. Herakles has seized Triton from behind by surprise and has slung his arms tightly around his upper body. Triton does not change his shape, but he is "striving and struggling," as Homer put it in his description of Menelaos' struggle against Proteus, quoted above, to free himself from Herakles' grip, who clings firmly to his back, waiting for the sign that would show him Triton's willingness to listen to his wishes. There are also vase paintings with a peaceful outcome of the wrestling. For example, on both sides of a skyphos by the Theseus Painter in Marseille,⁴² we see Herakles sitting calmly on Triton's lap in friendly conversation with the god, who turns to face the hero. A lost red-figure cup, formerly in Chiusi,⁴³ has a very similar representation on one side, and Nereids with Nereus on the other. The frequent presence of Nereus (e.g., fig. 4) might indicate that he still has his share in the adventure. He is there probably not only as Triton's grandfather, but also acting as an adviser to Herakles, like Proteus' daughter to Menelaos, the nymphs to Herakles, and Chiron to Peleus.

According to this interpretation, Triton was never a "fearful, terrible" monster, but in his case the translation of δεινός as "marvelously strong, powerful" seems to be the right one. It demanded a hero like Herakles to restrain this mighty god with ruse and strength, and to win him over so that Triton could help the hero with his special qualities. In the words of Menelaos (*Od.* 4.397): ἀργαλέος γάρ τ' ἐστὶ θεὸς βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ δαμῆναι (for hard is a god for a mortal man to master).

⁴² Marseille, formerly Musée Borély 7017, now Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne (?): Ahlberg-Cornell 1984, XI 1 (Theseus Painter); Borgers 2004, 147 no. 23 pl. 9c.

⁴³ Once Chiusi, Collection Mazzetti (ex Ciaj): ARV² 1652.414–415 (Near the Dokimasia Painter); Brize 1980, 164 (III 63) and 169 (V 14) pl. 15.

It would certainly be interesting to know what Herakles desired from Triton, but at this point we can only speculate. If the aim of the struggle was the same as with Nereus, Herakles might still seek to find out how to locate and fetch the golden apples of the Hesperides. Even if he has this knowledge, he still needs a means of transport to cross the ocean in order to reach the island in the far west.⁴⁴ Some non-Attic representations may hint at such a possibility. A beautifully preserved Sicilian *arula* (color fig. 5)⁴⁵ shows Triton dragging a hero through the water. The mighty sea god has long dark hair, is dressed in a short chiton, and holds a wreath and a fish. Above his fish body, we see a hero floating in the water, who keeps hold of Triton's hair at the nape of his neck and of his dorsal fin, and props his left foot against one of the fish body's windings. The hero is bearded and wears a richly ornamented chiton, but has no attributes to be recognized by; nevertheless, this hero is most likely Herakles, because there are two more *arulae* of later date from Sicily and South Italy with Herakles and Triton. One, in Copenhagen,⁴⁶ seems to depend on the large Triton pediment from the Acropolis, even though it is not quite clear whether Herakles with his limp legs is wrestling or just letting himself be drawn through the water. This last action is shown more clearly on a third *arula* in Naples,⁴⁷ where Triton lays his arm caringly round the back of Herakles. In addition, a late black-figure plate from Thasos⁴⁸ has a Triton with a young naked hero riding on his back in the segment underneath the main picture. The beardless youth is usually recognized as Theseus, who uses Triton as a mount; Poseidon may also ride on Triton⁴⁹ and Dionysos on the back of a Tritonesse.⁵⁰ If we return to the pictures of Herakles and Triton and look at them with the alternative thought that the purpose of the struggle might have been a ride on Triton's fish body to the Hesperides, there are quite a few representations where this idea might be implicated (e.g., figs. 3 and 4), particularly since the mastering of Triton can be compared with the taming of a horse.

44 C.f. Brize 1980, 70–77.

45 Paris, Musée du Louvre CA5956: Devambez 1972; van der Meijden 1993, 302–303 (MY 24); LIMC VIII (1997) 70 no. 20a pl. 44, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio).

46 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 3278: Fischer-Hansen 1973, 62–63 figs. 1–2; van der Meijden 1993, 303 (MY 25); LIMC VIII (1997) 70 no. 20b pl. 44, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio).

47 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 200553: Fischer-Hansen 1973, 71–73 fig. 12; van der Meijden 1993, 303–304 (MY 26).

48 Thasos, Archaeological Museum 1703: Weill 1959, 440–444 pls. 24–25; LIMC VII (1994) 939–940 no. 223 pl. 660, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).

49 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 357: LIMC VII (1994) 463–464 no. 163 pl. 366, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon).

50 Three skyphoi by the Theseus Painter: Borgers 2004, 91.152–153 nos. 68–69 and 157 no. 113 pl. 23a–b.

Erika Simon

Herakles and Geras in Etruria

You have written, dear Alan, on Geras (Old Age) in your important book *Personifications in Greek Art*, as well as in an entry on the same figure in the LIMC.¹ In the same LIMC volume appear also entries on Hebe (Youth) and Iuventus.² Although sometimes Etruscan figures are discussed alongside Greek and Roman ones, in the case of Geras, Hebe, and Iuventus, their Etruscan names remain, unfortunately, unknown, and no personification in Roman art has been found for senectus. Thus, your LIMC article on Geras is without any Etruscan or Roman counterparts. I would like, dear Alan, to discuss here two Etruscan representations of Old Age – both in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts – a column krater (fig. 1) and a cornelian pseudo-scarab (figs. 2–3).

According to your research, there exist “five scenes with Herakles’ confrontation with Geras ... on vases painted within a forty-year period, ca. 490–450.”³ In the LIMC Supplement, Shirley Schwarz added a sixth vase, a black-figure column krater in Boston (fig. 1).⁴ Whereas the five vases you have discussed are Attic, the new krater is Etruscan. The main image shows Herakles and a white-bearded Geras, the latter dressed in a himation and shouldering a staff to which an object is tied. Schwarz wonders whether it is a wineskin (askos), and in fact, it is one. The gesture of Geras’ right hand shows that he is speaking. He does the same on the five Attic vases. As one example, I mention the pelike in the Villa Giulia museum.⁵ On side A, Herakles and Geras are, as you write, “engaged in an animated conversation,” and the word *klausei* (you will weep) appears between them. On side B of the pelike, Dionysos and a maenad are represented. Because on Greek vases the themes on both sides may go together, let us keep in mind this juxtaposition of the scene with Dionysos and that of the encounter of Herakles and Geras.

We do not have any ancient texts that recount a story about Herakles and Geras; we only have the visual representations, which seem to portray different phases of a folk tale.⁶ In this context, the wineskin on the Boston krater (fig. 1) is a new element. We may thus pose the question: is Geras inviting Herakles to a drinking party? The fondness of old persons for wine and the drunkenness of Herakles are both known

1 Shapiro 1993b, 89–94 figs. 43–47, and 238–239 nos. 34–38; LIMC IV (1988) 180–182 pls. 100–101, s.v. Geras (H. A. Shapiro).

2 LIMC IV (1988) 458–464 pls. 275–276, s.v. Hebe I (A.-F. Laurens); LIMC IV (1988) 464–467 pls. 277–278, s.v. Iuventus (E. Simon).

3 Shapiro 1993b, 238–239 nos. 34–38; LIMC IV (1988) 181 nos. 1–5 pls. 100–101, s.v. Geras (H. A. Shapiro).

4 LIMC Suppl. (2009) 253 add. 40 pl. 130, s.v. Herakles/Hercle (S. J. Schwarz).

5 Shapiro 1993b, 93 no. 36 fig. 47; LIMC IV (1988) 181 no. 5 pl. 101, s.v. Geras (H. A. Shapiro).

6 See Shapiro 1993b and LIMC IV (1988) 180–182, with earlier literature, s.v. Geras (H. A. Shapiro).



Fig. 1: Etruscan black-figure column krater with Herakles and Geras, ca. 480 BCE (side A). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1998.49, purchased by contribution and bequest of Charles H. Parker, by exchange. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

from ancient art and myth.⁷ On the Boston krater, however, the hero resists the temptation: he goes away, looking back at Geras only to threaten him with his club. But the small old man speaks and speaks. He does the same on the five Attic vases, where Herakles is even depicted on the verge of hitting Geras.⁸ Of course, the hero cannot kill the personification of Old Age, but he does force Geras to be silent. At the same time, this is a victory of Herakles over himself and, more precisely, over his insatiable appetite for wine.

Now let us look at our second Etruscan work of art, the cornelian gem by the Master of the Boston Dionysus (figs. 2–3).⁹ The artist belongs to the first generation of

⁷ For drunken Herakles and Auge, mother of Telephos, see LIMC III (1986) 45–51 nos. 8–24 pls. 46–49, s.v. Auge (Ch. Bauchhenss-Thüriedl).

⁸ Shapiro 1993b, 90 no. 35 fig. 44; LIMC IV (1988) 181 no. 4 pl. 101, s.v. Geras (H. A. Shapiro).

⁹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 21.1197; Zazoff 1968, 18–21 no. 18 pl. 7; LIMC III (1986) 532 no. 5 pl. 419, s.v. Dionysos/Fufluns (M. Cristofani); LIMC V (1990) 229 no. 305, s.v. Herakles/Hercle (S. J. Schwarz);



Fig. 2: Etruscan cornelian pseudo-scarab, attributed to the Master of the Boston Dionysus, last third of the sixth century BCE (side A). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 21.1197. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 3: Etruscan cornelian pseudo-scarab, attributed to the Master of the Boston Dionysus, last third of the sixth century BCE (side B). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 21.1197. Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Etruscan gem cutters (last third of the sixth century BCE).¹⁰ He is named after the impressive Dionysos on the back of this pseudo-scarab. The running wine god holds a big drinking horn, and his face is shown in a frontal view (fig. 2).

In the center of the other side (fig. 3), flanked by two female figures, Herakles grasps the wrist of a small old man. J. D. Beazley called him Nereus,¹¹ and although many scholars have followed his interpretation, some have questioned it.¹² Herakles – on his way to the garden of the Hesperides – had a quarrel with Nereus, the white-haired god of the sea. This adventure is often shown in ancient art, but Nereus is never portrayed like the small, trembling figure on the Boston gem. I would like to identify

Krauskopf 1995, 84 no. 82; Zwiernlein-Diehl 2007, 82 pl. 74 figs. 310 a and b; Simon 2013, 502–503 fig. 24.13; see also below n. 13.

¹⁰ Spier 2000, 330–335, especially 333 no. 1 fig. 4.

¹¹ Beazley 1920, 31 no. 35ter.

¹² LIMC VI (1992) 827–829 nos. 34–51 pls. 520–522, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili); *ibid.* no. 51, the Boston pseudo-scarab, which is rightly called an “uncertain” representation of Nereus. The author quotes Zazoff, Boardman, and Brize who suggested (with a question mark) that the figure might be “Geras?”. For secure representations of Herakles and Nereus, see Mommsen in this volume.

the small old man instead with Geras. He is trying (again) to speak to Herakles with his raised arm, and the imposing hero silences him by grasping his wrist.

Figures on both sides of pseudo-scarabs generally point to each other.¹³ We have seen that on vases Geras tries to persuade Herakles to drink. On the gem, he appears without a wineskin, but Dionysos is present on the other side. The hero again refuses to drink by defeating his own desire – a representation that fits the private sphere of a gem. The wine god on the gem (fig. 2), the askos on the krater (fig. 1), and the Dionysian scene on side B of the Villa Giulia pelike¹⁴ all relate to and depict the story of the temptation of Herakles by Geras.

The Boston gem (figs. 2–3) is about a generation earlier than the vases that illustrate this story. Because most of the vases showing Herakles and Geras were found in Etruria,¹⁵ the story seems to have been popular in the west. Nonetheless, the style of the Master of the Boston Dionysus is connected with East Greek workshops,¹⁶ suggesting that the folktale about Herakles and Geras may also have been known in Ionia. This, however, is a topic for further research.

We still have to look at the two female figures that flank Herakles and Geras on the pseudo-scarab (fig. 3). The goddess behind the hero is, of course, Athena; the snakes of her aegis on the back are extremely long. As the old man was thought to be Nereus, the figure behind him was consequently identified with Doris, his wife and mother of his daughters, the fifty Nereids.¹⁷ But the young goddess looks more like a kore and she holds a flower up to Herakles across the old man's head. That is, she congratulates the hero for his victory over Geras and over his own desires. A good name for her, I think, is Hebe.¹⁸ She was the Olympian bride of Herakles, whose struggle with Geras was a "kind of pendant" to his Olympian marriage.¹⁹

Dear Alan, you see, I end with Beazley's and your interpretation of the Herakles-Geras story. Hebe does not only reside in heaven, she sometimes comes to us, even in older age.²⁰ May she continue to be our companion.

¹³ Zazoff 1968, 2 n. 9 gives a list of pseudo-scarabs.

¹⁴ See above n. 5.

¹⁵ See the lists in Shapiro 1993b, 89–94 figs. 43–47, and 238–239 nos. 34–38; LIMC IV (1988) 180–182 pls. 100–101, s.v. Geras (H. A. Shapiro).

¹⁶ See Spier 2000, 330–335, especially 333 no. 1 fig. 4.

¹⁷ See above n. 12.

¹⁸ LIMC IV (1988) 458–464 pls. 275–276, s.v. Hebe I (A.-F. Laurens).

¹⁹ LIMC IV (1988) 181 s.v. Geras (H. A. Shapiro).

²⁰ Simon 2012, 147–148 fig. 8.

Ralf von den Hoff

Theseus and Aithra! A Forgotten Fragment and an Old Problem*

Theseus, the Athenian polis hero *par excellence*, is one of the focal topics of Alan Shapiro's interests. Most things we know today about the iconography and political role of Theseus from the sixth through the fourth century BCE we owe to his stimulating research. In 1982, in his first Theseus article, which was also his first paper published in a German journal, Shapiro discussed a long-standing problem of the hero's iconography to which he returned anew in 2010, namely, the interpretation of the inner tondo of Makron's cup in St. Petersburg, painted around 480–470 BCE (fig. 1).¹ Inside the cup, Makron depicted Aithra together with her son Theseus and inscribed both their names. The hero is holding his sword sheathed halfway in its scabbard, while his mother stretches out her hands toward his chin in the conventional gesture of begging or supplication. This paper brings attention to a similar image by a painter close to Douris, to free Makron's – so far – unique scene from its iconographic isolation and, furthermore, to demonstrate the interpretative potential of this specific imagery of Theseus.

The history of interpretations of Makron's cup is both long and significant in terms of methodology and approach. In the first publication of the cup in 1858, Otto Jahn observed that no literary tradition fits the depicted scene. Hence, he reconstructed an otherwise unknown episode,² according to which when Theseus arrived in Athens, Aithra, who lived there as a servant at the time, failed to recognize him as her son and, instead, attempted to poison him on behalf of his hostile stepmother, Medea. Jahn further suggested that the representation of Theseus drawing his sword illustrates the hero's response to his mother's attack, who in turn begged for mercy.

In 1892, Oskar Wulff pointed out that Troezen was the town where Theseus' mother, Aithra, lived and where his father, Aigeus, king of Athens, had hidden a sword and sandals for his son under a heavy stone. These insignia made Theseus

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1 St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum inv. B 1543/649 (BAPD 204694): ARV² 460.13; Sourvinou-Inwood 1979, with pl. 1a, and 1990, 400–402, 425–434 pl. 4; Neils 1987, 103 no. 68, pl. 11 fig. 51; Shapiro 1982, 291–292 fig. 1; LIMC I (1981) 422–423, and 429 no. 25, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron); Lacroix 1992, fig. 1; LIMC VII (1994) 925 no. 30, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils); Kunisch 1997, 134–135, 196 no. 338 pl. 113; Servadei 2005, 24–28 “scheda 01.00006” fig. 3; Shapiro 2010, 89–93 fig. 4.

2 Jahn 1858, 259–261, followed by Dümmler 1901, 314.

recognizable when he arrived in Athens (Plutarch, *Thes.* 2.3; 6.1–3). Wulff thereby established the view that Makron did not depict Theseus drawing the sword *offensively* toward his mother – an improper act – but rather in an attempt to examine his new weapon. Thus, he interpreted the scene as Theseus about to leave Troezen, the city of his birth, while his mother tries to restrain him from going to Athens.³ After Wulff's article, Troezen became the preferred setting of the vase painting, especially because Jahn's reconstruction was not taken up again due to its hypothetical character. Building upon Wulff's idea, some scholars have understood the drawing of the sword as Theseus' attempt to force his mother to divulge the hiding place of his father's insignia or his father's name,⁴ but neither reading finds any support in Wulff's interpretation or Plutarch's record of the myth (*Thes.* 6.2).

An alternate, popular variation of Wulff's idea explains the drawn sword as a conventional sign of Theseus' determination: he was resolute about taking the dangerous land route to Athens, which was full of brigands (Plutarch, *Thes.* 6.3–6), to kill them.⁵ His mother's gesture, in this scheme, is understood either as begging Theseus so as to persuade him to take the safer sea route, as mentioned in Plutarch (*Thes.* 6.3), or as a sign of affection and pride toward her son's power.⁶

Since 1925, Sir John Beazley has decisively influenced the interpretation of Makron's cup. Following Otto Jahn, he recognized the scene as depicting Theseus attacking Aithra and supposed again a misunderstanding between mother and son: Theseus suspected his mother of treachery.⁷ Beazley even suggested that the next step in the story, namely, Theseus' pursuit to catch her, was depicted in a number of red-figure vases with a young hero holding a drawn sword (Theseus) running after a fleeing woman (Aithra).⁸

It was not until 1979 that Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood came back to this idea and offered a new interpretation from a different point of view.⁹ Inasmuch as an armed attack by Theseus against his mother seems impossible (as already stated by Wulff) and because a myth related to such an attack is unattested, Sourvinou-Inwood argued

3 Wulff 1892, 192, followed by RE Suppl. 13 (1973) col. 1061, s.v. Theseus (H. Herter); cf. Lacroix 1992, 253.

4 ML 3.2 (1902–1909) 3419, s.v. Palladion (E. Wörner); Pfuhl 1923, 468; also Neumann 1965, 70; LIMC I (1981) 429, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron).

5 ML 4 (1909–1915) 922, s.v. Sinis (E. Wörner); Robert 1921, 711 n. 4.

6 Begging: ML 4 (1909–1915) 922, s.v. Sinis (E. Wörner); Robert 1921, 711 n. 4; RE Suppl. 13 (1973) col. 1061, s.v. Theseus (H. Herter); LIMC I (1981) 429, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron). Pride: Dugas/Flacelière 1958, 64. Cf. Lacroix 1992, 253–255, for this gesture.

7 Beazley 1925, 217 no. 7; Beazley expressed this idea in a lecture originally delivered in 1955 but published in 1989a, 91; ARV² 460.13.

8 Caskey/Beazley 1954, 63 n. 2; ARV² 1731; followed by Brommer 1973, 214.

9 Sourvinou-Inwood 1979, 3–7, 29–47 pl. 1a, and 1990, 400–402, 425–434 pl. 4; also Robertson 1992, 105, and Prange 1989, 64, took her solution into account. Bérard 1980, 618–620, was already more cautious.

that when Makron inscribed the names of the protagonists in his tondo, he must have confused Theseus' mother Aithra with his stepmother Medea. Medea, indeed, tried to murder Theseus when he arrived in Athens, and hence, the hero could well be understood as drawing his sword against her. Thus, Sourvinou-Inwood revived an idea previously expressed by Henry Smith in 1939, namely, that on Makron's cup "Aithra" is, in fact, Medea. By the same token, Sourvinou-Inwood relocated the scene to Athens, as Beazley had also done. This reading of the scene resembled Jahn's solution of seeing Aithra as an accomplice of Medea's poisoning attempt. Like Beazley, Sourvinou-Inwood supposed that the numerous heroic pursuit scenes of youths with a sword are images of Theseus, but the woman attacked here would be Medea, Theseus' main female enemy.¹⁰ While Jahn invented a narrative not attested by the literary tradition, Sourvinou-Inwood gave preference to the structure of the myth in relation to Theseus' social role as son/stepson and to fixed visual codes (sword=attack) as decisive factors for her reading of the scene. Thus, the problem of interpreting Makron's cup using an unattested mythological narrative was resolved by presuming a mistake of the vase painter (and not of the archaeologist!). This, indeed, is possibly a comfortable, but highly problematic answer to postulated iconographic inconsistencies.

In 1982, Alan Shapiro "released the cup from the confusion of a whole book," as Norbert Kunisch later stated.¹¹ He argued against Sourvinou-Inwood that one should not easily postulate a false inscription and, instead, should consider carefully the gestures depicted and the stories known about Theseus. Shapiro underlined that the hero, as we know from Plutarch (*Thes.* 6.3), insisted on imitating Herakles by going to Athens on land so as to kill the dangerous brigands, while his mother and stepfather begged him to take the safer sea route. Hence, argued Shapiro, the image depicts Theseus' departure from Troezen and the hero's gesture is not meant as an attack but rather shows "his eagerness to meet his foes."¹² In this interpretation of Makron's cup, the knowledge of the details of the myth recorded in literature is combined with a specific interpretation of the gestures depicted as visual signs of the myth but not necessarily as communicative means within an action.¹³ In 1997, Kunisch confirmed Shapiro's interpretation by highlighting further iconographic details, such as the fact that Theseus is wearing travel clothing and that his two spears, bound together, are standing in the background ready to be taken with him. These observations point to a

10 Sourvinou-Inwood 1979, 29–47, and 1990; likewise, LIMC I (1981) 423–424 and 429, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron).

11 Kunisch 1997, 134.

12 Shapiro 1982, 292–292; cf. Shapiro 1990a, 118–119, with nos. 22–24, and 2010, 89.

13 Shapiro 1990a, 119, with n. 23; he also separated the heroic pursuit scenes from Makron's image of Theseus and Aithra because the iconographies are different; see already Prange 1989, 64; LIMC VII (1994) 945, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils). Cf. the arguments listed by Brommer 1982, 134 n. 21, but answered by Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 437–441.



Fig. 1: Theseus and Aithra. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B-1542: Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, 490–480 BCE. Photo: © The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

departure scene, which can only take place in Troezen.¹⁴ In support, one could add that in Attic red-figure vase painting, the half-drawn sword is not necessarily a sign of a harmful attack but could well demonstrate the actor's decision to enforce his interests, like Menelaos facing Helen in Troy or Odysseus in dispute with Ajax over Achilles' weapons.¹⁵ Hence, Shapiro's interpretation of the scene, which improved Wolff's suggestion on a clearly iconographic and mythological basis, is now widely accepted.¹⁶ Most recently, Shapiro has again touched on this scene, when he discussed other depictions of Theseus leaving Aithra in Troezen.¹⁷ However, none of

¹⁴ Kunisch 1997, 134.

¹⁵ Menelaos and Helen: Kunisch 1997, pls. 45 and 98; Odysseus and Ajax: Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl. 26. Cf. the dying warrior/amazon, Buitron-Oliver 1995, pls. 3 and 33, with his/her sword half within the scabbard to highlight the readiness to fight, but not a serious attack.

¹⁶ Neils 1987, 103; LIMC VII (1994) 925 no. 30, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils); Strawczynski 2003, 12 n. 44; Servadei 2005, 24–26; Lindner 2006, 337–338; cf. Calame 2009, 109–110, 111–112. Lacroix 1992, 254–255, suggested a more structuralist reading.

¹⁷ Shapiro 2010.



Fig. 2: Theseus and Aithra. Grosseto, Museo Archeologico 227930 R/625:
Fragment of an Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, 490–480 BCE.
Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana – Firenze.

these images combines the bidding gesture of the woman and the hero drawing his sword in the same way that Makron’s cup does. In her comprehensive study of Theseus in Attic vase painting, Cristina Servadei accepted Shapiro’s interpretation while also stressing that Makron’s cup remains an *unicum*.¹⁸

This overview of interpretations of Makron’s cup demonstrates that there is no reason to attempt a new reading of the Theseus and Aithra scene. It is surprising, however, that it is still considered a unique image. Already in 1975, Piera Bocci Pacini had published a fragment of a red-figure cup from Roselle close to Douris, now in the collection of the Grosseto Museo Archeologico, which has not attracted scholarly attention (fig. 2).¹⁹ It has been reproduced only once in a drawing by Enrico Paribeni

¹⁸ Servadei 2005, 24–26.

¹⁹ Grosseto, Museo Archaeologico inv. 227930 R/625 (BAPD 20200): Bocci Pacini et al. 1975, 70 no. 4 pl. 12d; Buitron-Oliver has confirmed the attribution as “close to Douris” by letter.

in the proceedings of the 1990 Euphronios symposium in Arrezzo, and it was Paribeni who called the fragment a “quasi replica della coppa di Makron.”²⁰ If Paribeni’s observation is correct, we might possess a much sought-after parallel for the so-called unique Makron scene. A new look at the fragment from Roselle will make it possible to address this issue.

The preserved fragment from Roselle belongs to the inner tondo of an Attic red-figure cup. At the right-hand side of the scene stands a beardless young man with short hair, wearing a mantle over his shoulders. On his back, the circular lines of a petasos are still visible. The youth must be in motion: his left hand holding a striped scabbard is raised in front of his chest, and with his right hand, he clasps the handle of his sword to draw it out of the scabbard vigorously. The left hand and arm of a second figure standing in front of him are visible on the left, hugging the youth’s shoulder. Whether the young man’s head is slightly inclined to look at this (smaller?) figure or due to the intensity of the hug remains unclear.

The combination of a hand around the neck of a youth in travel clothes and his gesture of drawing a sword, which is not fixed by a belt around the body, does not permit identifying the scene as the Trojan struggle over Achilles’ weapons or over the Palladion. The closest parallels are the scene on a slightly earlier cup by the Brygos Painter in Tarquinia, where a woman is hugging a youth in a similarly intensive way,²¹ and Makron’s image of Aithra and Theseus, where the gesture of drawing the sword is also comparable. This suggests that not only the cups in Tarquinia and St. Petersburg depict Theseus and Aithra during his departure from Troezen, as Shapiro has already argued,²² but also the fragment in Roselle can be interpreted in the same manner. In this light, one may reconstruct Aithra standing in front of her son, Theseus, on the left-hand side of the Roselle tondo fragment. This almost forgotten fragment offers the first true parallel for the depiction of female affection toward a young man drawing his sword, which is remarkably illustrated on Makron’s cup.²³ Thus, the myth of Theseus and Aithra was depicted in this manner not only in the oeuvre of Makron but also in the workshop of Douris, both active in the early fifth century in the Kerameikos. Makron did not invent an unusual, unique scene. Rather, the two-figure composition of Theseus’ dynamic departure was probably typologically fixed and must have been popular in Athens during that period.

²⁰ Paribeni 1992, 20 pl. 23.

²¹ Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico inv. RC 6846 (BAPD 203903): ARV² 369.4; Ferrari 1988, 130–133 pls. 71–73; Shapiro 1990a, 115–117 figs. 1–4; Strawczynski 2003, 3, 18–19 fig. 6; LIMC Suppl. (2009) 477 add. 2, s.v. Theseus (J.-J. Maffre); Shapiro 2010, 90, with n. 12 fig. 3.

²² Recently, Shapiro 2010, 90, with n. 12 (also for critical views).

²³ The scene cannot depict Menelaos drawing his sword against Helen because this is shown as a pursuit scene and Menelaos is bearded in the early fifth century, cf. LIMC IV (1988) 498–563, s.v. Helene (L. Kahil); Ritter 2005.

The myths of Theseus illustrated in these images and in the related group of the hero's "comings and goings" have been discussed exhaustively by Shapiro.²⁴ What I can add here for a better understanding of these vase paintings as records of the Athenian intellectual world and mentalities of the early fifth century is minor and rather general. Although the two images discussed above are quite similar, they also have certain differences. First, Aithra seems to act more intensely on the Roselle fragment, hugging, not just touching her son. Second, Theseus is more resolute on Makron's cup in St. Petersburg, where his sword is already drawn out of the scabbard. The two vase painters have constructed the same story in slightly different ways, offering two readings of the same myth and focusing on the qualities of their protagonists in diverse manner. Identifying the scene and its protagonists, therefore, is never enough to understand the underlying concepts of a mythological episode.

Moreover, leaving aside the question of setting and narrative/mythological content, it is clear that both images deal with the relation of a young warrior and a woman and, more precisely, of mother and son. Thus, the gestures of both personas have to be read as gender specific. An affective, emotional behavior and an interest in physical relations are attributed to women, and a more aggressive habitus and readiness to use weapons is ascribed to young, *ephebe*-like men.²⁵ Theseus, who, by 480 BCE, was already Athens' polis hero, represents the action-ready and determined mentality ascribed to the Athenian youth of those years.²⁶ Within this role, nevertheless, Theseus is construed as a young warrior embedded in his family, also evident in a larger group of images showing him together with other family members.²⁷ This reveals that the role of the young Athenian warrior, being constitutive for the Athenian self-image, is deeply rooted in his position within the family relations of his *oikos*.

Furthermore, both images belong to Attic cups, which in this period were often decorated with figural scenes in the inner tondo and on both outer sides. We do not know which scenes were combined with the Theseus tondo in Roselle, but on Makron's cup, the outer images show scenes from the Trojan cycle.²⁸ On one side, Odysseus and Diomedes frame the center of the scene. Both are bearded, each is holding a Palladion in his arm, which has been stolen from Troy, and each has his sword drawn. In the center, four bearded men with a stick or scepter and in civic garment, obviously in the Greek camp, try to hold them back from fighting over the

²⁴ See now also Calame 2009, 102–111.

²⁵ Lacroix 1992, 254.

²⁶ Cf. recently, von den Hoff 2001, 2002, 2010a, and 2010b; Flashar/von den Hoff/Kreuzer 2003; Servadei 2005; Calame 2009; Shapiro 2012a.

²⁷ Shapiro 1990a and 2010; Lindner 2006; cf. also Sourvinou-Inwood 1979; Strauss 1993.

²⁸ See above n. 1; LIMC I (1981) 437 no. 6, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron); LIMC III (1986) 401 no. 23, s.v. Diomedes I (J. Boardman/C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson); Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 434 pl. 5–6; Kunisch 1995, 135, 196 no. 338 pl. 113.

possession of the real Palladion, which each of the two heroes claims to have stolen.²⁹ The names of Demophon and Akamas, Theseus' sons, are inscribed. On the opposite side, six citizens, also bearded, are in conversation with each other, a scene that Kunisch rightly read as the Greek assembly called to arbitrate the quarrel between Odysseus and Diomedes on the other side of the cup. Thus, by combining these three images, Makron entangles the Trojan War and Athens with Theseus and Aithra. This is also true because Demophon and Akamas, sons of Theseus, will later rescue their grandmother Aithra from being the maidservant of Helen in Troy.³⁰ The decoration, taken as a whole, makes the cup a monument to Athens' polis myth, to the participation of Athenians among the Greeks at Troy, and to Athens' panhellenic grandeur. But going beyond this narrative, the images on the outside obviously also discuss the nonviolent solution of inner disputes and controversies within the civic body of a community of adult citizens. In contrast to this, the tondo shows a young son, who is ready to leave his mother and eager to use his weapons against his enemies.

Hence, the cup is telling myths of high relevance to Athens, whose polis hero is Theseus. By the same token, it reveals gender roles, the *oikos* structure, and the different social roles and habitus attributed to youths and adult citizens in early fifth-century Athens. The contrast between the readiness to fight and the willingness to solve internal problems by discussion must have been important for Athenian discourse in the years around and after the Persian Wars.³¹ The images on Makron's cup testify that these questions were disputed in visual mythological narratives, possibly also during symposia, where such cups were used. The rich corpus of images on Attic vases of this and other periods is an indispensable body of evidence that helps us move beyond simply reading names and mythological narratives and toward describing and understanding such discourses. The renewed analysis of the Theseus and Aithra scene by Makron, now freed from its isolation, can add to this understanding, just as its previous interpretations did.

²⁹ For the myth and its depictions: LIMC III (1986) 397, and 401–406, s.v. Diomedes I (J. Boardman/C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson).

³⁰ Cf. LIMC I (1981) 426–428; 435–436, s.v. Akamas et Demophon (U. Kron).

³¹ Cf. Kunze 2005. The direct political interpretation of Makron's cup as a comment on the Persian Wars, suggested by Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 434–435, neglects the fact that vase images are not necessarily direct comments on historical events or in favor of political "parties," as is too often claimed, but constitute an internal discourse.

Mario Iozzo

Theseus and Periphetes by the Sabouroff Painter?*

A beautiful kylix by the Sabouroff Painter comes from the small Etruscan necropolis of Bettolle, which is associated with a settlement in the environs of Chiusi (Etruscan *Clevsie-* or *Camars*, Latin *Clusium*). Various aspects of this cup are especially interesting and many of them are connected with subjects dear to Alan Shapiro.¹

The kylix (figs. 1–2, color fig. 6)² is completely glazed on the outside, except for the reserved patches at the handles and a black band on the underside of the foot. This is the first all-black cup by our painter,³ and it is of type B, in common with the majority of those assigned to the painter's early period (470/465–460 BCE) by Giorgos Kavvadias, with which our cup conforms in its measurements. The cup's shape and proportions demonstrate that it is the work of a potter who, according to Hansjörg

* I warmly thank Giorgos Kavvadias (Athens), always generous with his advice, who directed me towards the attribution of the cup to the painter's early phase; Vincenzo Saladino (Florence), for his advice on sculpture; Luca Cappuccini (Florence) for the drawings; Andrew J. Clark (Los Angeles), who helped with the translation.

1 Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 253129: height to rim 8.9 cm (to handles 9.3 cm); diameter 23.2 cm; width across handles 30 cm; diameter of the foot 9 cm; diameter of the tondo 14 cm. The kylix, listed by Paolucci 1996, 111 and 114 no. 6 fig. 98, was part of the Passerini Collection (the results of Count Napoleone Passerini's excavations in the park of his villa and in other of his properties at Bettolle). In 2006, at the suggestion of the author, the collection was purchased by the Italian State for the museum in Chiusi: references in Iozzo 2014, 94 n. 41; also Bundrick 2014. The Passerini jewelry, acquired in 1890 by the Archaeological Museum in Florence, is housed at present in temporary Exhibition in the Cortona Civic Museum: Fortunelli 2005, 249–252 (M. Giuman).

2 Two more cups by the Sabouroff Painter come from the *Ager Clusinus*: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Vagnonville 57 (BAPD 212209; Kavvadias 2000, 180 no. 28 pls. 34–35) and Copenhagen, National Museum 6558 (BAPD 212210; Kavvadias 2000, 180–181 no. 29 pls. 36–37); on the diffusion of vases by the Sabouroff Painter in Etruria, as well as in the rest of the Mediterranean: Kavvadias 2000, 154–163 (Chiusi: 155).

3 On the prolific Sabouroff Painter: Kavvadias 2000; some other recent references: Panvini/Giudice 2003, 481–482 pl. 31–32; Wiel-Marin 2005, 423 no. 1597 (also 304 no. 1203); CVA Athens, Benaki Museum 1, 34 pls. 25–26; CVA Amsterdam 4, 67–68 pls. 211.1 and 212; Madigan 2008, 61 no. 81 figs. 111–112; CVA Athens, Museum of Cycladic Art 1, 110–111 pl. 80.5–8; CVA München 15, 52 pl. 24.4–6; Giudice/Sanfilippo Chiarello 2010, 116 nos. 191–192 (P. Laudani; G. Sanfilippo Chiarello); Oakley 2011; Kreuzer 2011, 36–37 pl. 24 no. 39; Giudice/Giudice 2011; CVA Göttingen 4, 117 under pl. 48.3–5; CVA Wien 5, 51–52 pls. 33.1–3 and 39.5, Beilage 22.1; CVA Caltagirone 1, 108–113 pls. 52–55; Kavvadias 2012, especially 259–265; CVA Berlin 13, 55–56 pl. 40, Beilage 8.5. For interesting observations on the choruses painted on his vases, see Csapo 2013, 55–56.

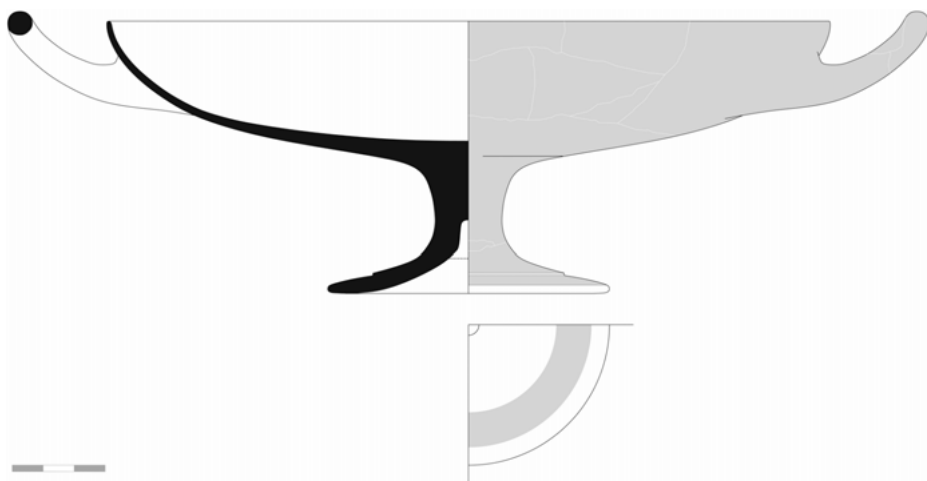


Fig. 1: Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 253129. Kylix by the Sabouroff Painter, from Bettolle (formerly Passerini Collection). Profile drawing: L. Cappuccini.

Bloesch, worked in the Brygan tradition.⁴ It had been broken at the stem and then repaired by carving three short channels and filling them with some molten metal, which, judging from the slight traces of green, was probably bronze; this seems to indicate that it was an Etruscan restoration and also testifies to the value attached to vases imported from Athens.⁵

The tondo, bordered by a meander,⁶ depicts a very young Theseus (*eitheos*),⁷ partially clad in a himation edged with black, wearing a pilos on his head, leaning on a pair of *dourata*, and bending forward while placing the back of his hand on the small

⁴ Comments and full references on dimensions and proportions of the cups painted by the Sabouroff Painter as well as on comparisons with other cups of the second quarter of the fifth century, in Kavvadias 2000, 37–38.

⁵ Williams 1996, 251–252; recently on ancient repairs Dagi 2003; Bentz/Kästner 2007; Gaberdan 2010; Warner Slane 2011; Rotroff 2011; CVA Göttingen 4, 93 under pl. 34; Iozzo 2013.

⁶ The broken meander without cross squares (perhaps painted anticlockwise) corresponds to type Γ 23 of Kavvadias 2000, 59 fig. 24, that belongs to the painter's early period. Behind Theseus' buttocks the beginning and end points of the meander can be seen; between the end points the space was too small to insert another meander, so the painter drew a simple curl, as he did also on the cup Villa Giulia 15708 (Kavvadias 2000, no. 33 pl. 46). This feature generally reveals the position in which the painter held the cup in one hand or placed it on a table while drawing the linear pattern. (Dietrich von Bothmer gave me a detailed lesson on this point in 1985 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This agrees with what Kavvadias maintains: personal communication of August 15, 2013).

⁷ For the term, see Aloni 2003, 18–19; for the increased interest shown by Classical artists in young heroes and their childhood deeds (a phenomenon surely connected with adolescent rites of passage): Oakley 2010; Neils 2009a, 113.



Fig. 2: Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 253129. Kylix by the Sabouroff Painter, from Bettolle (formerly Passerini collection). Drawing of the tondo: L. Cappuccini.

of his back. This particular pose, which seems entirely appropriate for a resting traveler who is taking a break and talking face-to-face, is something new in the work of the painter. In fact, on his vases one frequently sees figures leaning forward on a *rhabdos* (here the painter has slightly accentuated the pose in order to accommodate better the composition to the tondo) and with one hand placed on their loins,⁸ but never before this variation with the hand on his back. This seems to be one of the first instances of this motif,⁹ which in sculpture is found for the first time on the Herakles by Polykleitos (about 450 BCE)¹⁰ and other types from his workshop (Herakles of the

⁸ Kavvadias 2000, 35 figs. 10–11. For this pose in vase painting: Fehr 2009, especially 138.

⁹ On the eponymous cup of the Painter of Louvre G265 (BAPD 204532; Maffre 1999, 196–198; Dietrich 2010, 372–373 fig. 307) contemporary with ours, Theseus has the same pose (pl. IV) while conversing with Sinis, but his hand is on his side and not on the small of his back (*pace* Servadei 2004, 37 entry 4.77, according to whom the hero is just about to grab his sword; rather, the sword hangs on the opposite side of his body).

¹⁰ Bol 1990.

Dresden/Copenhagen type).¹¹ The same pose¹² will be adopted in the so-called Narcissus, formerly assigned to the Polykleitan school but now considered to be early Praxitelean, as well as in some other works by Praxiteles and other fourth-century reliefs and sculptures, such as, for instance, the Lysippean Herakles of the Farnese type, the so-called Scopaeian Meleager,¹³ and down to the Hellenistic Prince in the Palazzo Massimo,¹⁴ just to name a few, or in the case of clothed figures such as the Giustini Asklepios and the many reliefs that derive from it.¹⁵ The Zeus of the Dresden type probably also placed the back of his hand in a similar manner, but on his hip and not on the small of his back.¹⁶

Looking each other in the eye, Theseus seems to stare down Periphetes, “The Notorious” (Peripantos, according to Suda),¹⁷ the lame villain living in Epidauros, called also the Korynetes, the “Club-man” (or “Mace-man”), for his fearsome *koryne* – made of wood (Euripides, *Supp.* 714–717), iron (ps.-Apollodorus 3.16.1), or bronze (Pausanias 2.1.4) – with which he killed passersby. Here, the head of the very long knobby club is on the ground and perhaps Periphetes uses it as a crutch.¹⁸

Although a Latin version makes him the son of Poseidon,¹⁹ Periphetes is usually considered a son of Hephaistos,²⁰ something which would accord well with his weak feet (*podas astheneis*),²¹ and the metal club which he needs to support himself, as explicitly reported in the *Bibliothèque* (which also gives the name of his mother, Antikleia).²² The Sabouroff Painter has depicted the violent brigand as an adult, only a little bit bigger in size than Theseus, with long hair and a beard, but almost completely bald,²³ armed of a powerful club and seated on a rock, which is not only

11 Linfert 1990, 288; Beck/Bol/Bückling 1990, 620–621 no. 147 (H. Philipp).

12 This differs from the representation of *aichmalotoi* with their hands tied behind their backs: Beschi 1982, especially 231 pl. 61.

13 Linfert 1990, 285–288, 599–600 no. 123 figs. 167 and 169; Khodza 2013, 99–102.

14 Fuchs 1982, 122 fig. 132.

15 For the Asklepios: Meyer 1988; something similar perhaps appears also on a funerary stele from Aegina of about 450 BCE: Boardman 1985, 78 fig. 58.

16 Despinis 1971, pl. 107.1.

17 Suda, s.v. *Theseioisin*.

18 For other *korynephoroi*, real and mythical: Ampolo/Manfredini 1988, 204–205.

19 Hyginus, *Fab.* 38; Scholia in Ovid, I b, 400.

20 Ps.-Apollodorus 3.16.1; Pausanias 2.1.4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 158; Ovid, *Met.* 8.436–437. For the complete collection of literary sources, including Hesychius (*Periphetes, ho korynetes*), see ML 3.2 (1902–1909) 1973–1978, s.v. Periphetes (5) (O. Höfer).

21 For the variant *podas briarous* in another fragment by ps.-Apollodorus: ML 3.2 (1902–1909) 1974, s.v. Periphetes (5) (O. Höfer).

22 On Periphetes, recently Neils 1987, 14, 77–78; Gantz 1993, I: 249–252; LIMC VII (1994) no. 929, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils); Servadei 2005, 29–30, 34–36.

23 Baldness and nearly bald heads as an indicator of old age in Athenian vase painting: Birchler Émery 1999, especially 18–20; Matheson 2009; also CVA Göttingen 4, 115 under pl. 47. All opponents of Theseus have a wild appearance (shaggy hair, balding forehead, unkempt beard): Avramidou 2011, 38.

emblematic of the harsh natural environment but also emphasizes the wild character of the robber.²⁴ By contrast, Theseus is very young,²⁵ and in fact was just past adolescence when he completed this, his first deed; he had just discovered Aigeus' sword, proving his physical prowess.

Except for the chitoniskos under his himation, Theseus is identical with his depiction by the same painter in the tondo of the kylix Louvre Cp 10932+11852, the interpretation of which is controversial but which, following Shapiro's proposal, I, too, believe that it represents Aithra and her son (also just past adolescence) with the newly discovered sword of Aigeus.²⁶

The possible representations of the encounter between Theseus and Periphetes are very rare, all on Attic vases (excepting two Hellenistic relief bowls, produced in Athens and Lemnos)²⁷ and, in the absence of inscriptions, their interpretations are controversial. The black-figure pelike Laon 37978, of about 510 BCE, is problematic; there is doubt about whether Herakles and Antaios are depicted, but even if it were Theseus, the identification of the episode is uncertain. It is possible that it could actually be Periphetes (and in that case the woman on Theseus' back could be Aithra who urges him on, in this, his first test of strength),²⁸ but there are a number of objections that have been advanced, both in terms of iconography as well as the attributes represented:²⁹ although the lion skin is not there, the composition is appropriate for Herakles and Antaios; the bow and *gorytos* are foreign to Theseus but characteristic for Herakles; Aigeus' sword is missing; and even the hair, short at the nape of the neck and tight curls on the forehead, might be, perhaps, more in accord with the iconography of the Peloponnesian hero than the Athenian.

Likewise, the subject of the fragment of the kylix Agora P 7585, perhaps by the Kalliope Painter and datable to around 425 BCE, if not later,³⁰ is uncertain. The identification as Periphetes, which originally was only a speculative conjecture by Nereo Alfieri³¹ and which did not have many followers, was based exclusively on the "weapon" wielded by Theseus, which is not recognizable because it is cut off by the edge of the cup; moreover, the pose of his adversary has been considered more appropriate for Kerkyon or some other brigand.

²⁴ Dietrich 2010, especially 64–66, 95–97, 366–372.

²⁵ For the contrast between the handsome youth and the ugly, evil, lame, and nearly bald villain: Strauss 1993, 118; see also above n. 7.

²⁶ BAPD 212185, 212201; Kavvadias 2000, 91–92, 178 no. 6 pls. 14–15, with discussion and bibliography. For a new type of scene of Theseus and Aithra, see von den Hoff in this volume.

²⁷ Rotroff 1982, 76 no. 189 pl. 35; LIMC Suppl. (2009) 477 no. IV C, s.v. Theseus (J.-J. Maffre).

²⁸ BAPD 12353; LIMC VII (1994) 929 no. 61, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils). Servadei 2005 does not include the vase at all.

²⁹ *RE* Suppl. 13 (1973) col. 1068, s.v. Theseus (H. Herter); Magrath 1977, 218–219 n. 39; Brommer 1979, 496–497.

³⁰ BAPD 44055; Servadei 2005, 34–36 fig. 6, with bibliography.

³¹ Alfieri 1959, 109 no. 17.



Fig. 3: Munich, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 2670. Kylix by the Pistoxenos Painter, from Vulci. Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Photo: Renate Kühling.

On the other hand, the kylix Munich 2670 (fig. 3), by the Pistoxenos Painter,³² seems to show a more likely depiction of the episode. Painted around 450 BCE, it features Theseus with a mace-like club, striking a villain who could actually be Periphetes; down on one knee and with blood running down his shoulder, the brigand extends his arms imploring for pity from the hero, who instead pins him to the ground by placing his left foot on Periphetes' right leg.

The interpretation as Periphetes was proposed by Frank Brommer (and seems to have found a following),³³ while according to Jenifer Neils³⁴ it should rather be Sinis: this episode appears almost constantly in the cycles of Theseus, and here its absence would be quite odd. The tree behind the brigand would accord with this idea; however, on this cup, the painter has drawn a tree in each of the four scenes.

The composition with Periphetes on the ground, pinned down by Theseus (which we still find used in Hellenistic times in the Attic and Atticizing workshops that produced relief bowls) clearly depends on metope S 1 of the Hephaisteion (fig. 4), in which we find the very same pose of Theseus, who, as in the Pistoxenos Painter's cup, presses his left foot on the villain's outstretched right leg. The metope was installed

³² BAPD 211337; Dietrich 2010, 55, 399, 419–420, 648 (n. 106) fig. 333.

³³ Brommer 1982, 4; Gantz 1993, I: 250; Servadei 2005, 34–35.

³⁴ Neils 1987, 122, 145; LIMC VII (1994) 927 no. 45, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).



Fig. 4: Athens, Hephaisteion. Metope S. Photo: Herbert Koch.
© DAI, Athens, Negative: Theseion 2415B.

by the Master of the Four Temples in the mid-fifth century (probably between 449 and 444 BCE) and surely it inspired vase painters who worked not far from the temple of their patron god.³⁵

According to Klaus Hoffelner,³⁶ an analogous representation (with Theseus' left foot on Periphetes' bent left thigh) should be recognizable also on metope S 4 of the Athenian treasury at Delphi (fig. 5), the building now considered to have begun around 500 BCE (even though a date shortly after Marathon has been supposed for its sculptural decoration).³⁷ Today this interpretation seems very plausible, but for a long time it was far from settled, with scholars preferring to see Skiron or Prokroustes.³⁸

³⁵ Cruciani/Fiorini 1998, 97; Knell 1998, 130–132; Servadei 2005, 35; Barringer 2009, 106, 108 fig. 10.5b; there is no agreement on the identification of the personages on the metopes, since S 1 is interpreted also as Prokroustes and N 1 as Periphetes: Morgan 1962, pl. 72a; Schefold/Jung 1988, 248 fig. 299a.

³⁶ Hoffelner 1988, 82–83 fig. 4.

³⁷ A synthesis of the problem in Neer 2002, 197–198, 257 (n. 61, with bibliography); now, von den Hoff 2009.

³⁸ Servadei 2005, 35–36, with nn. 68–69, and von den Hoff 2009, 103, with n. 32, both with references to other interpretations as Skiron (P. de La Coste-Messelière), Prokroustes (F. Brommer), Prokroustes or



Fig. 5: Delphi, Treasury of the Athenians. Composition of metope S 4.

Reconstruction in Hoffelner 1988, fig. 4. Reproduced with kind permission of Klaus Hoffelner.

On the other hand, the composition adopted by the Sabouroff Painter in his cup from Bettolle is different. This recalls another image of Theseus and one of the brigands of the Saronic Gulf, namely, the one with Sinis on the eponymous cup by the Painter of Louvre G265 (fig. 6).³⁹ Here, Theseus is represented in an almost identical manner and the brigand, also seated on a rock and with a club (which led Jean-Jacques Maffre to identify him as Periphetes)⁴⁰ should rather be Sinis because of the tree between the two of them. This tree is a truly important iconographic element, definitely more so

Skiron (LIMC VII [1994] 928 no. 54, s.v. Theseus [J. Neils]); uncertain for Gantz 1993, I: 249. The reasons given by von den Hoff 2009, 99–100 (and see n. 32) are the most logical ones.

³⁹ Above n. 9.

⁴⁰ Maffre 1999, 197; he sees Periphetes (202 n. 17) also in the tondo of the cup Louvre G462, attributed to the Euaion Painter (BAPD 209803), but the presence of a big tree, which is also bent over, makes one think of Sinis, as Neils 1987, 117, 166 no. 92, LIMC VII (1994) 929 no. 70, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils), and Servadei 2005, 37.



Fig. 6: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. G265 (with joining fragments in Florence and Rome). Eponymous kylix of the Painter of Louvre G265, from Vulci. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

than the tree included as a simple landscape element on the other side of the cup, behind Prokroustes. But I think that the Bettolle kylix depicts Periphetes.

Although it is true that the club and the rock can appear in other deeds of Theseus (as on the cup Louvre G265), there are always additional telling attributes: the tree (or trees) for Sinis; the *podanipter*, the turtle, and the rocks (with or without the sea below) for Skiron; a bed (a kline or a rock)⁴¹ and especially the axe for Proskroustes; and the fight for Kerkyon, who otherwise would not be identifiable. On our cup the key iconographic element is the very long club, the *korymbos* on which the villain leans. One could also speculate about whether or not one of his legs has a problem: his left leg appears normal, however, the foot does not rest directly on the ground; his right leg is drawn up close to him and the foot cannot be seen.

So, the iconography and composition of Theseus and Periphetes might have been created at the beginning of the fifth century BCE by the sculptor of the metopes of the Athenian treasury (fig. 5), but it does not seem to be echoed in Attic vase painting, possibly because of the distance from Delphi. Some time later (470/465–460 BCE), the Sabouroff Painter invented a new composition (color fig. 6), but without differing very much from the established iconography of brigands with clubs seated on rocks.

⁴¹ For the rock as Prokroustes' bed, see Dietrich 2010, 369–372.

Contemporaneously, almost the same composition (except for the position of the legs) is used in the Sinis episode by the Sabouroff Painter's older colleague, the Painter of Louvre G265 (fig. 6), who belongs to Beazley's "Mild Brygan Group;" therefore, considering the iconography of our cup, as well as its shape, made by a potter working in the Brygan tradition, it seems logical to suppose that our composition could have been invented in the workshop of Brygos. Around the middle of the century, then, the sculptor of the metopes of the Hephaisteion (fig. 4) took up the iconography of the Athenian treasury, changed it slightly, yet retained the detail of Theseus pinning down the brigand with one foot, attacking him at his weak spot (even though this composition can also be used for other brigands), and inflicting a mortal blow on his head. The detail of the leg is actually quite important, both conceptually and iconographically, as well as for the way it had to be rendered in sculpture. It was from the temple on Kolonos Agoraios that the Pistoxenos Painter drew immediate inspiration for his kylix in Munich (fig. 3).

One could contest my interpretation because in the other possible scenes with Periphetes (two metopes and the cup by the Pistoxenos Painter, and less probably the cup fragment from the Agora) the two opponents are fighting, while the peaceful encounters between Theseus and a brigand are usually interpreted as Sinis.⁴² Such an argument may be supported by the skyphos signed *PIST/OXSENOS/SYRI/SK/OS EPOI/* in Mulgrave Castle, Whitby,⁴³ where the brigand has his name inscribed (Sinis) and is portrayed sitting on a rock, in conversation with Theseus (also inscribed). Here, however, once again, the identifying elements are different: Sinis has no club (*pace* Servadei)⁴⁴ and is seated under a huge multi-branched tree.

If we accept that the Bettolle kylix depicts Periphetes (because the club on which he leans is his only attribute), there is still another detail that could strengthen this identification: what significance, if any, may be attached to the fact that the villain puts his hand on his head? Could it be a reference to the lethal blow that he will receive shortly with his own club, which Theseus will steal from him, keep as a trophy, and use as a weapon? If so, our representation could have a certain ironic flavor. At the same time, Periphetes seems to be puzzled, which brings to mind the many stories involving riddles. In this case, Theseus might have asked Periphetes a riddle; however, there are no mythological references to such a situation.

It would not be the first time that the Sabouroff Painter introduces new subjects and iconography into the repertoire of scenes of Theseus in particular. In addition to the above-mentioned cup in Paris with Aithra, this is demonstrated by the extraordinary lekythos Stockholm G1701, which shows the so-called Dokimasia of the young Theseus by means of the lifting of the huge rock and the discovery of Aigeus'

⁴² Servadei 2005, 37.

⁴³ BAPD 352514; Servadei 2005, 37–38, entry no. 2.42.

⁴⁴ Servadei 2005, 37–38.

gnorismata, again in the presence of Aithra.⁴⁵ In the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, therefore, the painter introduces new iconographic subjects on his vases: the lifting of the rock, the hero with his mother and his newly discovered sword, and the encounter with Periphetes, his very first deed during which he acquired the club which will prove useful in his other adventures.

We have here a collection of mythographic expressions that probably stem from that realm of political propaganda in Kimonian Athens, which was also underscored by the circulation of ideas on vases (or strongly echoed on them), a realm in the exegesis of which Alan Shapiro is a master. It might be in this very period, around 470–460 BCE, that the myth of Periphetes could have first appeared in the Athenian mythopoeic and mythographic repertoire, due not only to Kimon's propaganda,⁴⁶ but also because this was the moment when the Athenians gave new meaning to the connection between Theseus and Troezen; a connection which surfaced somewhat earlier, right after the Persian invasion, when the Athenians took refuge in that city.⁴⁷ Moreover, the Periphetes saga might have been selected to establish fully the identification of Theseus with Herakles.

As the Athenian hero par excellence,⁴⁸ linked to the political institutions of the Archaic Agora (probably as early as the seventh century BCE),⁴⁹ exalted for propagandistic purposes by Peisistratos and his sons (but perhaps not so much as some would contend),⁵⁰ by this time Theseus had become both a parallel and counterpart to Herakles,⁵¹ based on a program which seems to have been consciously and intentionally developed. Alongside the deeds of the Peloponnesian hero, Theseus had been presented to the broad audience of the Panhellenic games at Delphi (on the Treasury) no longer only as the mythic king of Athens,⁵² but also as a hero raised to panhellenic status. At the same time, his pairing with Herakles resulted in the Atticization of the

45 BAPD 212293; Ciardiello 2007, 182 fig. 4; Lissarrague 2010, 203–205 fig. 8. For a possible representation of the famous rock on a marble relief, see Ekroth 2010 (it seems more likely to me that it is an altar).

46 Shapiro 1994b, 126–128; Walker 1995, 55, 66; Servadei 2005, 210–212.

47 Fürstenberg 2003, 4 also places at that time the creation of the supposed poem *Theseis*, which might have integrated the various traditions about the hero, melding them into one saga. The latter went beyond the violent aspects of Theseus, transforming the young hero into a civilizing force who fights to uphold justice and civility.

48 The most recent references on Theseus are in Servadei 2005, to which should be added some others already in Kavvadias 2000, 93–94 n. 573; Fürstenberg 2003; Heftner 2003; Aloni 2003; Muth 2004; Boardman 2007; Harding 2008, 52–72; Calame 2009. For a different tradition, “in opposition” to Theseus, probably derived from the milieu of the Alcmaeonids, see Biraschi 2003; for the connection between the hero and the Alcmaeonids: Aloni 2003, 10–13.

49 Luce 1998 and 2005, esp. 161–162.

50 The discussion is synthesized by Servadei 2005, 204–206.

51 Recently, Neer 2004, 76–77; De Sanctis 2005, 34–36; Ciardiello 2007, 183–184; von den Hoff 2009, 100–101; Barringer 2009, esp. 114; Avramidou 2011, 37.

52 Davie 1982; Carlier 2005, 128.

great Peloponnesian hero.⁵³ Because one hero fought with his club, the other needed one, too.

So, the iconography of the Periphetes episode was attached to Theseus in Athens, probably in 470–460 BCE,⁵⁴ under the influence of some *Theseis* (perhaps late archaic)⁵⁵ and the vast literature that followed (known to us only from Bacchylides).⁵⁶ In the same period, the first Theseia (celebrations) took place,⁵⁷ the first Theseia (shrines or sanctuaries) were founded, some monumental cycles of paintings and sculptures became popular,⁵⁸ and Kimon returned Theseus' sacred bones from Skyros in 476/5 BCE.⁵⁹ This first deed gave Theseus his club, which was as powerful as Herakles' and which accounts for its presence in all the Athenian hero's subsequent adventures.⁶⁰

The Sabouroff Painter seems to have created a new iconography, simple and to the point, yet following the established tradition: Theseus with a brigand, disheveled and seated on a rock, and recognizable from his unique identifying attribute: the long club for his unstable legs. It was only after the sculptor of the metope of the Hephaisteion (who might more easily have traveled to Delphi than a vase painter) took up and/or reinvented the more dramatic and focused composition created by his colleague in the Delphic Treasury, that the moment of the fight between Theseus and Periphetes entered into the repertoire of other Athenian vase painters working in the nearby Kerameikos, such as the Pisto Xenos Painter.

In closing, two further points must be considered. Working in the period following the Persian Wars, when the first experiments with three-dimensionality occur in major painting,⁶¹ the Sabouroff Painter is clearly sensitive to problems of depth and perspective, as the many instances of overlapping and twisting figures in his prolific

⁵³ Neer 2004, 76; followed by von den Hoff 2009, 100.

⁵⁴ Recently, von den Hoff 2009, 100; not before 460 BCE for Mills 1997, 21 (n. 82); only after 450 according to others, such as Brommer 1982, 5; Calame 1990, 403–404; Walker 1994, 13 (n. 61) and 1995, 75 (n. 160). For the possible reasons behind its omission by Bacchylides: Gantz 1993, I: 250.

⁵⁵ Calame 1990, 399–406; Mills 1997, 19–20; Biraschi 2003, 52; for a later date, see Fürstenberg 2003, 4, who places the *Theseis* in connection with the temporary exile of the Athenians at Troezen; Boardman 2007, 260–261.

⁵⁶ Classical literary sources in Calame 1990, 406–408.

⁵⁷ On the cult of Theseus and the problems of its origins see Simon/Kathariou 2005 and Ekroth 2010, especially 154 n. 62, with previous bibliography.

⁵⁸ Calame 1990, 408–412.

⁵⁹ Biraschi 2003, 58–62; recently, Evans 2010, 76–80.

⁶⁰ Avramidou 2011, 37, emphasizes that in the fifth century there are more than twenty-five vases depicting the cycle of Theseus' deeds; for a recent synthesis, see also Flashar/von den Hoff/Kreuzer 2003, 17–21.

⁶¹ For the problem of perspective and in general for the influence of major painting on vase painting, see Richter 1946, *passim*, especially 90–92, and Robertson 1992, 134–135.

oeuvre demonstrate.⁶² Here he dares to render depth by means of a complex overlapping of at least ten planes. With the idea of representing the wild and stony location where Periphetes lives, the painter depicts Theseus behind the rocks, with his feet and *sauroteres* not visible, while the head of the club is in front. The detail of the hidden feet is new in the work of the painter and it recalls the many earlier representations of Athena with her legs behind the gaming table of Achilles and Ajax or behind the block on which the voting tokens are placed during the *krisis ton hoplon*. But it recalls especially those instances from the Brygos workshop (once again), such as Marpessa's feet hidden behind Ajax's corpse and the sandy beach, on the cup by the Brygos Painter in Malibu⁶³ and those of the bathing woman in a cup by the Painter of the Agora P 42 (another of the "Mild Brygan Group") in Bologna.⁶⁴

In the tondo, painted in thin characters evenly spaced and symmetrically disposed around the edge, the inscription *KALOS K[* was added in white, today almost completely lost.⁶⁵ Written in the Ionic-Attic alphabet usually employed by the Sabouroff Painter (Attic lambda, Ionic sigma), it is probably to be added to the corpus of generic inscriptions in which the adjectives *kalos* and *kale* are side by side, sometimes even repeated, without being addressed to anyone in particular.⁶⁶

⁶² It is sufficient to go through the plates in Kavvadias 2000, such as, for instance, pls. 4, 8, 15, 19, 29 (and several other chairs), 34, 37, 59, 71, 82 (the shield in perspective, with *ochana* and *porpax*), the *komastes* at pl. 149, the lady at pl. 111, and so on.

⁶³ Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.286: BAPD 275946.

⁶⁴ Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 365: BAPD 204530.

⁶⁵ Letters: Height 0.35 cm, width 0.3 cm.

⁶⁶ Kavvadias 2000, 164–166.

Marcello Barbanera

Dressing to Hunt. Some Remarks on the Calyx Krater from the So-called House of C. Julius Polybius in Pompeii

In this essay I would like to reconsider a well-known bronze krater found in the so-called House of C. Julius Polybius in Pompeii, located along Abundance Street.¹ The krater was part of a group of bronzes found in the house, which were arranged neatly in the center of a room in the northwest wing, identified as a *triclinium* on the basis of the remains of three wooden beds with bronze appliques.² The previous hypotheses concerning the scene represented on the krater have always left me unconvinced. Consequently, I would like to present a more plausible interpretation of the krater's iconography.

The krater (total height: 62.5 cm; rim diameter: 35.5 cm) consists of three parts: a base, a stand, and a calyx. The square base is supported by four small feet in the form of winged sphinxes. Upon it rests a support shaped as an upside-down cup, decorated with lance-shaped leaves and palmettes. The body of the vase is divided into three bands: the lower is decorated with a double row of leaves; in the upper register, there are large *ovuli* alternating with palmettes; and, the central part is entirely occupied by a figurative frieze. The rim of the vase is decorated on the outside with *ovuli* and inside with small grooves. The two "rope" handles depart from Silenos heads, soldered to the vessel in correspondence with the *ovuli*. The krater was cast using the lost wax technique and the decorations were executed by embossment (fig. 1).³

The calyx depicts a scene with eight figures. Despite its high quality, the object has not received a proper exegesis, as can be exemplified by its recent presentation in the catalogue of the Archaeological Museum of Naples. The author of the catalogue's entry does not take a definite position about the interpretation of the scene that decorates the artifact, suggesting that it could depict either the Calydonian boar hunt or the myth of the Seven against Thebes.⁴ This proposal seems odd, given that the two

1 Parise Presicce 1994, 222–224 no. 120. The krater is in the Archaeological Museum of Naples.

2 For the first reports on the krater, see De Caro 1978, 230–231 and Cerulli Irelli 1981, 24. The excavation in the House of C. Julius Polybius, belonging to a well-to-do family of imperial freedmen, was completed in 1978. The room in which the krater was found also contained a valuable bronze table service with vessels for liquids, including a hydria of the fifth century BCE, a *lychnophoros* statue that represents the archaic type of the so-called Apollo of Kanachos, candelabra stands, a lamp, and a stool (De Franciscis 1988, 15–36).

3 Technical information is provided in the report delivered when the krater was restored in 1980 by the restorers of the Istituto Centrale per il Restauro (ICR) in Rome, Anuradha Dey, Ines Felice, and Paola Donati.

4 Fergola 2003, 425.



Fig. 1: Bronze krater: Oineus (?) with a Molosser dog and a hero.
Photo: Archivio fotografico I.C.R., no. 9419.

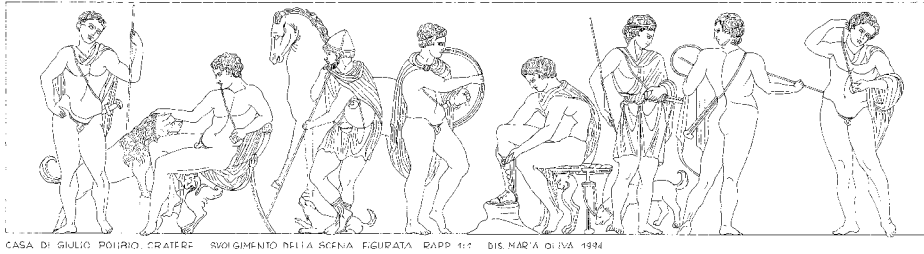


Fig. 2: Frieze of the krater. Drawing by Maria Oliva (1994). Courtesy Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

myths do not have an interchangeable iconography, though they share generic structural similarities. The uncertainty expressed in the catalogue is based on two previous hypotheses, discussed below, upon which the author of the entry relied. For the sake of thoroughness, it would be appropriate to mention a third proposal which explains the figures as belonging to two distinct scenes: one representing the Argonauts at rest or maybe Odysseus and the Trojan horse; the other, the king of Epiros, Pyrrhos, petting a dog (fig. 2).⁵ Although this bizarre interpretation should be dismissed, there is a mitigating factor for its proposal: it was advanced immediately after the discovery of the krater, when the thickness of the metal's incrustations covered the reliefs.

Once the restoration was completed, Fausto Zevi suggested that we recognize the frieze as depicting "a heroic saga, more the Calydonian boar hunt than, as it has been proposed, the Argonauts at rest."⁶ Zevi supported his opinion by observing that the young man sitting on a stool, who is putting on a boot, and the other in a similar position on a chair stretching out his hand to caress a Molosser dog may suggest "a hunting rather than a war scene."⁷ We owe Claudio Parisi Presicce the more extensive analysis of the krater and the detailed exegesis of its iconography, even though he associated the scene with the myth of the Seven against Thebes.⁸

The three advanced interpretations of the frieze decorating the krater, despite their heterogeneity, have one thing in common: they all agree on seeing a group of heroes preparing for action. Perhaps they are in the process of dressing to hunt, or maybe preparing to fight in war, or carry out some generic heroic deed. Indeed, the iconography of these three mythological narratives does have structural similarities. Within the structure, however, the articulation of individual figures and the attributes that characterize them should serve to distinguish one mythological tale from another.

⁵ Tocco Sciarelli 1978, 267.

⁶ Zevi 1988.

⁷ Zevi 1988.

⁸ Parisi Presicce 1993, 222–224.

The hypothesis that the scene depicts the departure of the Argonauts can easily be dismissed because none of the elements refers specifically to that myth.⁹ In images from the Archaic period, such as those on the metopes of the so-called Sikyonian treasury at Delphi,¹⁰ to the images on Greek vases of the late fifth century BCE, the ship *Argo* is crucial for the identification of the myth. Here there is no trace of it. Another element that characterizes the representations of the myth of the Argonauts is the constant presence of water, as, for example, on the volute krater in the Jatta Museum in Ruvo, to give but one example.¹¹

As far as the Seven against Thebes are concerned, I remain skeptical because several elements of the scene, even at a superficial level, do not seem to correspond to this myth.¹² However, the precise identification that Parisi Presicce offers for each figure represented on the krater is so cleverly argued that it deserves more attention before it can be rejected. Let us retrace briefly, then, the list of figures that, according to the scholar, are shown on the krater. The figure sitting on a chair in the act of “caressing a lion” (*sic*) (fig. 1) may be Polyneikes¹³ in virtue of the fact that the animal is, indeed, the emblem of Thebes. Moving clockwise in fig. 2, the bearded man, leaning on a stick and wearing a pilos, could be identified as Adrastus,¹⁴ king of Argos and Polyneikes’ father (see also color fig. 7). Being the only survivor of the deed, he is recognizable thanks to his divine horse in the background. Next to him Kapaneus¹⁵ would follow, distinguishable by the shield upon which he died; then we find perhaps Amphiaraus,¹⁶ Adrastus’ brother, sitting on a stool (see also fig. 3).

The standing figure next to the latter could be Parthenopaios,¹⁷ son of Meleager and Atalanta, accompanied by his dog (fig. 3). The following figure, viewed from behind, wielding the bow, may be identified as Hippomedon,¹⁸ renowned for his skills with this weapon. Some doubts remain about the last two figures (fig. 4). Parisi Presicce suggests the names of Tydeus,¹⁹ and though not explicitly stated, the Argive Eteokles,²⁰ the final two warriors of the battle fought under the walls of Thebes.²¹ In this scheme, the figures would be eight, a fact that does not actually constitute a decisive argument against the Parisi Presicce’s hypothesis, as from Euripides onwards Adrastus

9 LIMC II (1984) 591–599 pls. 430–433, s.v. Argonautai (R. Blatter).

10 LIMC II (1984) 593 no. 2 pl. 430, s.v. Argonautai (R. Blatter).

11 LIMC II (1984) 594–595 no. 11 pl. 431, s.v. Argonautai (R. Blatter).

12 For a general view, see LIMC VII (1994) 730–748 pls. 539–546, s.v. Septem (I. Krauskopf).

13 LIMC IV (1988) 26–37 pls. 15–19, s.v. Eteokles (I. Krauskopf).

14 LIMC I (1981) 231–240 pls. 172–175, s.v. Adrastus (I. Krauskopf).

15 LIMC V (1990) 952–963, s.v. Kapaneus (I. Krauskopf).

16 LIMC I (1981a) 691–713 pls. 555–569, s.v. Amphiaraus (I. Krauskopf).

17 LIMC VIII (1997) 942–944 pl. 635, s.v. Parthenopaios (K. Zimmermann).

18 LIMC V (1990) 465, s.v. Hippomedon I (J. Boardman).

19 LIMC VIII (1997) 142–145, s.v. Tydeus (E. Simon/S. Lorenz).

20 LIMC IV (1988) 26–37 pls. 15–19, s.v. Eteokles (I. Krauskopf).

21 Parisi Presicce 1993, 222–224.



Fig. 3 : Meleager (?) wearing a boot, Atalante, and a hero.
 Photo: Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

is sometimes included among the Seven and sometimes not. The same applies to Amphiaraos and Parthenopaios, so that in some cases the number of figures involved in the episode grows to eight, nine, and even ten.²² The dedication of the Argives at Delphi probably also depicted nine or ten figures, and four horses.²³

Not all figures are always present, however. For example Parthenopaios is missing in the famous Delphic group. This, of course, weakens the identification of individual characters, because one cannot establish a fixed correspondence between the number of heroes handed down by literary versions of the myth and those represented on monuments, as though craftsmen worked with a manual of mythology at hand. To this must be added that in the mythological narrative handed down by the

²² LIMC VII (1994) 730, s.v. Septem (I. Krauskopf).

²³ LIMC VII (1994) 732, s.v. Septem (I. Krauskopf).



Fig. 4: Bronze krater: a hero wearing his baldric.

Photo: Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

tragedians, an element that I do not want to underestimate, the heroes who participate in the action were the four Argives, namely, Adrastus, Kapaneus, Hippomedon, and his brother-in-law Amphiaraus, the Arcadian Parthenopaios, and Polyneikes and Tydeus of Calydon.²⁴ In another version the name of the Argive Eteokles is added, Polyneikes is excluded,²⁵ and the number of figures remains seven. As one can see, the number of figures is not decisive for the interpretation of the scene.

Further, the preparation of the heroes to fight at the walls of Thebes is never represented in art. More generally, depictions in which soldiers are seen in a sort of war council before making their decision, such as the one on a scarab of the first quarter of the fifth century BCE, are rare.²⁶ Such an interpretation for the frieze on the bronze krater would be a *lectio difficilior*. In fact, when there is a more complete

²⁴ For the examination of the sources, see LIMC VI (1992) 414–415, s.v. Meleagros (S. Woodford/G. Daltrop).

²⁵ Ibid.; Aeschylus, *Sept.* 458–459; Sophocles, *OC* 1316.

²⁶ LIMC VII (1994) 735 no. 7 pl. 539, s.v. Septem (I. Krauskopf).

narration of the myth, as in the frieze of the Gölbası-Trysa Heroon of the first quarter of the fourth century BCE,²⁷ all the figures are dressed for fight, equipped with helmets, shields, and weapons of various types, and the single heroes are characterized in detail. Thus, we see Adrastus' chariot running away; Kapaneus falling from the wall with his shield; and Amphiaraus swallowed by the earth with his coach-and-four. On numerous representations on Greek vases which reproduce images of this myth from the first half of the fifth to the middle of the fourth century BCE, there are always some elements that distinguish the Seven against Thebes,²⁸ such as the death of the young Opheltes, the wearing of weapons, shield, helmet, breastplate, and greaves, or the figure of the warrior who cuts his hair with the sword.²⁹ This act, interpreted unconvincingly as a peculiar hairstyle, refers rather to a gesture connected with the memory of fallen soldiers:³⁰ the warrior cuts strands of his hair, which after his death were then handed over to his relatives. In fact, in Aeschylus' tragedy the heroes hang some personal objects on the chariot of Adrastus, the only one who survives.³¹ These motifs are not present in our krater and we cannot say that the heroes are "mostly equipped for hand-to-hand combat"³² because the preparation of a warlike expedition presupposes the presence of armor, which here is completely lacking.

We now come to the characterization of the single figures. First, we must ask ourselves whether the warriors are really identifiable. Frankly, unless their names are explicitly indicated, this is always quite difficult to do. We may hypothesize that craftsmen adapted figurative schemes normally used in genre scenes, such as the departure of the warrior, but it is unlikely that any single hero can be named, with the possible exception of Kapaneus and Amphiaraus, associated with shield and chariot respectively. Once we agree on the improbability of the Seven against Thebes, we can begin to examine the figure wearing a pilos and leaning on a stick, recognized as Adrastus (color fig. 7).³³ His connection with the divine horse Arion is unconvincing, because, as we have seen, Adrastus is associated with the chariot, not simply with a horse in a synecdochal image. The clothed figure on the krater can be clearly distinguished from the others: he is the only one with a beard and a hat; dressed in a tunic and covered in a cloak, he is wearing boots, in contrast to all the other figures, with the exception of the one seated on the stool, wearing one boot, whom I discuss below. The bearded man is carrying an aryballos and a strigil, both hanging from his belt, and under his cloak a water canteen is visible. The man's posture leaves no doubts: with one leg bent and the other standing, he heavily leans with his right shoulder on a

27 LIMC VII (1994) 737 no. 43, s.v. Septem (I. Krauskopf).

28 LIMC VII (1994) 736 nos. 13–15 pls. 540–541, s.v. Septem (I. Krauskopf).

29 LIMC VII (1994) 738 nos. 25, 27, 29 pl. 542, s.v. Septem (I. Krauskopf).

30 Bruschetti 1984, 151–159.

31 Aeschylus, *Sept.* 49–51.

32 Parise Presicce 1993, 224.

33 Parise Presicce 1993, 224.

stick, grasping it with his left hand. The numerous comparable scenes on pottery leave no doubt that this figure is represented while he is waiting.³⁴ If he were Adrastus, there would be no reason to represent him differently from the other figures, whose naked bodies are clearly meant to exalt their physical vigor and their courage.³⁵ It is evident that this figure is waiting for the others to finish their preparations.

We have already noted that the bearded man is the only one wearing a hat, a clue not irrelevant to his identification, given that it is a pilos. This type of headgear, despite the several shapes that exist, was customarily worn by figures of low social level, never by people of high rank. In particular, the more rustic type probably made of wool, fur, or leather – goatskin or sheepskin – was used to protect shepherds, peasants, and workers from weather conditions.³⁶ The characteristics of the pilos, conical and with firm brim, such as the one worn by the figure on the krater, argue in favor of the leather version, rather than wool or fur, generally distinguished by a softer form and irregular brim. It is the country pilos, which differs from the more elegant one, normally worn as an alternative to the petasos.³⁷ The beard is a sign of the man's maturity, but at the same time a feature that excludes him from the heroic dimension pertinent to the other figures. The man is wearing soft ankle boots, certainly not suitable for war action. The strigil, aryballos, and water canteen suggest that he is ready for a long and tiring expedition. He is probably an attendant of the other figures, whose rank, of course, destines them only for heroic deeds. Between his legs is a dog, waiting like his master, which is another clue that suggests the scene has a hunting character.

Now, let us consider the seated man, who is placed on the opposite side of the krater, above the handle (fig. 1). Attempts to identify the animal he pets as a lion cannot be accepted: the representation of a lion was no longer a problem in the figurative Hellenistic repertoire, and thus it is highly doubtful that the king of animals, albeit seen in profile, is shown rather with the appearance of a dog.³⁸ In addition, the gesture of the seated man caressing the animal would be meaningless if this were a lion: the Greek iconographic culture in general is realistic, not allegorical as that of the Near East, where the juxtaposition of a lion and a human being might suggest attributes such as courage, pride, and royal dignity. None of those attributes are present here: the figure, showed in a relaxed attitude, is sitting on an elegant chair, upon which he has carelessly dropped his cloak, though still wearing a baldric. The traits that define his heroic dimension – nudity and weapons – are evident, even though he is sitting. The man extends his hand on the head of the animal in a gesture

³⁴ Cf. Franzoni 2006, 169–172.

³⁵ For a summary on the theme of nudity, see Barbanera 2010.

³⁶ For a detailed examination of the types of piloi with figurative testimonies, see Pipili 2000, 163–164 and 178–179.

³⁷ Pipili 2000, 164.

³⁸ Barbanera 1992, 92–93.

of affection. Between them we recognize the unequivocal relationship of unconditional devotion and attachment that bind dog and owner. There is no doubt that this is a dog, precisely of the mastiff breed, as already recognized by Zevi. Epirotan coins sometimes represent a mastiff, which is differentiated from other hunting dogs by a powerful body, massive neck and head, and truncated muzzle.³⁹ This is the typical dog found also on sarcophagi with the myth of Meleager and the Calydonian boar.⁴⁰ Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 9.3) describes the Molosser shepherd dog as much superior in size than other dogs, and, therefore, suited for fighting against wild animals. The identification of the animal as a mastiff is another clue for the clarification of the scene and, perhaps, of the sitting hero. Before dealing with the other seated figure, I will try to summarize the evidence collected so far and draft my hypothesis. A group of seven heroic figures is represented in the moment that precedes their action. Besides them, there is an attendant, numerous dogs, one of which is a Molosser, and a horse. These are plausible elements that connect the scene with a hunting expedition. Moreover, the mastiff gives us an indication of the region near where Calydonian boar hunt took place; thus, one can suggest that the hunting iconography of the frieze refers to that specific myth.

Can we infer further information from the seated posture of the figure on the stool? Most of the figures are standing, in the act of waiting or intent in preparations. Only two of them are shown sitting on furniture elegantly decorated with theriomorphic motifs. The chair almost has the appearance of a throne: the lower part of the front legs is carved in the shape of feline paw, the upper as a bird's head. Similarly, the front legs of the stool are richly carved in the shape of a lion's head and paw. The figure seated on a stool derives uniqueness not only from this posture, but also from the fact that this man is the only one in the whole group who is wearing a boot, only the right one – not an insignificant detail. The other figures are barefoot, while this one is putting on one boot: in fact there is no trace of the second boot and that cannot be an oversight, given the care with which all the heroes are characterized. How should we explain this singular gesture? Perhaps a surviving fragment of Euripides' *Meleager* (530) can provide us with the interpretative key for this unusual detail.⁴¹ This tragedy was very influential throughout antiquity and it seems that the idea of Meleager in love with Atalante was introduced in this work or at least made popular by it. In the fragment, Euripides lists the heroes who gathered to hunt the Calydonian boar. Among them are also Thestios' sons, "each with his left foot unshod, so the knee should carry less weight, as is the custom for all the Aetolians."⁴² We do not know why the dramatist attributes this custom to Thestios' sons, who were Kouretes and not Aetolians, as their cousin Meleager was. The statement, however, did not escape

39 Keller 1909, 103–104; they also were appreciated as watchdogs, beloved by rulers at court and by high rank citizens, because they were noble, beautiful, courageous, and faithful.

40 LIMC VI (1992) 426–427 nos. 117, 123, 124 pls. 220–221, s.v. Meleagros (S. Woodford/G. Daltrop).

41 The fragment is handed down by Macrobius 5.18.17.

42 Collard/Cropp 2008, 625.

Aristotle (fr. 74 Rose), who contradicted Euripides by asserting that the Aetolians kept the right foot bare, not the left. Thucydides (3.22.2) also alludes to this custom when he says that the Plataeans in the winter of 428 BCE attempted a sortie against the Spartans in a moonless night, with only one foot (the left) fitted.⁴³ The historian then explains that the Plataeans did it to proceed safer in the mud, though one wonders why they did not give up on both shoes. The theme is taken up again by Vergil (*Aen.* 7.681–690), who describes the mythical founder of Praeneste, Caeculus,⁴⁴ leading a band of armed men with his left foot bare, wearing on the right a rough shoe.⁴⁵

Ancient commentators have tried to give a rational explanation for these behaviors. Servius, commenting on Vergil, notes that warriors enter battle with the left foot, because it is protected by the shield. To this rationalizing explanation perhaps we can oppose a mythological one that I find more convincing and which is useful in our context. The practice of wearing only one shoe may be connected to the well-known phenomenon of monosandalism,⁴⁶ pertinent to numerous heroic figures. For example, Jason shows up before his usurper uncle Pelias with only one sandal⁴⁷ and, after coming out of the river Anauros wearing a single sandal, starts his expedition to Kolchis, during which he descends into the underworld with the help of Medea. Perseus – also associated with the underworld – receives from Hermes one of his sandals, before fighting against the Gorgon.⁴⁸ Heroes who are connected with two sandals are also relevant here. Theseus, who finds the golden sandals of his father Aigeus under a rock, is but one example. To this group we could also add heroes with foot or walking problems, such as Oedipus, Philoktetes,⁴⁹ and Achilles, among others.⁵⁰ All these figures share a triple connection: they are children of fate, have a walking handicap, and have experienced a fatal descent into the World of the Dead. They are between the world of the living and of the dead: Oedipus is injured in the foot, remains isolated from his family before contending with the Sphinx, and, according to some versions, journeys to the world of the dead;⁵¹ Achilles is immersed in the Styx except for his ankle and thus remains mortal; Philoktetes, bitten by a snake on his foot and abandoned on Lemnos, is suspended between life and death, humanity and bestiality.⁵²

⁴³ On this passage, see Edmunds 1984.

⁴⁴ LIMC VIII (1997) 544–545 pl. 351, s.v. Caeculus (F. Jurgeit).

⁴⁵ Brelich 1955, 34–36.

⁴⁶ On this theme, see Deonna 1935; Kroll 1937; Brelich 1955–57; Vidal-Naquet/Lévêque 1960; De Loos-Dietz 1994; cf. Grassigli 1995, 241–243 and 1999, 119–123.

⁴⁷ Brunel 1934.

⁴⁸ Croon 1955.

⁴⁹ Vidal-Naquet 1988.

⁵⁰ For a broad and well-argued treatment of this theme, see Ginzburg 1998, 206–217, with rich bibliography.

⁵¹ Délcourt 1994, 16–20.

⁵² Bremmer 1978, 10–13; Vidal-Naquet 1988; cf. Barbanera forthcoming.

All these heroes belong to myths that allude to rites of passage: a simulated death is left behind, a period of childhood and early youth is spent at the boundary between humanity and wilderness, and then comes the fatal destiny: the hero after having faced extraordinary tasks is in the end crowned with glory.⁵³ Tragedy follows and, eventually, death. Oedipus frees Thebes from the threat of the Sphinx, but then a terrible fate awaits him. Meleager frees Calydon from the threat of the monstrous boar, but then, fulfilling the prophecy, kills his uncles in a moment of anger during the division of the animal spoils. To avenge her brothers' death, Althaea, Meleager's mother, plotted her son's destruction by burning the log to which his life was attached. This is an act similar, but opposite, to that of Achilles and Demophon, both immersed in fire to provide them with immortality.⁵⁴ Euripides, Aristotle, and a scholiast to Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.75) agree that the Aetolians used to wear a single sandal.⁵⁵ The young son of the king of the Aetolians, Meleager, therefore, belongs to the range of heroes marked by imbalances in walking or by feet malformations. Based on these observations, I think we can identify the man who is wearing the right boot with Meleager. The Calydonian boar hunt is clearly an initiation rite of the young warrior who, like the others mentioned above, faces his destiny between life and death.⁵⁶

At this point, I believe that we can establish a parallel between Meleager and the other seated figure. We have already observed that the precious carvings on the chair allude to a royal seat, so my suggestion is that one should identify the other seated figure as Oineus,⁵⁷ king of Calydon and Meleager's father. Between the two a royal symmetry is established. The detail of the cloak left carelessly on the seat, may be an allusion to the fact that Oineus did not participate in the expedition.

Further evidence supports the identification of the scene with the Calydonian boar hunt. We have already noted that most of the figures are represented in heroic nudity. Only two are clothed: the bearded man tentatively identified as an attendant and the figure between the presumed Meleager and the warrior seen from behind. Parisi Presicce identifies the latter as Parthenopaios, son of Meleager and Atalante, a devotee of Artemis who granted him infallible arrows, and the dog as an allusion to the goddess of the hunt. If he were Parthenopaios, there should be hints to his skill as an archer; on the contrary, the figure is armed with lance and sword. Still, the decisive argument against the identification of Parthenopaios is that he is not a male figure but a female. All heroes are characterized by the cloak that allows us to see their perfect athletic bodies trained in the palaestra, so that it almost seems that they are shown to the viewer as if on a catwalk. The figure next to Meleager is wearing a cloak over a chitoniskos that hangs just above the knee. The chitoniskos forms the typical kolpos on the waist and

⁵³ Rank 1987. See also Raglan 1936.

⁵⁴ Ginzburg 1998, 212.

⁵⁵ Cf. Goossens 1935.

⁵⁶ LIMC VI (1992) 414–435 pls. 208–234, s.v. Meleagros (S. Woodford/G. Lorenz).

⁵⁷ LIMC VIII (1997) 915–919 pls. 608–610, s.v. Oineus I (E. Stasinopoulou-Kakarouga).

the upper part is supported by two straps, which cross at the center of the breast, leaving it half-naked. Based on the presence of the dog at her feet, the type of dress and the diadem on the hair, I harbor no doubt that she can be identified as Atalante.⁵⁸

Numerous iconographical comparisons can confirm this identification. Already on the François Vase (570–560 BCE), Atalante stands next to Melanion's dog, Methopon,⁵⁹ behind Peleus and Meleager who are facing the boar; she is wearing a diadem, a tunic, and holds a spear in her hand. On an exaleiptron in Munich (570–560 BCE),⁶⁰ as well as on a dinos of the Vatican Museum of the second quarter of the sixth century BCE,⁶¹ Atalante holds a bow and wears a knee-length dress. On a neck amphora at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (around 400–375 BCE), the huntress is standing with a foot on a block next to a young man and four others, armed with spears; she is carrying a spear and wearing a wreath and a chitoniskos.⁶² The chitoniskos is visible also in the volute krater in the Antikensammlung in Berlin (about 340 BCE).⁶³ On an alabaster urn relief from Volterra⁶⁴ of the second century BCE, Atalante is wearing a short chiton, held by two crossing straps, leaving her breast naked.

On Greek vases from the archaic age onwards decorated with the hunt of the Calydonian boar, there is no uniformity either in the location of the scene or Atalante's attributes. Sometimes she is holding a spear, other times kneeling with a bow; her dress can be short or long; she can be wearing boots, an animal skin cloak, and a crown or a helmet. The association with Meleager is made explicit already in the chest of Kypselos. By the early sixth century, if not before, the boar hunters included the Arcadian Atalante. In later accounts, Meleager and Atalante were seen as lovers (Ovid, *Met.* 8.270–525; Diodorus Siculus 4.34; ps.-Apollodorus 1.8.2–3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 174) and soon they became the principal actors of the hunt of the Calydonian boar. Skopas depicted them as such in the center of the east pediment of the Athena temple in Tegea. In Attic vases of the fourth century BCE, they sit as lovers among the Calydonian warriors, without the tragic halo of the Euripidean drama. Atalante is often characterized by a spear instead of a bow and dog, in contrast to her divine model Artemis.⁶⁵

Based on the available evidence, I think we can reasonably assume that what is represented on the bronze krater from the so-called House of C. Julius Polybius is the

58 On Atalante, see Arrigoni 1977; on the hunt of the Calydonian boar, Daltrop 1966; for a summary presentation of Atalante and recent bibliography, LIMC II (1984) 940–950 pls. 687–700, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman).

59 LIMC II (1984) 941 no. 2 pl. 687, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman).

60 LIMC II (1984) 941 no. 3 pl. 688, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman).

61 LIMC II (1984) 941 no. 4, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman).

62 LIMC II (1984) 944 no. 40 pl. 692, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman).

63 LIMC II (1984) 941 no. 14 pl. 688, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman).

64 LIMC II (1984) 941 no. 2 pl. 687, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman). Cf. Steingraber's discussion of Volterran urns in this volume, which includes some with representations of the Calydonian boar hunt.

65 On Meleager and Atalante, see Simon 1970.

hunt of the Calydonian boar – not the action itself, of course, but its preparations. I will not force the exegesis on the left figures, as no characteristic elements allow reasonable identifications. For instance, I do not think that the horse in the background can be interpreted as an attribute of a specific figure; it is rather a generic allusion to the expedition, a *pars pro toto*. Although generically based on Euripides' *Meleager*, the most influential narration of the myth of the Calydonian boar, the krater's craftsman did not base it on a particular iconographic model, but most likely drew from the iconographic repertoire handed down by the Hellenistic figurative production. The limits of this contribution force me to leave behind numerous questions: possible iconographic models, production and circulation of such luxury pieces, owner's social context and aesthetic taste, and dating. Nonetheless, I would suggest that the krater, though dependent on iconographic models that may date back to the fourth century BCE, is allegedly datable to the Augustan period, rather than the second century BCE as elsewhere proposed.⁶⁶ The stylistic treatment of the figures can be compared with those of the so-called Telephos relief from the homonymous house in Pompeii, just to cite one example.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Parise Presicce 1994, 224.

⁶⁷ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 286787.

Michalis Tiverios

Phrixos' Self-sacrifice and his "Euphemia"*

In this paper I discuss questions of ancient Greek iconography, a field in which my dear old friend Alan Shapiro has excelled, leaving us a legacy of high-quality research.

The Apulian lekythos at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 1), dates to the first decades of the fourth century BCE and captivates scholarly attention not only on account of its shape, which is unexpectedly similar to that of Attic lekythoi, but also because of its iconography.¹ It represents a young boy sitting on top of an altar, while a girl is on a swing, assisted by a woman. The god Hermes is actively involved in the scene, gesturing with his right hand. The episode appears to take place within a sanctuary, symbolized by a tall Ionic column.

Some scholars have associated swinging with a religious ritual that might have been common among the Greeks of southern Italy.² I remain skeptical regarding this possibility, since ritual swinging (*aïora*) is almost exclusively an Athenian ritual:³ the *aïora* is known to us mainly from Athenian cult and the predominantly Ionian festival of the Anthesteria; it is rarely attested at other sites.⁴ If we take into account Hermes' active participation in the scene, it seems more plausible to associate swinging with a mythological episode rather than a cultic ritual.⁵

I propose that we recognize here an episode from the life of Phrixos and Helle, the children of Athamas and Nephele. The mythological cycle of the Athamantides has come down to us in many different variations, often contradicting one another, and it

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1 RVAp Suppl. 1, 15 no. 235a (associated with the work of the Lecce Painter). For more on the vase and bibliography, see Mayo/Hamma 1982, 93. Cf. Neils/Oakley 2003, 288–289. This particular shape of the lekythos with a cylindrical body copies Attic prototypes and is rare in South Italian pottery. On South Italian lekythoi, see Schauenburg 2001, 9–13.

2 See Neils/Oakley 2003, 288. Cf. below n. 5.

3 On the "aïora," see Burkert 1983, 241–243 and n. 11. Cf. Immerwahr 1946, 254–259. For relevant sources, see Maass 1883, 60–138 and 1921, 1–25. Athenaios (14.618e) quotes Aristotle who refers to an *aïora* outside Attica, in Kolophon, where "αἱ γυναῖκες ᾄδουσιν αὐτοῦ μέλη περὶ τὰς αἰώρας" (the women sing his [Theodoros'] songs about swinging).

4 See Burkert 1983, 213 and n. 1. On the Anthesteria in Magna Graecia and Sicily, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 6 no. 19 and van Hoorn 1951, 50–52. On the Anthesteria, in general, see Deubner 1932, 93–123; Burkert 1983, 213–247; and Hamilton 1992.

5 For a different interpretation of the scene, see Mayo/Hamma 1982, 93.



Fig. 1: Apulian lekythos. New York, Metropolitan Museum, no. 13.232.3. After Neils/Oakley 2003, 288 figs. 102 a–c, reproduced with permission of the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

was also the plot of many theater plays.⁶ According to a fifth-century tradition, if not earlier, Phrixos decides to sacrifice himself voluntarily in order to relieve his country from a catastrophic period of famine and infertility, heeding a counterfeit oracle.⁷

⁶ On the sources, see LIMC VII (1994) 398–399, s.v. Phrixos et Helle (Ph. Bruneau) with bibliography. See also Robert 1920, 41–51; TGF 4. 99–102 and TGF 5.2. 856–876.

⁷ Robert 1920, 45–46 and n. 1. In the Euripidean tragedy *Phrixos B*, Phrixos must have willingly offered himself for sacrifice: Schadewaldt 1928, esp. 12–13. Cf. van Looy 1964, 177 no. 51 and Webster 1967, 136. Webster 1967, 103–104, 279 argues that the voluntary self-sacrifice of Phrixos might have been a Euripidean invention. The motif of a voluntary self-sacrifice for the sake of one's country appears often in Euripides' tragedies. See Schmitt 1921. Cf. Lesky 1972, 299 and Schadewaldt 1928, esp. 12–13. Van Looy (in Jouan/van Looy 2003, 354) supposes that in *Phrixos B* the protagonist sacrificed his life willingly, while in *Phrixos A* his sacrifice was involuntary.

Based on this, the youth willingly seated on the altar can be identified with Phrixos. The long, fringed ribbon with a pomegranate hanging from the altar under his left arm indicates that he is not seeking protection or asylum at a sanctuary, but is there to be sacrificed. Literary sources, too, describe explicitly how Phrixos was brought to the altar wearing ribbons.⁸

Once we accept the identification of the youth with Phrixos, then the girl on the swing depicted on our lekythos can only be his sister, Helle, while the woman assisting her may be their mother, Nephele. These identifications justify the presence of Hermes in the scene. After all, the god's help was crucial in rescuing Nephele's children, since he provided her with the golden ram that carried Phrixos and Helle to Kolchis.⁹

There is, however, one point in the scene that cannot be explained through the literary tradition and requires further examination: Helle's swinging.¹⁰ One should point out that all mythological personas who are associated with ritual swinging, directly or indirectly, happen to have killed themselves, specifically by hanging.¹¹ One wonders whether there was a tradition according to which Helle intended to hang herself when she found out that her brother was going to sacrifice his own life. Alternatively, the painter may have depicted Helle on the *aiora* as an indirect link to her later swinging above the Aegean¹² and her involuntary fatal fall from the flying ram over the straits of Propontis. Even though these are all plausible conjectures, they cannot be proven.

I believe that the interpretation I have suggested for the scene on the Apulian lekythos is further supported by three similar South Italian vase paintings. One of these is a Lucanian bell krater in Madrid,¹³ which dates a couple of decades after the lekythos in New York, around 370–360 BCE (fig. 2). It depicts four figures on its main side, of which only Hermes is immediately recognizable. Gratia Berger-Doer, in a personal communication to Christine Schwanzar, correctly interpreted the scene as

⁸ Hyginus, *Fab.* 2 and Ovid, *Fast.* 3.861. Cf. Euripides, *IA* 1567. It is noteworthy that even in later times Phrixos' descendants were brought to the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios covered in woolen ribbons (Burkert 1983, 115). Similar objects appear on representations of funerary monuments and *naiskoi* and were probably offerings to the dead or chthonic deities: Taplin 2007, 54–55 figs. 3–4 and Söldner 2011, 113 fig. 36, 114, 115 fig. 38, 117 fig. 40. On the ribbons (*stemmata*), see ThesCRA V (2005) 396–399, s.v. *Stemma* (H. Schaubert/I. Krauskopf) with bibliography.

⁹ See, for example, ps.-Apollodorus 1.9.1. Regarding Hermes' role, see below. According to tradition, Nephele is the mother of both children; there are, however, other alternatives, e.g., TGF 4. 101 F 4a.

¹⁰ On the game of "aiora" in Magna Graecia, see Schauenburg 1976, 43, 46 fig. 15, 51 n. 79.

¹¹ E.g., Erigone, the daughter of Aigisthos and the homonymous daughter of Ikarios. It is noteworthy that Polygnotos depicted Phaidra on the swing in his Nekyia, decorating the Knidian Lesche at Delphi, a heroine who had also hung herself: Burkert 1983, 241–243 and n. 18. Also, the loop of the hanging rope was named "aiora" or "eora," see LSJ.

¹² Helle's swinging might also be associated with Nephele, who is often placed in the sky. For representations of Helle swinging, see LIMC VII (1994) 401 no. 27, s.v. Phrixos et Helle (Ph. Bruneau).

¹³ The vase has been associated with the late phase of the Creousa Painter and the work of the Choephoros Painter. See LCS 119 no. 598.



Fig. 2: Lucanian bell krater. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, no. 11091.
Photo: Courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional of Madrid, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

Phrixos' preparation for his self-sacrifice.¹⁴ Phrixos is represented as a child, just as on the New York lekythos, standing behind the altar. The sceptered figure on the right is undoubtedly his father, king Athamas, wearing a myrtle crown¹⁵ and holding an olive (?) branch in his right hand, both indicative of the sacrifice about to take place.

The beardless male figure that holds Phrixos' shoulder with his right hand and carries a phiale with his left is probably one of the king's envoys to the Delphic oracle. Instructed by Ino, the envoy presented the counterfeit oracle to Athamas and is depicted helping the king with the sacrifice. His conic pilos hanging loose from his back, his high shoes, and his chlamys confirm his identification as a messenger.

¹⁴ See LIMC II (1984) 951 no. 8, s.v. Athamas (Ch. Schwanzar). Cf. Todisco 2003, 402 (L 50).

¹⁵ Athamas is depicted with a crown on the Apulian krater by the Darius Painter, which will be examined later and represents with certainty Phrixos' sacrifice. See Giuliani 1995, 89.

The representation of Hermes is quite interesting,¹⁶ as his gesture recalls a similar motif on the New York lekythos. His extended hand and the fact that young Phrixos tries to avoid his execution and approaches the god, makes one wonder whether the painters of the bell krater and the lekythos were familiar with a tradition that had Hermes canceling the sacrifice. In this case, Hermes' participation in the story would be even greater and not limited to offering Nephele the golden ram.¹⁷

The second vase that bears similarities to the New York lekythos is an Apulian volute krater in Berlin by the Darius Painter (fig. 3), which dates to around 340 BCE or soon after that, and has been exemplarily published by Luca Giuliani.¹⁸ It also represents Phrixos' self-sacrifice: in the middle of the lower frieze is the altar, adjacent to an Ionic column – a feature that we encountered first on the New York lekythos. On the same level with the column stands Phrixos, holding a ram with both hands. He is crowned with sacrificial ribbons and decorates the ram's head with similar ones. Next to Phrixos stands Athamas, with a crown on his head and a sacrificial knife in his raised right hand.¹⁹ Phrixos' posture – putting his left leg on top of the Ionic column – seems to follow the tradition that he was brought in front of the altar on his own will.²⁰ Hermes is actively involved in the scene, as was the case on both the lekythos and the bell krater examined earlier. He is depicted on the top right talking with Nephele, a detail that strengthens the identification of the woman on the New York lekythos with Phrixos' mother.

Phrixos' voluntary sacrifice is probably also illustrated on the main side of an Apulian calyx krater in Taras (fig. 4), which is contemporary with the krater in Berlin.²¹ Phrixos is depicted here in front of the ram, one level above the altar, while Helle

¹⁶ Gratia Berger-Doer identifies this figure with a messenger and the youth wearing a pilos as an "Opferdiener." See LIMC II (1984) 951 no. 8, s.v. Athamas (Ch. Schwanzar). On the identification of this figure with Hermes, see LCS 119 no. 598 and LIMC V (1990) 354 no. 815, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

¹⁷ For Hermes, see also below.

¹⁸ Giuliani 1995, 26–31 (Cat. 1), 88–94. See also, Giuliani 1988, 6–10; Taplin 2007, 215–217 and 287 n. 143 with bibliography; Todisco 2003, 459 (Ap 159) with bibliography; Giuliani/Most 2007, 207–211; Malek 2008, 287–291 and Gödde 2011, 343–350. Unfortunately, this last monograph was brought to my attention after the completion of this paper. See also LIMC IV (1988) 67, s.v. Euphemia (G. Berger-Doer); LIMC VI (1992) 782 no. 2, s.v. Nephele II (M. Pipili); LIMC VII (1994) 399 no. 1, s.v. Phrixos et Helle (Ph. Bruneau).

¹⁹ See Giuliani 1995, 89, 92, 93 fig. 71–72. For an elaborate discussion, see below.

²⁰ Giuliani 1995, 92 and slightly differently in Giuliani/Most 2007, 210. Taplin 2007, 217 explains Phrixos' relaxed posture to his ignorance regarding the upcoming sacrifice: "it was the ram, not himself, that was to be sacrificed." Cf. Gödde 2011, 346. This view is weakened by the fact that Phrixos' head is decorated with sacrificial ribbons.

²¹ This vase dates to around 340 BCE and is attributed to the workshop of the Darius Painter (Giuliani 1995, 89–92 and 166 n. 167 with bibliography). The interpretation of the scene is not unanimously accepted, as some scholars recognize the sacrifice of the ram in Kolchis. Giuliani 1995, 89–92 has made a very plausible case associating the scene with Phrixos' sacrifice in the land of Athamas, a hypothesis further supported by the fact that the ram is not decorated with sacrificial ribbons.



Fig. 3a: Apulian volute krater by the Darius Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung no. 1984.41. Photo: Johannes Laurentius.



Fig. 3b: Details of 3a. Photo: After Giuliani 1995, 90–91 figs. 69–70.

stands on his right. Hermes is also present in the scene. Despite the sacrificial ribbons that decorate Helle's head, Phrixos' position on the central axis of the composition, which dissects the altar and the ram, indicates that he is the main victim.²² Phrixos' prominence in the scene is more evident on the New York lekythos, but it is also plainly seen on the kraters from Taras, Madrid, and Berlin.

Furthermore, the krater by the Darius Painter in Berlin has been of interest to scholars of ancient theater, as is often the case with his work.²³ The principal side of the krater depicts enough elements to suggest that the painting was influenced by a tragedy involving Athamas, Phrixos, Ino, Helle, and a messenger named "tropheus." All figures are named with inscriptions, including Nephele and Euphemia (a personification to which we shall return), except for two women behind Ino on the bottom left and the deities depicted on the upper frieze, namely, Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Hermes, Artemis, and Pan. The majority of scholars who have examined the scene propose that it is associated with one of the two Euripidean tragedies entitled *Phrixos*.²⁴ Unfortunately, we know little about the plot of these tragedies: the preserved lines are few, and it is virtually impossible to figure out to which one of the two homonymous tragedies they belong.²⁵ Any attempt to reconstruct these lost Euripidean plays should include the vase painting by the Darius Painter, even though to do so is not easy. For instance, the scene itself cannot help us decide which one of the two tragedies was its source of influence, and the preserved lines of the two texts have a general, sententious character that do not allow any association with the iconographic details of the vase painting. Further, one cannot exclude the possibility that the painter enriched his composition with elements from both Euripidean tragedies, as well as other sources, and even some personal touches.²⁶ Equally challenging is the fact that certain iconographic details are open to more than just one interpretation.²⁷

The scene on the Apulian krater in Berlin seems to follow the tradition that Phrixos went willingly to the altar. Phrixos and the ram are depicted in the center of the composition, the latter rendered in yellow-golden color. At first glance, one is urged to identify the ram with the wondrous animal that Hermes gave to Nephele and later

²² Some sources describe both siblings as sacrificial victims and others only Phrixos. See below n. 36. There are some representations associated with the story of Phrixos and Helle, which depict only Helle. See Schauenburg 1978, esp. 174.

²³ Taplin 2007, 215 and 217.

²⁴ E.g., Taplin 2007, 215–217 and LIMC IV (1988) 67, s.v. Euphemia (G. Berger-Doer). Cf. LIMC II (1984) 951 no. 8, s.v. Athamas (Ch. Schwanzar). Alternatively, Giuliani 1995, 93.

²⁵ See TGF 5.2. 856–876 (*Phrixos A* and *B*). One of the differences between the two plays concerns the geographical location of the action: in *Phrixos A*, Athamas rules over Thessaly, while in *Phrixos B* he is the king of Orchomenos. Webster 1967, 131 thought that the plot of *Phrixos A* developed in Kolchis. For more differences, see here n. 7 and n. 33.

²⁶ See Giuliani 1995, 94. Cf. Schmidt 2000, 440–441 and Taplin 2007, 215 and 217.

²⁷ E.g., Taplin 2007, 217 and n. 152, and above n. 20. For an elaborate discussion, see below.



Fig. 4: Apulian calyx krater. Taras, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, no. 107.804. Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici per Puglia-Taranto.

helped Phrixos fly away to Kolchis.²⁸ The ribbons on the ram's head, an indication that this is an animal about to be sacrificed, however, contradict such an interpretation.²⁹

It is best, therefore, to identify the ram with the special animal that Phrixos, at the behest of his father, singled out from the royal herd and brought to the altar.³⁰ Athamas is shown moments before he slaughters his son, as is indicated by the sacrificial knife in his raised right hand. The way he holds the *machaira*, extending his index finger and pointing at his wife, Ino,³¹ implies that he has just been informed of

²⁸ Cf. Taplin 2007, 215.

²⁹ Cf. Giuliani 1995, 88.

³⁰ FHG 3.34 F 37. This ram acquired a human voice and revealed to Phrixos what was about to happen to him and his sister. Then, the two children rode the ram and flew towards the Black Sea. This episode was treated in Sophocles' tragedy *Athamas A*. See TGF 4. 99–100.

³¹ Giuliani 1995, 89 and 92.

her scheme. It is noteworthy that Phrixos turns his head towards Ino, too, and that her posture reflects the critical situation she is in. The two women behind Ino are set apart³² and, therefore, should not be identified with the women employed to execute her plan to kill her step-children.³³ They are probably two members of her escort.³⁴ Behind Athamas is the *tropheus*, extending his arm in a gesture of conversation towards Helle. Her body language, like that of Ino's, resonates with sadness and reflection, features accentuated by the sacrificial ribbons on her head.³⁵ The ribbons bring to mind the sources that included Helle as a sacrificial candidate.³⁶

On the upper level of the krater, Nephele is portrayed between Hermes and Apollo, who are both directly involved in the story.³⁷ Nephele's dancing motions and her vivid gestures symbolize her eternal mobility,³⁸ and perhaps also her active participation in the scene developing in the lower frieze, especially since she is conversing with Hermes.

It might be useful, at this point, to summarize the knowledge that the Darius Painter seems to have had when he painted this scene. First, he was familiar with the tradition that Nephele was a goddess, who married Athamas and had two children, Phrixos and Helle,³⁹ before Athamas remarried.⁴⁰ He knew that Athamas' second wife, Ino, came up with the scheme to kill her step-children by forging a Delphic oracle and presenting the sacrifice of Phrixos and Helle as Apollo's dictum. As discussed earlier, some versions of the myth mention the sacrifice of Phrixos alone, while others of both children. The painter probably knew both versions. Last, he must have known that Phrixos willingly

32 Taplin 2007, 217.

33 In *Phrixos A* they would be Thessalians, while in *Phrixos B*, Boeotians. See TGF 5.2. 856–862.

34 This interpretation explains better the fan held by the most prominent of the two women.

35 Giuliani 1995, 89.

36 On the literary sources, see Giuliani 1995, 89 and 166 n. 162. Note that Helle wears sacrificial ribbons on the krater of Taras, as well. According to some sources, the counterfeit oracle requests the sacrifice of Phrixos alone, e.g., ps.-Apollodorus 1.9.1 and Hyginus, *Fab.* 2.

37 See Giuliani 1995, 88–89; Taplin 2007, 217. Of the other deities represented, only Zeus is involved in the story: Giuliani/Most 2007, 209–211. Cf. Burkert 1983, 78, 114–115 and n. 27. The sanctuary setting implied in these four vase paintings is probably that of Zeus since Phrixos sacrificed the wondrous ram to Zeus when he arrived in Kolchis, according to the most prevalent tradition (ps.-Apollodorus 1.9.1).

38 Quite revealing is the way Nephele is rendered on an exceptional mosaic of the Severan era discovered in 2006 in Algeria, which depicts the goddess flying in her wavy himation. See Malek 2008, 283–291 fig. 3 and LIMC Suppl. (2009) 427 add. 1, s.v. Phrixos et Helle (A.-A. Malek). On the Darius Painter's Nephele, see Giuliani 1995, 88–89, Taplin 2007, 217, and Giuliani/Most 2007, 209.

39 Obviously, the knowledge of Nephele's divine nature (TGF 4. 99–100) led the Darius Painter to depict her on the upper frieze, alongside the rest of the gods. In addition, the clouds that Nephele symbolizes need to be in a sky setting. Cf. Nebulae, the celestial deities in Aristophanes, *Nub.* 316.

40 It is not clear in the literary sources why Athamas and Nephele's wedding came to an end. See LIMC VI (1992) 782 no. 2, s.v. Nephele II (M. Pipili). According to one tradition, Athamas was responsible for their separation; to take revenge, Nephele caused infertility and famine at his country, see TGF 4. 99–100 (ἄφεις [Ἀθάμας] οὖν τὴν Νεφέλην θεάν οὔσαν θνητῇ γυναικὶ ἐμίγη. Ζηλοτυπήσασα οὖν ἡ Νεφέλη ἀπέπτη εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός χώραν αὐχμῶ ἐκόλαξε).

volunteered his own sacrifice, that Athamas was forced to execute his children, and that Athamas was informed of Ino's scheme at the very last minute.

Less certain is whether the ram depicted next to the altar is the flying ram sent by Nephele to rescue her children or the special ram Phrixos selected from the royal herd. Both options are plausible: the former is strengthened by Nephele's conversation with Hermes, the ribbons Phrixos places on the ram's head, and the ram's golden skin. The latter is supported by the fact that both Phrixos and the ram are decorated with sacrificial ribbons.⁴¹ In the first case, the Darius Painter would have combined several scenes that occurred at different times,⁴² while in the second, he would have borrowed various episodes from a number of literary sources. In either case, he added his own personal touch by placing the ram next to Athamas.

One last question remains unanswered by the Darius Painter's composition: how was Athamas informed about Ino's scheme? One possible answer is the ram, since it had supernatural powers and could talk.⁴³ Alternatively, the *tropheus* conversing with Helle may have tipped her and her father off. If the first suggestion is valid, then we have again a composition influenced by many different sources.

The preserved lines of the two Euripidean *Phrixoi* mention the two wives of Athamas, Nephele and Ino, and that Phrixos and Helle were the children of the former. They also inform us about Ino's scheme to kill her step-children, the envoy to the Delphic oracle, and an old man (*geron*) who reveals Ino's ploy to Athamas.⁴⁴ Based on this, it is too risky to try and associate the Darius Painter's scene with one of the two Euripidean *Phrixoi*.

Philologists have used later authors, such as ps.-Apollodorus and Hyginus, to reconstruct the plots of these two tragedies. We are on safer ground in the case of *Phrixos B*. Since Dionysos was involved in the plot of *Phrixos B*, and is not depicted on the Darius Painter's krater, Oliver Taplin disassociates the scene from this tragedy⁴⁵ and relates it to *Phrixos A*. Dionysos' absence from the painting by the Darius Painter, however, is not crucial; it is not infrequent in vase painting, and specifically in the oeuvre by the Darius

⁴¹ See above n. 29.

⁴² It is well known that vase paintings usually represent time and space in a non-realistic way. The same principle could apply in our scene, where Phrixos is depicted in the land of his father and, at the same time, his future presence in Kolchis is referred to. For more examples of merging time and space in ancient Greek vase painting, see Tiverios 2011, 94–97 and n. 86. It is possible that painters were aware of different traditions with a varied number of victims, see *supra* n. 36. On personal additions of vase painters, see also below.

⁴³ FHG 3.34 F 37.

⁴⁴ TGF 5.2. F 822 b. The old man of the sources may be identified with the *tropheus* depicted on the Berlin krater. See Gödde 2011, 345–348. There is also a later tradition (FGrH 32 F 2a–c), according to which Phrixos' *tropheus* was named Ram (Krios) and helped Phrixos flee when he learned Ino's scheme (... ἄνθρωπόν φησι γεγενῆσθαι παιδαγωγὸν τοῦ Φρίξου ὀνομάτι Κριὸν ... Κριὸν φησι Φρίξου τροφέα γενέσθαι, ὃν πρῶτον αἰσθόμενον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς Ἰνοῦς ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Φρίξῳ τὴν φυγὴν ποιήσασθαι).

⁴⁵ Taplin 2007, 215. Cf. Giuliani 1995, 92–93.

Painter, to come across mythological episodes where the main deity is omitted and, instead, gods with limited participation or none at all, are prominently portrayed in the scene.⁴⁶ According to this, therefore, one should not exclude the possibility that the main source of influence for the krater by the Darius painter was *Phrixos B*.⁴⁷

Let us now discuss the unexpected representation of the personified Euphemia on the krater in Berlin. Her presence has been associated with the sacrifice depicted, an argument which is supported by the offering tray and oinochoe in her hands. More specifically, Euphemia has been interpreted as the personification of the "sacred silence" that was imposed during sacrificial rituals and her presence as a sign of divine intervention.⁴⁸ This word, however, has many different meanings,⁴⁹ including "good name" or "good reputation," which explains why it was also a common female name.⁵⁰ Euphemia is the name of a young girl playing the double flute on a red-figure hydria dated ca. 430 BCE, housed at the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig. Alan Shapiro has already compared the name of the *auletris* to the personification on the Berlin krater.⁵¹ I do not preclude the possibility that Euphemia portrayed by the Darius Painter personifies "sacred silence," but I suggest that she might also represent the personification of the notion of "good reputation" or "good name" that Phrixos would be granted after his heroic sacrifice to save his country.⁵² It is noteworthy that *euphemia* and its two meanings are attested in other Euripidean tragedies, such as *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, a play that also treats the sacrifice of a royal child for the sake of her country.⁵³

⁴⁶ See, for example, the Apulian calyx krater in London, British Museum F271 attributed to the Lycurgus Painter, depicting Lykourgos along with Apollo and Hermes but not Dionysos, and the Apulian volute krater in London, British Museum F279 by the hand of the Darius Painter, portraying Hippolytos along with Athena, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Apollo, and Pan but not Artemis (Taplin 2007, 70–71 no. 13 and 137–138 n. 42).

⁴⁷ For another indication for associating the vase painting by the Darius Painter with *Phrixos B*, see below.

⁴⁸ Giuliani 1995, 89; Taplin 2007, 217; Aellen 1994, 165–166, 177; Malek 2008, 289 reports that Ph. Bruneau gave a different meaning to Euphemia "ce serait la personification du Bon augure marquant l'annulation du sacrifice," but I was unable to locate where this view has been expressed. On Euphemia, see the exhaustive monograph by Gödde 2011.

⁴⁹ On all possible meanings of *euphemia*, see Gödde 2011, 243–264.

⁵⁰ E.g., for Athens, see Traill 1998 and Osborne/Byrne 1994, 187, s.v. Εὐφημία, and for Magna Graecia, see Fraser/Matthews 1997.

⁵¹ ARV² 1037.2; Shapiro 1993b, 114–115 and no. 250, 243 n. 54. Names with similar meanings are given to other female musicians of the scene, cf. Gödde 2011, 350. On the names, which could easily be nicknames of musician-*hetairai*, see Immerwahr 1990, 111 n. 763 and Traill 1998, 512 no. 449395. In particular, for the meaning of "euphemia" in connection with the aulos and music, see Gödde 2011, 59–60, 92, 156–157, 159–160, 162, 343, 350.

⁵² Cf. the unattributed Euripidean lines describing how a sacrifice may bring *eukleia*, which might belong to either *Phrixos A* or *B*: "τὸ μὲν σφαγῆναι δεινόν, εὐκλειαν δ' ἔχει· τὸ μὴ θανεῖν δὲ δειλόν, ἥδονή δ' ἔστι" (TGF 5.2. 889 F 854).

⁵³ On the word *euphemia* in Euripides, see Gödde 2011, 235–264, 265–288.

More specifically, Talthybios imposes *euphemia* (sacred silence) before the seer Kalchas begins the ritual sacrifice of Iphigeneia,⁵⁴ while Iphigeneia proclaims that her sacrifice will bring *euphemia* (good name) to the Argives.⁵⁵

Based on this, a similar notion of *euphemia* may have been implied in *Phrixos B*, where the voluntary sacrifice of Phrixos seems more probable: during the preparation for Phrixos' sacrifice one may expect an invocation of *euphemia* as both "sacred silence" and "good reputation/name."⁵⁶ If our train of thought is correct, Euphemia's presence in the scene by the Darius Painter, a personification so far unique in classical iconography,⁵⁷ must originate from the tragedy that inspired the vase painter.⁵⁸ It should be pointed out that Euphemia is not depicted in the scene on account of a theatrical performance of either *Phrixos* tragedy (where her presence could have been nonexistent or insignificant), but rather it derives from a theatrical text.⁵⁹ In this case, the Darius Painter would seem to have been a thorough and careful reader of Euripides, and more so of *Phrixos B*, where Phrixos' voluntary sacrifice is a more probable scenario.⁶⁰ This fact explains the extraordinarily theatrical vase paintings he has produced.⁶¹ Still, one cannot exclude the possibility that the same episode was also treated in *Phrixos A*, as the two plots could not have been vastly different.⁶²

To conclude, I believe that the Darius Painter depicted the scene on the Berlin krater under the influence of both Euripidean *Phrixoi*, perhaps drawing more from *Phrixos B*.⁶³ It appears that this influence was not absorbed through the theatrical performances of these tragedies, but rather through the reading of Euripidean texts, allowing the painter to add his own personal touches to the composition.⁶⁴

⁵⁴ Euripides, *IA* 1564 (εὐφημίαν ἀνεῖπε καὶ σιγὴν στρατῶ). See Göttdde 2011, 279.

⁵⁵ Euripides, *IA* 1469 (ἴτω δὲ Δαναῖδαις εὐφημία). See Göttdde 2011, 277–278. Cf. the unattributed Euripidean lines: φήμη τὸν ἐσθλὸν κἀν μυχοῖς δείκνυσσι γῆς (TGF 5.2. 892, F 865).

⁵⁶ Schadeewald 1928, esp. 12–13, suggests that Phrixos sacrificed himself willingly for the sake of his country in *Phrixos B* and speaks of his bravery and magnanimity.

⁵⁷ Eupheme, the nurse of the Muses, with a relief image in Helicon reported by Pausanias (9.29.5), cannot be the same figure as Euphemia. See LIMC IV (1988) 67, s.v. Eupheme (G. G. Belloni) and Göttdde 2011, 350. Simon 1967, 19 and pl. 15 identifies certain women that bring their hand to their mouth on the Ara Pacis with priestesses imposing the "sacred silence."

⁵⁸ For opposite views, see Aellen 1994, 177, Giuliani 1995, 93–94, Taplin 2007, 217, and Schmidt 2000, 440–441.

⁵⁹ This confirms Taplin's observation (2007, 215) that all the names in the scene by the Darius Painter are written in the Attic dialect.

⁶⁰ As noted above (n. 7), van Looy believes that in Euripides' *Phrixos B*, the protagonist was sacrificed willingly, while in *Phrixos A* involuntarily.

⁶¹ RVAp 484. Cf. Aellen et al. 1986.

⁶² The lines preserved from Euripides' *Phrixos A* and *B* offer similar information. See TGF 5.2. 857–859, 861–862. Cf. Taplin 2007, 215 and Lesky 1972, 443.

⁶³ This possibility would be strengthened, if Webster's opinion that *Phrixos A* took place in Kolchis is confirmed (see n. 25).

⁶⁴ This must be the case for most theatrical scenes that decorate South Italian vases.

Stephan Steingrüber

Philoktetes in Brauron (Attica) and Volterra (Etruria)*

The starting point of my contribution in honor of Alan Shapiro is a well-preserved, albeit fragmentary, large marble relief in the Archaeological Museum of Brauron that depicts Philoktetes in a rocky landscape, abandoned on the northeastern Aegean island of Lemnos, with two Greek heroes, Odysseus and Diomedes, approaching him (figs. 1 and 2).¹ Philoktetes is represented as an old and ill man, bearded and half naked, lying in a cave, almost banquet-like, supporting his head with his left hand; of the two other heroes, both their heads are visible, as is Diomedes' left hand. The bearded Odysseus, with his characteristic pilos, looks at Philoktetes from the upper left, whereas the bearded Diomedes does so from the upper right closer to the center of the scene. In the upper middle part of the relief, we recognize Philoktetes' quiver, decorated with small scrolls and volutes, which features prominently in the myth. The artist, who is probably of Attic provenance, remains anonymous. The relief dates either from the Hellenistic period, presumably from the second century BCE, or from the Roman Imperial period (second century CE). It is surprising that, despite its unique iconography and lack of any close parallels, the relief has only received a brief mention in a volume on rescue excavations at Mesogeia (NE Attica) and remains otherwise unpublished.²

The most striking element of this Attic marble relief is the representation of the rocky landscape with a cave, symbolizing Lemnos, the setting for the famous myth of Philoktetes. Landscape elements, such as trees, rocks, and grottos/caves, and architectural elements, such as pillars, can also be found on other Greek Hellenistic reliefs. One example is the second-century BCE relief of the "Apotheosis of Homer" by Archelaos from Priene in the British Museum,³ while similar elements decorate various other reliefs, including the Attic votive relief (ca. 150 BCE, perhaps from Rhodes) featuring an enthroned god and a standing goddess, a sacrificing family, and

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¹ Brauron, Archaeological Museum AE 1363.

² Kakavogianni/Argyropoulos 2003. The website of the Brauron Museum has some photographs of the relief, copyrighted to Iannis Demicolas and Alexander Pappas, but without detailed comments. A photograph of the Brauron relief may also be found in the Wikipedia entry on "Philoktetes" (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philoktetes>).

³ London, British Museum 1819,0812.1: Moreno 1999, 47, 52–53 fig. 58, with bibliography.



Fig. 1: Brauron, Archaeological Museum AE 1363. Marble relief with Philoktetes on the island of Lemnos. With permission of the Second Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Photo: author.

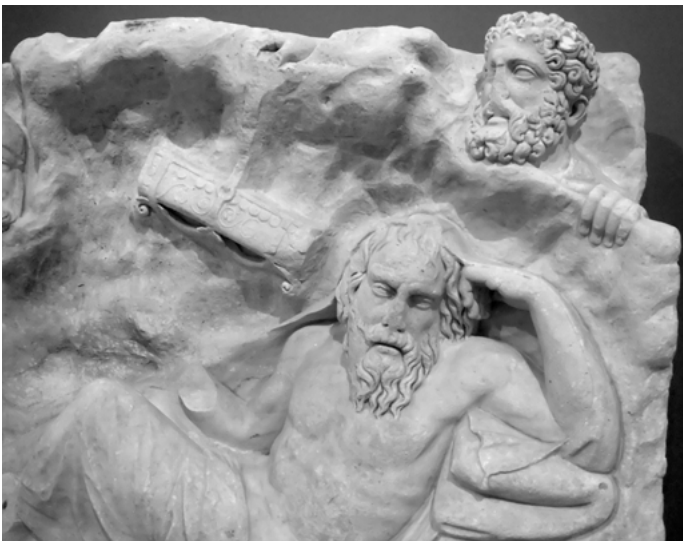


Fig. 2: Brauron, Archaeological Museum AE 1363. Detail of the marble relief with Philoktetes and Diomedes. With permission of the Second Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Photo: author.

an altar in a rural sanctuary, housed today in the Glyptothek of Munich;⁴ the Maffei relief in the British Museum with the visit of Dionysos, which is probably a Roman copy of a Hellenistic votive relief;⁵ and some panels of the “little” Telephos frieze of the Pergamon altar, especially those with the construction of the Auge ship, dating from 160/150 BCE.⁶

The presence of landscape, scenic, and atmospheric elements and the tendency to illustrate spatial depth on reliefs most probably originate from Hellenistic paintings, which, unfortunately, rarely survive today.⁷ As we know from literary sources, the *skene* of Greek satyr plays often stood for special landscape elements, such as mountains, grottos, and trees. The bucolic poetry by Theokritos from Syracuse, who lived in Alexandria, as well as Alexandrian art and painting, all no doubt contributed to an increasing interest in artistic depictions of natural landscapes. The Nile mosaic in the sanctuary of Isis in Praeneste of the later second century BCE⁸ is a characteristic example of these Alexandrian tendencies. Reflections of the influence of Hellenistic painting can also be traced in Roman-Campanian wall paintings of the late first century BCE and the first century CE, which depict picturesque landscapes. Vitruvius succinctly observes this practice (7.5.2): “Indeed they are painting now harbors, foothills, seashores, rivers, springs, straits, sanctuaries, holy groves, mountains, herds, shepherds; in certain sites they paint also representations of gods and mythological scenes in the middle of landscapes, such as the Trojan War and the voyages of Odysseus.” The most striking examples of this trend are the Odyssey landscapes from the Villa on the Esquiline hill in Rome, dating from about 40 BCE.

Let us now return to our hero Philoktetes, son of Poias, born in Magnesia in Thessaly.⁹ As a youth, he was Herakles’ companion and eventually received Herakles’ bow and arrows, becoming a famous archer in the Trojan War. On the way to Troy, he was bitten by a snake, and because of his stinking wound and his cries of pain, he was abandoned by his companions on the Greek island of Lemnos. There, he spent ten years, until an oracle declared that his bow and arrows were necessary for the capture of Troy by the Greeks. As a result, a Greek embassy led by Odysseus was sent to Lemnos and, according to a non-Homeric tradition, Philoktetes was tricked into joining the Greeks: it was either cunning Diomedes or Odysseus, together with either

4 Munich, Glyptothek 206: Boardman et al. 1976, 212–213 fig. 210.

5 London, British Museum 1805,0703.123: Moreno 1999, 86–94, with bibliography.

6 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung T.I. 5–6: Boardman et al. 1976, 212; Charbonneaux/Martin/Villard 1978, 282–283.

7 For a summary on Hellenistic painting, see Charbonneaux/Martin/Villard 1978, 97–198, and particularly 167–198.

8 Moreno 1999, 61–68, with bibliography.

9 For the myth of Philoktetes and references to the literary sources, see mainly EAA III (1960) 691–693, s.v. Filottete (A. Andrén) and LIMC VII (1994) 376–385, esp. 376–377 pls. 321–326, s.v. Philoktetes (M. Pilipi).

Diomedes or Neoptolemos, who deceived the wounded hero and persuaded him to leave from Lemnos. Once in Troy, Machaon and/or Podaleirios healed Philoktetes. Thanks to the arrow and bow inherited from Herakles, he killed Paris and thus brought about the fall of Troy. After the end of the Trojan War, Philoktetes was driven out to Italy, landed at the area around Sybaris and Kroton, where he founded many cities, such as Krimissa, Petelia, Makalla, and Chone, and there he died, according to one tradition. He was buried in Makalla, and his famous weapons were exhibited in Apollo's temples at Kroton and Thurioi. His mythical ties to this part of the world explain why Philoktetes became so popular in Etruria and other parts of Italy, especially in the Hellenistic period.¹⁰

The earliest literary references to Philoktetes are found in Homer's *Iliad* (2.716–728) and *Odyssey* (3.190; 8.219), and he is also mentioned by Pindar, Bacchylides, and many later authors.¹¹ All three famous tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, wrote plays with differing plots about Philoktetes, although only Sophocles' survives today.¹² Yet another version of the myth is recorded in Servius' commentary on Vergil's *Aeneid* (3.402).

The various episodes of Philoktetes' myth are well known and can be divided into three main groups: Philoktetes alone (in a non-narrative context), Philoktetes and Herakles, and Philoktetes and the Trojan War. The latter two categories can be broken down even further. More specifically, three stages stand out from the myth regarding Philoktetes and Herakles: Philoktetes as Herakles' young attendant, Philoktetes in the Garden of the Hesperides, and Philoktetes at Herakles' death and apotheosis. As far as the hero's role in the Trojan War is concerned, the narrative sequence of events starts with Philoktetes bitten by a snake in the sanctuary of Chryse and continues with his abandonment on Lemnos and, later on, his encounter with Palamedes and Hermes. Then follows the embassy to Lemnos, which includes an encounter with the wounded hero, stealing Philoktetes' weapons, and taking him away from Lemnos. Finally, Philoktetes is healed and fights at Troy.

If we turn to Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art, one can discern six different episodes from Philoktetes' myth illustrated on various artistic media.¹³ Among the representations, we find Philoktetes as a companion of Herakles, attested on Attic and

¹⁰ On Philoktetes in Italy, see Maddoli 1980.

¹¹ Pindar, *Pythian* 1.53; Bacchylides fr. 7; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1146a and 1151b; Strabo 6.1.3, and others.

¹² Our knowledge of Aeschylus' and Euripides' plots comes from Dio Chrysostomus, *Oration* 52 and 59, references in Aristotle's *Poetics*, and surviving fragments of the plays (Aeschylus TGF III T 78.17c, F 249–257; Euripides TGF V.2 T 73, F 787–803). In Aeschylus' play, Odysseus brought Philoktetes from Lemnos to Troy, but in Euripides', it was both Odysseus and Diomedes that brought him to Troy; instead, Sophocles' *Philoktetes* has Odysseus and Neoptolemos bring the wounded hero to Ilion.

¹³ For the iconography of Philoktetes and all the images referred to in this paragraph, see LIMC VII (1994) 376–385 pls. 321–326, s.v. Philoktetes (M. Pilipi).

Tarentine red-figure vases of the fourth century BCE, whereas the episode with the snake biting his thigh near the altar of the goddess Chryse decorates red-figure vases of the fourth and third centuries BCE, gems, and a silver cup from Hoby with reliefs of the Augustan period signed by Kheirisophos. Philoktetes alone on the island of Lemnos features on many representations, including a red-figure Attic aryballos of the fourth century, gems, a bronze statuette and a bronze mirror, a coin from Lamia, a Pompeian wall painting, and a Roman stucco relief from the Via Latina in Rome. Even more popular appears to be the meeting of Philoktetes with Odysseus of the Greek embassy on the island of Lemnos, illustrated on many artifacts, such as a relief from Smyrna and several Etruscan urn reliefs especially from Volterra, various bronze statuettes, the famous Augustan silver cup from Hoby, mentioned above, possibly the Torso of Belvedere (?), a Roman oil lamp, and a sarcophagus. The same mythical episode was also represented by famous Greek painters, such as Aristophon, brother of the even more famous Polygnotos, in the Pinakothek of the Athenian Acropolis. According to Pausanias (1.22.6), Aristophon's painting depicted Odysseus stealing the bow of Philoktetes. Last but not least, the final episodes of Philoktetes' myth, namely Machaon healing Philoktetes' wound and Philoktetes' fight against Paris in Troy, are both represented in Etruscan art, and more specifically on an Etruscan bronze mirror, a scarab, and on an Etruscan urn relief.

If we now break down the representations of Philoktetes' myth according to their origin of production, we find that the earliest appearance of Philoktetes in Greek art is documented on Attic red-figure vases dating from about 460–450 BCE.¹⁴ The most popular episode is the wounded hero Philoktetes on the island of Lemnos, a subject also represented on three famous fifth-century BCE works of art, two paintings and one sculpture, now lost.¹⁵ The embassy to Lemnos with Odysseus was also first represented in Greek art of the fifth century, and, in some cases, Odysseus was shown stealing the hero's bow. Philoktetes is often represented seated on a rock, naked, with a wild beard and long unkempt hair, all features that stress his isolation and suffering.

In the western Mediterranean, Philoktetes was a popular hero in Italy and is often depicted on a variety of objects that range from Etruscan, Italic, and Roman Republican gems from the fourth to the first centuries BCE, to Etruscan bronze mirrors, alabaster and tufa urns, as well as scarabs, ring stones, and bronze statuettes. Similarly, the embassy to Lemnos, and particularly the theft of Philoktetes' weapons, was a popular subject in Italy and is found on Etruscan urns, perhaps showing signs of influence from Euripides' tragedy. Most of these urns are exhibited in the Museo Guarnacci at Volterra and also in the Archaeological Museum in Florence and the

¹⁴ For references to Greek, Etruscan, and Italian artworks depicting Philoktetes mentioned in this paragraph and the one below, see above n. 13.

¹⁵ One of the lost paintings was by Parrhasios (Plutarch, *De Aud. Poet.* 3; *Anth. Pal.* 16.111), and the other by Aristophon (Pausanias 1.22.6). For the now lost sculpture by Pythagoras of Rhegion, see Pliny, *HN* 34.8.

MAEC in Cortona, among others.¹⁶ On these urns, Philoktetes is represented seated on a rock or standing inside a grotto and Odysseus examines his wound or converses with him while Diomedes steals his bow. Alternatively, Philoktetes is represented in front of his grotto surrounded by the members of the Greek embassy.

The motif of Philoktetes sitting in a grotto and Odysseus standing on the left, which is represented on the Brauron relief described above, is already known from a Campanian red-figure bell krater attributed to the Dirke Painter and dating from the first quarter of the fourth century BCE.¹⁷ In conjunction with this, it is interesting to note that in Accius' tragedy *Philoktetes*, performed in Republican Rome, the hero was also sitting in a grotto.

Of particular interest are the different versions of Philoktetes' myth represented on seven Volterrarn urns – six in alabaster and one in tufa – dating to the middle-late Hellenistic period (mainly second century BCE), some of which include landscape elements, such as a grotto (figs. 3 and 4).¹⁸ Close examination demonstrates that the representations of Philoktetes' myth on the Volterrarn urns, as well as on the famous silver cup of the Augustan period from Hoby in Denmark, betray influences from the epic cycle. In general, depictions of Odysseus and episodes from Homer's *Odyssey* were particularly popular in late Etruscan art of the Hellenistic period.¹⁹ Thus, it comes as no surprise that a Volterrarn urn, now in the Museo Guarnacci, illustrates the blinding of Polyphemos by Odysseus and his comrades (fig. 5),²⁰ while eleven more urns feature the episode of Odysseus on his ship and the Sirens sitting on the rocks and playing music.²¹

Landscape elements, such as rocks, grottos/caves, and trees, are evident not only on the Volterrarn urns with representations of Odysseus²² but also on those depicting the Calydonian boar hunt,²³ the death of Aktaion,²⁴ and Perseus liberating Andromeda in front of a grotto.²⁵ Architectural elements, such as city walls, gates, paneled doors, vaulted alcoves, columns, and statues, are mainly documented on urns with the representation of the fight in front of the walls of Boeotian Thebes.²⁶ Most of these

¹⁶ For these urns and bibliographic references to them, see below n. 18.

¹⁷ Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 36319: Van der Meer 1977/78, 80 fig. 86.

¹⁸ Cortona, MAEC Museum 24; Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 5764, 5765, 78515; Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 332, 333, 426: Fiumi 1978, 54 fig. 97; Catani 1991, 62.

¹⁹ On Greek myths and especially representations of Odysseus' episodes on Etruscan urns, see Massa Pairault 1972, 133–141, 199–208 figs. 79–85; van der Meer 1977/78; Nielsen 1993, 319–357.

²⁰ Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 268: Fiumi 1978, 54; Catani 1991, 63 fig. 32 and 2004, 43–44 fig. 46.

²¹ Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 415, 447, 461, 462, 464, and 513: Fiumi 1978, 54 fig. 98; Catani 1991, 63; Nielsen 1993, fig. 9; Catani 2004, 43–44 fig. 47.

²² On the combination of hero and grotto/cave, see Dohrn 1977.

²³ Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 321: Fiumi 1978, 51–52; Catani 1991, fig. 23; Nielsen 1993, fig. 6.

²⁴ Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 356: Fiumi 1978, 52 fig. 85; Catani 1991, fig. 27.

²⁵ Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 330: Fiumi 1978, fig. 79; Nielsen 1993, fig. 8.

²⁶ Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 371 and 436: Fiumi 1978, 53 fig. 89–90; Nielsen 1993, fig. 10.



Fig. 3: Cortona, MAEC Museum 24. Volterranean alabaster urn with Odysseus and Philoktetes on the island of Lemnos. With permission of the MAEC Museum of Cortona. Photo: author.



Fig. 4: Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 332. Volterranean alabaster urn with Philoktetes on the island of Lemnos. With permission of the Museo Guarnacci in Volterra. Photo: author.



Fig. 5: Volterra, Museo Guarnacci 268. Volterranean alabaster urn with blinding of Polyphemos by Odysseus and his comrades. With permission of the Museo Guarnacci in Volterra. Photo: author.

alabaster urns are of good quality, which is why some scholars wish to recognize them as products of Greek sculptors (mainly of Eastern, Pergamenian origin), presumably active in Volterra. The reliefs are so dense with decoration that the numerous figures on them often overlap with each other and with the frames on the urn cases. The high relief gives an illusion of depth and a sense of picturesque imagery, enriched with many detailed landscape elements, such as gravelly ground, rocks, grottos, and trees. The original polychromy of the reliefs must have increased these effects even more. It is possible that Hellenistic paintings served as models for these iconographic and stylistic motifs.

The landscape elements found on Etruscan urn reliefs are reminiscent, to a degree, of props used in satyr plays, especially the ones related to Odysseus' adventures.²⁷ Although early Latin drama has plenty of thematic parallels with the images on Volterranean urns, very few plays have survived, precluding any secure identification with specific scenes. Marjatta Nielsen has argued for the existence of Etruscan adaptations of Greek tragedies and satyr plays that parallel Hellenistic and early Latin drama, both in terms of subjects and the predilection for sumptuous scenography and dramatic or violent scenes. The popularity of Greek literary themes on the Etruscan urns at the very least testifies to an intellectual and cosmopolitan atmosphere in Late Etruscan Volterra. In this context, one should mention the Stoic satirist Aulus Persius

²⁷ Nielsen 1993, 344.

Flaccus, of Volterranean-Etruscan ancestry, whose style and language reflect a profound knowledge of Greek literature. Interestingly, the modern theatre of Volterra is dedicated to Aulus Persius Flaccus!

The tradition of representing landscape elements in Etruscan art goes back to the Archaic period. There are a number of paintings that confirm this, such as the second chamber of the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing (= Tomba della Caccia e Pesca) in Tarquinia, dating to ca. 510 BCE,²⁸ and the unique harbor scene on the left wall of the Tomb of the Ship (= Tomba della Nave) in Tarquinia, dated to the middle of the fifth century or shortly thereafter, which has recently become the subject of renewed scholarly interest prompting new interpretations.²⁹ Similarly, the Tomb of Orcus II (= Tomba dell'Orco II), dating to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE, features an impressive representation of a Nekyia, the realm of Hades mainly characterized by rocks and reeds.³⁰ The importance of landscape representations both in Greek and in Etruscan art of the Hellenistic period is obvious. Whereas in Etruscan tomb painting³¹ (which came to an end toward the end of the third century BCE) we find only few landscape motifs, sarcophagus and especially urn reliefs from the third and second centuries BCE show the most interesting landscape, architectural, and scenographic elements, often in a mythological context, such as scenes of the *Odyssey*.

We have come full circle to our initial representation of the wounded hero. We may now pose the question: are there any common elements between Philoktetes in Brauron and Philoktetes in Volterra? What is most striking in both cases is the tragic hero's palpable loneliness, old age, and pain while abandoned on the inhospitable rocky landscape of Lemnos. This sentiment is further accentuated when contrasted to the cunning, younger Odysseus from Ithaca. "The hero and the grotto," as it was formulated by the late Tobias Dohrn; Philoktetes on Lemnos is the tragic hero *par excellence*!

²⁸ Steingraber 1986, cat. no. 50; Steingraber 2006, 95–96.

²⁹ Steingraber 1986, cat. no. 91; Steingraber 2006, 143–155; Colonna 2003; most recently, Petrarulo 2012.

³⁰ Steingraber 1986, cat. no. 94; Steingraber 2006, 209.

³¹ On landscape elements and the significance of landscape in Etruscan painting, in general, see Steingraber 1986 (index); Zanoni 1998; and, most recently, Nagy 2013.

Susan Rotroff and Robert Lamberton

The Tombs of Amazons*

Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* (like its twin, *Romulus*) devotes a good deal of space to the topography of the city whose mythic origins are so closely associated with the subject of the biography. Most of that topography is quite plausible and easily displayed on a modern map of Athens. Plutarch spent much of his life in Athens, after all, and one would not expect this to be otherwise. There is, however, one feature of Plutarch's description of the Athens of Theseus and its memorials in his own day that seems to depart from the real world into the geography of myth.

The accounts of the Amazons' campaign against Athens, Plutarch writes, have many elements that seem incredible, "but the fact that they encamped virtually within the city is supported both by place names and by the graves of the fallen."¹ These graves were clearly well-known landmarks within the city Plutarch knew. He goes on to describe in considerable detail the battle plans of the Amazons and the Athenians, again supported by the distribution of graves. Kleidemos the Atthidographer (FGrH 323 F18) is cited to the effect that "the left wing of the Amazons extended to what is now called the Amazoneion ... and the Athenians fought against this, attacking the Amazons from the Mouseion hill, and the graves of the fallen are along the wide street that goes to the gate at the Heroon of Chalcodon, which they now call the Peiraic Gate."² Plutarch's catalogue of Amazons' graves does not terminate with Athens. Some wounded Amazons were spirited away to Chalkis in Euboea for care, and some of them died there, and so there is another monument in Chalkis that people call an "Amazoneion," with Amazons buried around it. The Megarians also show an Amazon tomb in their city, "and it is said that others died at Chaironeia and were buried by the stream which is now called the Haimon, but then was apparently called the Thermo-don."³ And it seems that even in Thessaly the Amazons encountered opposition as they passed through, since their graves are shown even today at Skoutoussa and [the surrounding hills of] Kynoskephalai."⁴

* We are grateful to John Camp for permission to discuss and illustrate material from Tomb K 2:5 at the Agora, and to Craig Mauzy for supplying images from the archives of the Agora Excavations. We would also like to thank Maria Tourna, of the Blegen Library at the American School of Classical Studies, for her help with research in the electronic archives of Kathimerini.

1 Plutarch, *Theseus* 27.2 (12e–f). Cf. Cooper 2007, 228–231.

2 Plutarch, *Theseus* 27.3–4 (12f–13a).

3 Cf. Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 19 (854d–e). Chaironeia is of course Plutarch's home town, the history and topography of which he knew well. The famous river named Thermodon flowed into the Black Sea east of modern Samsun in Turkey, and was one of the localities most often identified as the homeland of the Amazons.

4 Plutarch, *Theseus* 27.8–9 (13c). The hills of Kynoskephalai and the city of Skoutoussa are northwest of Volos.

One is left by this description with the impression that the “Amazon grave,” to be found particularly in Athens but likewise elsewhere in Greece, was a known, recognizable phenomenon. Plutarch’s historical and geographical imagination is clearly at work here, but his description of the phenomenon nonetheless implies that some common factor or factors made it possible to say that a given monument is the grave of an Amazon (or Amazons). All such monuments need not display all the characteristics of the class. Some related monuments, like the stele of Antiope (or of Hippolyta)⁵ in Athens may have been memorials rather than tombs (*taphoi*). Some such identifications may have been no more than names bestowed on a given location by some unrecoverable circumstance in the past. Yet Plutarch clearly attributed to the phenomenon a core, an identity based on common characteristics. Plutarch was also an antiquarian and a lover of the material remains of the distant past (who, among other things, identified the *Wappenmünzen* as the coinage of Theseus).⁶ While Plutarch does not tell us what factors underlay and united his category of “Amazons’ tombs,” we think it possible to offer a likely candidate, and we take pleasure in presenting this argument to our friend Alan Shapiro, who richly embodies Plutarch’s fascination with the *realia* of the ancient world and has done much over the years to throw light on them and on their relationship to the present.

Prehistoric Graves

The Amazon graves that the ancient writers described were clearly not fictions; they were real monuments familiar to the authors and their contemporaries, at least from the fourth century BCE until the second century CE. Since they equally clearly were not the burial places of actual Amazons, the question remains of what they, in fact, were, and why ancient viewers labeled them in that way.

Those who have attempted an answer have usually conjectured that ancient tumuli were identified as Amazon graves.⁷ Such a conclusion is suggested by a short passage in the *Iliad* (2.811–814), where an isolated mound (αἰπεῖα κολώνη) in the plain near the citadel is styled the σῆμα (tumulus, grave-marker) of Myrine,⁸ a personage whose epithet “nimble” (πολύσκαρμος) indicates the vigorous activity suitable to an

5 Plutarch, *Theseus* 27.5–6 (13a–b). According to Plutarch, opinions varied on the identity of the Amazon who married Theseus and who may have been memorialized by the stele, but this was a known and widely attested monument (see below, p. 135), located near the temple of Olympian Zeus.

6 Plutarch, *Theseus* 25.3 (11d).

7 Halliday 1928, 208, 210; Boardman 2002, 65.

8 ἔστι δέ τις προπάρειθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη
ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε περιδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
τὴν ἥτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρμοιο Μυρίνης ... See also Strabo 12.8.6; 13.3.6.

Amazon.⁹ An Amazon queen of the same name is said by Diodorus Siculus (3.54–55) to have built three tumuli over the pyres of fallen comrades in Libya, before going on to other exploits, including the foundation of cities on the Asia Minor coast (Kyme, Pitane, Priene). There was, then, a demonstrable ancient association between mounds and Amazon graves. This solution poses a problem for Classical Athens, however, for it is questionable whether the large number of tumuli required by the ancient accounts of Athenian Amazon graves would have remained visible within the city as late as the Classical period. It is also difficult to know why such tumuli, if they existed, would have been associated with Amazons rather than with other personalities of the heroic past. Assuming that the Amazon graves were indeed prehistoric graves, the most obvious reason to connect them with Amazons would be not a tumulus alone, but the combination among the grave gifts of weaponry and items that a Classical Athenian would connect with women. We therefore argue that it was grave assemblages of this sort that gave rise to the identification.

The graves in question would have had to be old enough to be associated with legendary times and would thus most likely date to the Bronze or Iron Age. Cemeteries of those eras lay under much of Classical Athens, and there is no question that ancient Athenians stumbled upon them when they dug into the earth – to build buildings, for example, or to excavate wells. The single burials typical of Iron Age Athens present little opportunity for gender confusion, although the combination of gold spirals and an iron knife in an Early Geometric cremation southwest of the agora square prompted Rodney Young to speculate that a man and a woman had been buried together here.¹⁰ The opportunities for gender conflation are much greater, however, in the case of the chamber tombs of the Late Bronze Age. Many individuals of both sexes were regularly buried in such sepulchers, each with his or her appropriate grave gifts. Ancient viewers would not have had the means to determine the sex of the human remains, and they would have been even more challenged than modern excavators in assigning gifts to specific individuals in the crowded conditions of some of these burials. They would have seen a mass grave of people who wore jewelry and wielded weapons – in other words, Amazons. To our knowledge, only one scholar has previously connected Amazons with Mycenaean chamber tombs, and then only in passing.¹¹ In what

⁹ Heinrich and Sophia Schliemann excavated at the tumulus of Paşa Tepe, which they took to be the mound in question, but there is no agreement on the identity of the site, and some confusion exists about the date of the pottery found there. Cook 1973, 107–108, 128, 133–134, with earlier bibliography.

¹⁰ Young 1949, 282–283 n. 23, and 289 (Agora grave D 16:2); gifts also included some bronze jewelry (pin and fibula fragments). For similar but less striking instances, see Brann 1960, 403–407 fig. 1 pls. 88, 89, a Late Geometric inhumation with a knife (IL 744) and a faience scarab (G 198) (Agora grave E 19:3); and Thompson 1947, 196–197 fig. 1, a cremation of the Early Geometric-Middle Geometric transition with a sword and a knife (IL 841, 842) and a brown glass-paste bead (J 239) (Agora grave R 20:1); Kübler 1954, 218–220, grave 13, with two gold bands (pl. 158) and an iron sword (pl. 165).

¹¹ Dowden 1997, 118.



Fig. 1: Bronze dagger from Mycenaean chamber tomb K 2:5 north of the Athenian Agora.
Photo: Agora Excavations.

follows, we explore this idea in greater depth, reviewing the contents of such tombs and reflecting on how they may have appeared to Athenians of the Classical period.

A good place to start is a Late Helladic IIIA chamber tomb recently excavated to the north of the agora: Grave K 2:5, the final resting place of at least four adults and three children.¹² Although its roof had collapsed and a fifth-century well had intruded upon its dromos, the contents of the tomb were well preserved. As in all cases, pottery was the most common offering, but the tomb also contained a considerable amount of both weaponry and jewelry (figs. 1 and 2). Two bronze daggers and three or four knives lay cached together beside the southeast wall of the chamber,¹³ and hundreds of glass, glass paste, carnelian, and quartz beads, probably from several necklaces, were found along the southwest wall of the tomb.¹⁴ The grave also contained two arrowheads,¹⁵ which would have reminded a Classical Athenian that the bow was the Amazonian weapon of choice, and a thin bronze blade that an active imagination might have associated with the axes carried by Amazons in vase paintings of the fifth century.¹⁶ We may point finally to several small, pierced, truncated cones of stone, a type of artifact that is frequently found in Mycenaean tombs (fig. 3).¹⁷ It is now thought that they are the buttons of lost funerary garb, but early excavators called them spindle whorls because of their close resemblance to clay whorls of later times.¹⁸ To a Classical Athenian also they may have looked like spinning tools, and even though spinning is not an activity one would expect to encounter among warrior

¹² Camp 2003, 263–273.

¹³ Camp 2003, 268–270 nos. 41–43 fig. 35 (Agora inventory B 2034–B 2036); Agora inventory B 2052, B 2053.

¹⁴ Camp 2003, 271–272 no. 48 fig. 39 (Agora inventory J 228, J 231–J 236).

¹⁵ Agora inventory B 2054, B 2100.

¹⁶ Camp 2003, 268 no. 40 fig. 35 (Agora inventory B 2038). For vase paintings, see for example Bothmer 1957, pl. 86.2.

¹⁷ Camp 2003, 272–273 nos. 49a–d, f, g (Agora inventory ST 960–ST 966, ST 968).

¹⁸ Blegen 1937, 256–257, 312–313; Immerwahr 1971, 109.



Fig. 2: Beads from tomb K 2:5. Photo: Agora Excavations.



Fig. 3: Steatite buttons from tomb K 2:5. Photo: Agora Excavations.

women, the association between women and textile production would have supported the conclusion that women were buried here. The Amazons of Greek art wear elaborate clothing and one might imagine that they crafted it themselves.

Another combination of seemingly male and female gifts was found in chamber tomb J 7:2, near the western end of the Temple of Ares and partly under its northern foundation. It is one of the northernmost of a series of Mycenaean graves that extended in a north-south line for a length of about 30 m under and south of the later temple. Over twenty people had been interred in tomb J 7:2 between the sixteenth and early twelfth century BCE. One of them, a male warrior in his 30s (burial VIII), was buried with a heavy bronze thrusting weapon, a razor, and seven bronze and two obsidian arrowheads. He wore a necklace of quartz and glass paste beads around his neck, a circumstance that an ancient viewer might have found suggestive. An ivory comb, bone pins, and a whorl-like bead accompanied a nearby, probably female, skeleton (burial V).¹⁹ A similar group of gifts could have sent conflicting messages about the genders of the three individuals interred in the first half of the fourteenth century in the Tomb of the Bronzes (M 21:2), a chamber tomb on the lower slopes of the Areiopagos: two swords and a razor, along with thirty-eight gold foil rosettes and nine conical steatite buttons that an ancient observer might have identified as feminine ornament and spindle whorls, respectively.²⁰ All in all, of the approximately thirty Mycenaean chamber tombs explored in the region of the agora, six contained gifts appropriate to both males and females, demonstrating that this was not an uncommon occurrence. There are also examples elsewhere in the city. A rich Late Helladic IIIA1 pit tomb near the Ilissos River and south of the Mouseion contained two spear points as well as gold rosettes and flies, and over 200 gold and carnelian beads.²¹

Other features of chamber tombs may also have contributed to an association with Amazons. Single burial was the rule in Classical Athens, virtually never broken except in rare cases dictated by exceptional events. One of those events was battle, when the fallen regularly shared a common grave. Classical Athenians differed from other Greeks in regularly transporting the remains of war dead to Athens for an annual state ceremony and burial in the *demosion sema*.²² The more common custom, however, was burial on the battlefield, the victors cremated, the defeated often simply

¹⁹ Townsend 1955, 196–197, 215–217 nos. 27–33 fig. 8 pl. 76; Immerwahr 1971, 183–190, Tomb VII nos. 28–33, 35 pl. 40 (Agora inventory B 936–B 938, BI 665, BI 666, G 415, G 416, J 123, ST 499, ST 502, ST 501).

²⁰ Thompson 1948, 154–158 figs. 2–4 pl. 39; Immerwahr 1971, 170–177, Tomb III nos. 17–19, 22, 23 pls. 36, 77 (Agora inventory B 778, B 781, B 782, J 100, ST 388–ST 390). Smaller collections of ambiguous offerings were found in the Tomb of the Niches (O 7:4), with a knife or razor, a conical stone button, and two beads (Thompson 1952, 105 fig. 4 pl. 25; Immerwahr 1971, 201–203, Tomb XIV nos. 9–12 pls. 46, 77 [Agora inventory B 968, G 436, J 126, ST 514]) and in Tomb N 12:4, with an impressive spearhead (male) and two steatite buttons (female?), along with two pierced seal stones that might have seemed appropriate to either a man or a woman (Vermeule/Travlos 1966, 74–75, 77–78 nos. 4, 5, 14, 16, 17 pl. 24; Immerwahr 1971, 242–247, Tomb XL nos. 4, 5, 14, 16, 17 pls. 59, 75, 90 [Agora inventory B 1287, J 141, ST 734, ST 737, ST 740]).

²¹ Pantelidou 1975, 97–106, Tomb 16 nos. 18, 19, 23–27 pls. 44–47.

²² Thucydides 2.34.1; Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 108; Garland 2001, 89–92.

inhumed.²³ In this respect, the skeletons of the mass grave of the Thebans who fell at Chaironeia, marked by the famous stone lion, may be contrasted with the mass cremation of the victorious Macedonians in another part of the same battlefield.²⁴ The Athenians themselves, in an exception to their ancestral practice, or perhaps before it was adopted, cremated the 192 heroes of Marathon on the battlefield, but buried the Persian dead in a ditch (Pausanias 1.32.5). It is thus possible that a Classical Athenian, confronted with a tomb containing many skeletons, would identify them as war dead and might further assume that they had been the losers in a battle that had taken place on the spot.

As it happens, we can point to another and much more recent example of an enemy interred in a mass grave on Athenian soil: the monument of the thirteen Lakedaimonians who fell fighting against Athenian rebels in 403 BCE and were buried together in a fine tomb in the Kerameikos, at the second horos on the west side of the road to the Academy.²⁵ The orator Lysias (2.63) pointed to this monument as visible evidence of the valor of the Athenian patriots who had engaged its occupants in action. Earlier in the same speech (2.2–4), he had similarly alluded to the Athenian Amazonomachy as evidence of the bravery of ancestral Athenians,²⁶ a common rhetorical trope.²⁷ Amazon graves, in addition to bolstering accounts of the Amazon invasion, would have served this same purpose, as visible testimony to past valor.

One final Mycenaean burial custom may be relevant here. The Mycenaeans occasionally buried horses with their dead.²⁸ The custom is attested once in Attica, though not in Athens itself;²⁹ but a Classical Athenian viewing such a grave might remember that the Amazons of the painting in the Stoa Poikile fought on horseback. They were also commonly depicted this way in Classical vase paintings.

There is ample evidence that Classical Athenians were aware of the graves that lay under their city and that they sometimes treated them with special reverence. The most striking indication of this comes from the chamber tomb under the Temple of Ares discussed above. A cache of seven lekythoi dating ca. 470–460 was found in the tomb (fig. 4), most likely the offering of those who stumbled upon the burial as they dug through the agora floor; fragments of three white-ground lekythoi dating to ca.

²³ Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 247–248.

²⁴ Ma 2008, 75–78, 82–83.

²⁵ Willemssen 1977, 128–156.

²⁶ Van Hook 1932, 291–292.

²⁷ Herodotus 9.27.4; Isokrates 4.68–70; 6.42; 7.74–75; 12.193; Plato, *Menexenos* 239b.

²⁸ Kosmetatou 1993; Reese 1995.

²⁹ The single Attic example is at Marathon (Kosmetatou 1993, 37 no. 4). Accounts of an instance in the cemetery beneath Syntagma Square (Reese 1995, 36), based on a newspaper article by N. Vatapoulos (Καθημερινή, 12 May 1999), are in error. The brief excavation account published in the *Archaïologikon Deltion* makes it clear that the grave (a dog and a horse buried together) is Roman (AD 49 B'1 1994 [1999], 30).

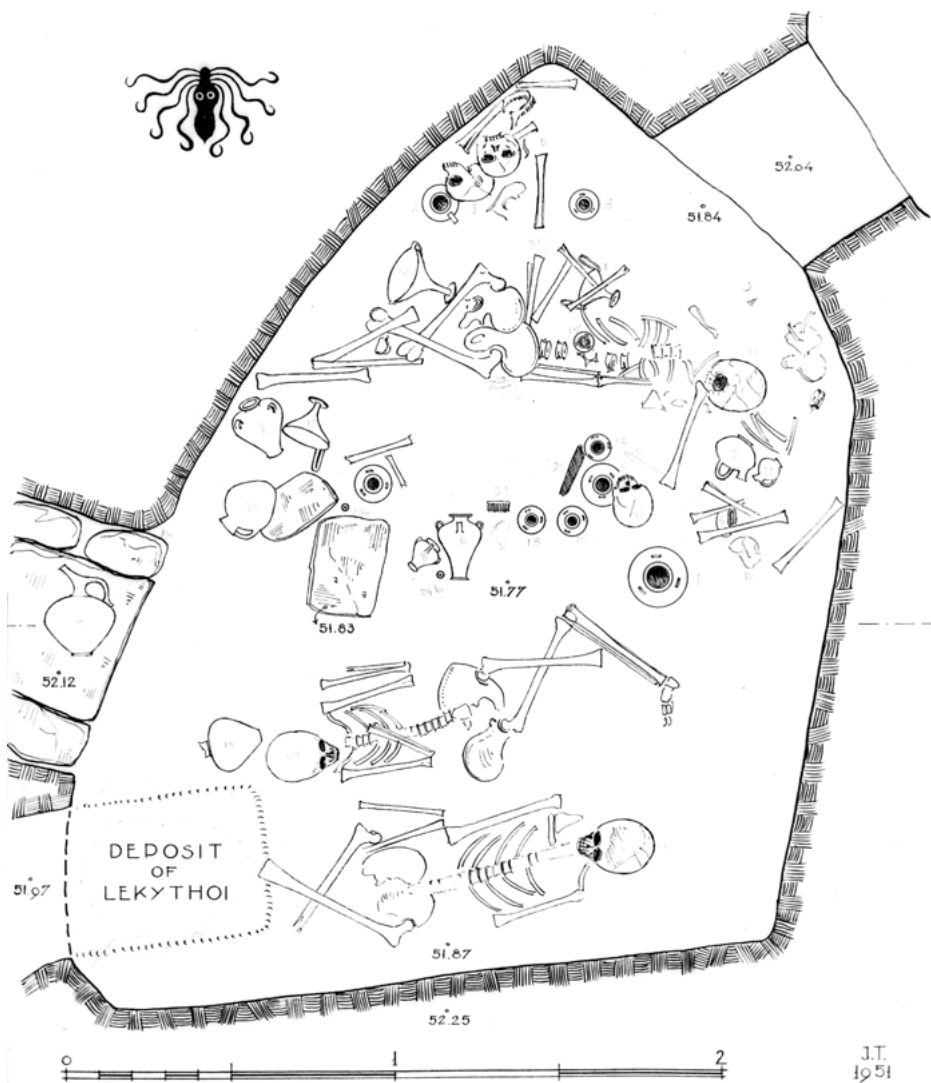


Fig. 4: Plan of chamber tomb J 7:2, under the north side of the Temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora. Plan: Agora Excavations.

440–430 bear witness to a second act of propitiation.³⁰ These repeated gifts make one wonder if the place had hosted a shrine in the fifth century, but the deep foundation

³⁰ Townsend 1955, 195–196, 218–219 nos. 39–45 (first deposit), nos. 46, 47 (second deposit) pl. 77. The fragments from the second deposit are now recognized as coming from three different vessels (Moore 1997, 258 nos. 840, 841, 843). Deposit J 7:3.

pit for the temple has removed any structures that may have existed previously on the site. It is, in any case, intriguing, though probably coincidental, that a temple of the rarely honored Ares, who was the father of the Amazons, was positioned in the Roman period atop candidates for Amazon graves. In another apparent instance of reverence for an early grave, fourth-century builders at the northeastern corner of the agora shifted the position of a monument westward, apparently to avoid the small chamber tomb they had uncovered in their excavation.³¹ In other cases there is clear evidence that earlier tombs were found, though no indication that this elicited particular concern. For example, a classical pit had cut away all of the upper part and one corner of another tomb at the northeast corner of the agora, though the burials themselves had escaped disturbance,³² and a fifth-century well had cut through the chamber of yet another tomb here.³³

Athenian Topography

Since it would have been discovered and disturbed in antiquity, any specific prehistoric grave that may have come to be called an Amazon tomb is unlikely to be detectable today, but we can at least document the extent to which such graves are known to have existed in areas associated with Amazon monuments. Several literary sources confirm the existence of one possible Amazon's tomb in Athens: the monument associated with Theseus' Amazon wife.³⁴ Plutarch (*Theseus* 27.5–6) refers to a στήλη dedicated to her in the area of the Oympieion, probably at the sanctuary of Ge, and the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochos* (364a–365b) affirms the existence of an Amazon's στήλη near the Itonian Gate. Pausanias (1.2) saw her μνῆμα as he entered the city, probably having traveled up the road from Phaleron. There is every reason to believe that all three authors refer to the same site, placing the monument in the southeastern part of the city, near Travlos' gate XI.³⁵ It is even possible that the site is represented on a mid-fifth-century bell krater, where a melancholy Amazon and her horse are pictured beside a stele (fig. 5). The image has been variously interpreted, but the conjunction of the Amazon and the stele, twice described as the form of the monument, is suggestive; as in so many representations of the dead on white-ground lekythoi, the deceased lingers at her grave.³⁶ No chamber tombs have been reported

31 Thompson 1953, 47 pl. 17:a; Immerwahr 1971, 204, Tomb XV.

32 Immerwahr 1971, 213, Tomb XXI,

33 Immerwahr 1971, 200, Tomb XIII; Thompson 1952, 106 pl. 25:b.

34 See above, p. 128.

35 For the location of the gate, see Frazer 1913, II, 37; Travlos 1971, 160 fig. 219, XI. Papachatzis 1974, 135, 138.

36 Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale T203 (Aurigemma 1960, 131–132 pls. 151–153). Other suggestions are: an Amazon leaving the site of a battle, or having buried a dead comrade leading her horse

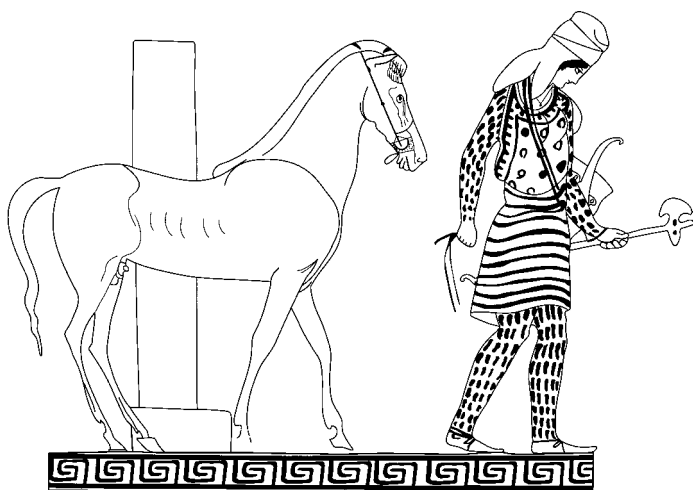


Fig. 5: Bell krater by the Eupolis Painter, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina T203. Drawing: S. Rotroff.

in this area, as far as we are aware, though there are prehistoric graves, including a Geometric inhumation whose occupant wore a gold band with repoussé meander decoration around the left arm.³⁷

In the same passage cited above, Pausanias mentions a μνῆμα of Molpadia, the Amazon reputed to have killed Antiope/Hippolyta and then to have herself have been killed by Theseus; but neither he nor any other ancient text specifies its location. Plutarch, however, at the end of his description of the engagement of the Athenians with the Amazons' right wing (and quoting or paraphrasing Kleidemos), says that the graves of "the fallen" (πεσόντων) were located along the road running from the Peiraic Gate to the agora. The location of the Peiraic Gate is known, and the course of the road to the agora has been traced by Leda Costaki.³⁸ Geometric graves have been found in the area, but no Mycenaean ones.³⁹ Two Mycenaean chamber tombs, how-

away from the precinct (Riccioni 1953, 251); the tomb of an Amazon (?) (Bothmer 1957, 201); an Amazon performing the rite of *egkykloun* (riding three times around the grave) at the grave of a hero or of a fallen Amazon (Bakalakis, 1971, 82; Devambaz 1976, 279); an Amazon at the Amazoneion (Arrigoni 2009, 52–53).

³⁷ At Diakou and Anapafseos streets (AD 18 B'1 1963, 37–38 no. 19 on the plan facing page 32), near the city wall and just to the east of the Itonian Gate. The gold band is illustrated on pl. 37:δ, the pottery on pls. 38–42. Pantelidou describes an Early Bronze Age tomb in the area of the Olympieion (1975, 113–115) and a small Submycenaean grave to its south (148). Fragmentary pottery from pits in the Olympieion area document Late Bronze Age activity here (148–153, location 10). All are marked on her fig. 15.

³⁸ Costaki 2006.

³⁹ AD 22 B'1 (1967 [1968]), 79–80 fig. 34, pls. 78–81, late Geometric graves at Erysichthon and Neleus Streets, with decorated gold bands, rings, and an earring. Other Geometric graves in this general area:

ever, lay some distance to the south of that road, to the southwest of the agora, and four more on the continuation of the road on the southeast slopes of the Areiopagos, including the Tomb of the Bronzes discussed above.⁴⁰

Although none of the sources says so explicitly, Amazon graves may also have been found at the Amazoneion, a monument whose nature is now obscure. Kleidemos/Plutarch gives it as the position of the later defeated west wing of the Amazon army; others give the name to the place where Theseus defeated the Amazons (Stephanos of Byzantium, s.v. Ἀμαζόνειον), the Amazon's camp (Diodorus Siculus 4.28), or a shrine founded by Amazons (Harpokration, s.v. Ἀμαζόνειον). On the analogy of the Theseion, built to house the bones of the hero, we might imagine that the Amazoneion was centered on the graves of Amazons, an inference all the more logical if it was thought to be the site of their defeat.⁴¹ Unfortunately, there is no good evidence for the location of the monument. The only hint comes from Plutarch,⁴² who tells us that the left wing of the Amazon army extended to the Amazoneion and the right wing to the Pnyx, and that the Athenians attacked that left wing from the Lyceum, Ardettos, and the Palladion – all of which suggests a location somewhere in the largely unexplored northern part of the city.⁴³

A Disease of Archaeology?

These are the recoverable facts about the monuments in Athens that Plutarch identifies as the graves of Amazons, a diverse series of monuments at best. The scatter of Amazons' tombs that Plutarch describes in Euboea, Boeotia, and Thessaly may support the plausibility of our scenario for the invention of the "Amazon tomb" even better than the Athenian material. There, at least, all of the monuments in question are unambiguously tombs and it is more than plausible that their identification as those of Amazons rested on an interpretation of their contents, when opened either by chance or deliberately. The Athenian monuments can, in any case, be counted on to

AD 20 B'1 (1965 [1967]), 47 no. 1 on fig. 1; AD 40 B' 1985 [1990], 25–26 no. 10 on fig. A; AD 47 B'1 (1992 [1997]), 30 no. 10 on fig. A.

40 South of the road, Immerwahr 1971, Tomb V and a robbed chamber tomb nearby, 178–180 pl. 91 (marked A-B 18:1). Southeast slope of the Areiopagos, Immerwahr 1971, 158–178, Tombs I–IV pls. 79, 91 (marked M 21:3, M 21:2, N 21:5, N 21–22:1).

41 Dowden 1997, 118; Arrigoni 2009, 52–53.

42 Whether these are his words or those of Kleidemos is unclear; Cooper (2007, 229) attributes them to Plutarch.

43 Mountjoy reports a only few Submycenaean graves in the northern part of the city (1995, 65 fig. 81, 9–11). Other scholars have located the Amazoneion closer to the agora. Dyer (1873, 63, 229, 232) identified it with the Hephaisteion; Pfister (1909, 127 n. 452) placed it on the Areiopagos, Dowden (1997, 118) and Fornasier (2007, 61) on its slopes.

present more anomalies, problems, and contradictions, simply because we have more information about them, and that information often comes from conflicting sources.

It is probable, after all, that the stories of graves of Amazons, commemorating their invasion of Greece in the time of Theseus, had no more coherence or unity than the story of the stylite of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens, about whom tourists were told for at least two centuries, from the eighteenth to the twentieth.⁴⁴ He is said to have lived on top of the standing columns of that monument, within a block or two of the lost “stele of the Amazon.” Some travelers report being told that he was a Christian holy man, others, a Muslim, but no one ever reports seeing him in the flesh. His is always a story from the recent past, something that is amazing for having happened “de nos jours” but is always recounted at a distance that prevents verification: “... until just a few years ago” If we assume, however, that the modern Athenian stylite belongs to the same realm of the historical imagination as the buried Amazons, the two may have one more thing in common. The story of the stylite (like that of Hadrian’s palace which one early traveler was told once stood *on top* of the columns of the Olympieion) was almost certainly generated by a considerable amount of masonry, ancient or medieval or both, that once occupied the top of the epistyle blocks of that monument, and the remains of which were cleared away late in the nineteenth century. His myth, then, is one born of archaeology. The tombs of the Amazons may well have come to be in a similar way. We can be certain that the Athenians of the Classical and Hellenistic periods encountered ancient graves, including multiple burials that contained grave gifts with incompatible gender associations – most evidently (and presumably most commonly), weapons and jewelry. These may well have given rise to the phenomenon of the Amazon tomb, which in turn gave substance to the myth, of relatively recent origin, of the Amazon invasion of Attica. And this just might be the seed from which Plutarch’s map of the Amazon tombs of Greece grew.

The monuments in question in most cases cannot be located, even with Plutarch’s help, but the class is well represented from archaeological contexts. The masonry on the Olympieion is gone for good, thanks to the impulse to clean up ancient monuments by removing more recent excrescences. In both cases, if we are right, the stories that grew out of the imaginative reinterpretation of the archaeological material have survived to bear a vivid though distorted witness to what once was.

44 On the conflicting accounts of the stylite of the Olympieion, see Pappas 1998, 208–210.



Iconography of Mourning

Susan B. Matheson

The Wretchedness of Old Kings*

Old kings are seldom shown on Athenian vases, although they are quite frequently and vividly portrayed in Greek epic, tragedy, and comedy. With the exception of the old kings of Athens, who appear as white-haired symposiasts on several vases, most old kings in Greek art and literature are rarely, if ever, happy. On the contrary, whether swept up in war, beleaguered by the gods, tricked by a wicked relative, or the victims of their own misguided actions, most old kings live only to mourn the loss of their children, their grandchildren, and their kingdoms, or to die a violent death. This paper will focus first on the ancient kings of Athens, then on old kings of epic poetry, myth, and tragedy, and, finally, on the increased number of old kings who appear in the Greek vases of South Italy and the possible relation of this phenomenon to productions of Greek plays in South Italian theatres.

The ancient kings of Athens are among those groups of revelers who recline seated on the ground in symposia that have been demonstrated by Kathryn Topper to evoke the customs of the earliest symposia in the Golden Age of Athens.¹ One group of five such symposiasts, on a ram's head rhyton by the Triptolemos Painter in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 1), includes two elderly kings distinguished by their white hair and beards.² They are Pandion (named ...ON), and likely Aigeus, Erechtheus, or Erichthonios. Pandion reclines next to Theseus (named), his grandson and the only young hero portrayed. The second white-haired figure (name not preserved) has been identified as Aigeus, based on his relationship to his son Theseus, yielding three generations of the same family.³ As Jenifer Neils suggests, if Aigeus is correct, the scene could depict a welcoming banquet for Theseus as the Athenian kings accept him into their ranks.⁴ Alternatively, noting that the unnamed old king reclines next to Kekrops (named), Neils proposes Erechtheus (father of Kekrops), providing a second familial pairing. The eye contact between the two pairs of mixed-age symposiasts might argue for this interpretation. Neils also suggests Erichthonios, who is often confused with Erechtheus, but this is less compelling. As Neils notes, Erechtheus is the ultimate Athenian ancestor and should not be absent at this symposium. Either way, the rarity of old symposiasts in vase painting reinforces their identities here as ancient kings from Athens' mythic past.

* This essay is an homage to Alan Shapiro's extraordinary knowledge and perception of the myriad interweavings of Greek art, literature, and thought, long an inspiration to me. I thank Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou for their kind invitation to contribute to this volume.

1 Topper 2009, 3–26.

2 Richmond, 79.100: Neils 1981, 84–87 cat. no. 32; Guy 1981; Topper 2009, 14–16 fig. 9; BAPD 7537.

3 Neils 1981; Guy 1981.

4 Neils 1981, 86.



Fig. 1: Ancient Kings of Athens, red-figure rhyton attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, signed by Charinos as potter, ca. 480 BCE (detail), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, 79.100. © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

The old kings on the Triptolemos Painter's rhyton may suggest a similar interpretation of the mixed-age symposiasts on a black-figure one-handled kantharos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵ Here, nine symposiasts recline on the ground while a youth stands at left playing a double aulos and the central symposiast plays a lyre. Two of the symposiasts sport white hair and beards. There are no inscriptions and no beardless symposiast who could be Theseus, but the mixed ages might again suggest the ancient kings.

Nestor and Phoinix, as old kings by the time of the Trojan War and the only two old Greeks with major roles in the conflict, represent the earlier generation, and perhaps for the Greeks within the epic poems and the poets and their audiences, they provided a link to the ancient kings of Athens and the values of the past Golden Age. Thomas Falkner, in an essay on the end of the *Odyssey*, affirms, "In Homer the elderly are the visible link of the present generation with the past."⁶ Scholars generally see the Homeric elderly as held to be wise in "word and counsel" (*Il.* 4.323⁷), and, for this, worthy of reverence. Nestor and Phoinix are presented as paradigms. The quiet nobility with which they are shown on vases emphasizes their sterling character.

Nestor, "the fair-spoken" king of Pylos (*Il.* 1.248), leader in his old age of ninety ships that sailed for Troy (*Il.* 2.601–602), was for Agamemnon the most honored of his advisors (*Il.* 2.21). Falkner, in a nuanced view, sees him as the strong, old man of epic.⁸ Nestor is fairly rare in Greek vase painting. On a cup signed by Oltos in Berlin, he is seen with troops departing for Troy – his son, Antilochos, mounting a chariot, Achilles clasping hands with the old king.⁹

Phoinix was king of the Dolopians, his throne the gift of Peleus. It is as a king, and as the counterpart and equal of Priam and a surrogate father for Achilles ("Phoinix my father, aged, illustrious," *Il.* 9.607; "be king equally with me," *Il.* 9.616), that the old

⁵ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 63.11.4, Class of the One-Handled Kantharoi: Para 158.13; BAPD 351179.

⁶ Falkner 1989, 27.

⁷ Trans. Lattimore, as all following.

⁸ Falkner 1995, 14–22.

⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2264: ARV² 60.64; BAPD 200457.

Phoinix joins the Trojan king in separating Achilles from Hektor in vase painting, although not in *Iliad* 7.¹⁰

Phoinix was less important as a king than as a mentor and guide for Achilles,¹¹ and as such he is closely associated with the Greek hero in vase painting. Phoinix is prominent in scenes of the mission to Achilles, his white hair and beard in stark contrast to the black of the other Greeks.¹² Nestor chooses Phoinix to lead the mission that he urges upon Agamemnon in the *Iliad* (9.168–169) and names Odysseus and Ajax to accompany him. To calm Achilles' anger, Phoinix evokes the advice his aged father Peleus gave him when he left for war: "hold fast to your bosom the anger of your proud heart' ... so the old man advised" (9.255–256, 259).

Although Achilles honors him (*Il.* 9.606–616), Phoinix fails in his mission to appease his anger against Agamemnon and convince him to fight. Instead, he must watch as his protégé loses Patroklos. Of the anguish Phoinix must have felt at Achilles' death, there is no trace in vase painting. As Michael Anderson has shown, the images in art and text reveal more of Phoinix's moral strength, and are closer to those of Nestor than those of the vulnerable Priam.¹³

Priam is arguably the most important old man in Greek mythology, and based on surviving evidence, he is the most frequently represented old man in scenes of Greek myth on vases. In the events leading up to the Trojan War, Paris brings Helen to Priam, his hand held to his head in apprehension, on a white-ground pyxis from the Circle of the Penthesilea Painter.¹⁴ An aged Priam, balding and with dilute glaze hair, is seated under the handle of the famous Makron skyphos in Boston with Helen and Paris; Helen and Menelaos appear on the opposite side.¹⁵ Priam faces the Menelaos scene, but his position links him to both.

The remarkable frontal figure of Priam on the name vase of the Hector Painter transforms an otherwise generic scene of a departing warrior flanked by his parents into an emotional drama.¹⁶ Priam, with curly white hair and full white beard, stands apart from his son and wife, facing the viewer, his hand held to his face in a gesture of sadness, his eyes wide and his mouth slightly open and revealing his teeth, in foreboding of his son's fate. This representation is exceptional – Hektor's departure normally occurs with him simply donning his armor in the presence of his parents, as

¹⁰ E.g., Stamnos, Triptolemos Painter, Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 477: ARV² 361.7; BAPD 203796.

¹¹ A theme developed in Anderson 2009, 159.

¹² E.g., Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 477: see n. 10 above; hydria attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 8770: Para 341.73bis; BAPD. 352474. On mission scenes: Shapiro 1994a, 16–21.

¹³ Anderson 2009, 159.

¹⁴ Basel Antikenmuseum K4431: CVA Basel, Antikenmuseum and Sammlung Ludwig 3, 83–85 pl. 56; BAPD 30434; his black hair and beard are likely owed to the white-ground technique rather than to his age.

¹⁵ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.186: ARV² 458.1; BAPD 204681.

¹⁶ Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16570: ARV² 1036.1; BAPD 213472.

on the amphora by Euthymides in Munich.¹⁷ In these scenes, moreover, Priam is not shown as an old man, and he shows none of the facial signs of emotion that the Hector Painter represents.

Hektor's death, confirming Priam's foreboding, is followed by another event that Priam and Hecuba must witness: Achilles' desecration of their son's body, which the Greek hero ties to his chariot and drags around the tomb of Patroklos (*Il.* 24.14–17). On a black-figure hydria in Boston attributed to the Antiope Group, Priam, recognizable by his white hair and beard, stands tall at left with Hecuba, watching as the chariot departs.¹⁸ Priam gestures to Achilles; Hecuba mourns with her hand to her head. The tomb of Patroklos is named, and his *eidolon* flies above it.

More common, complex, and emotionally charged is Priam's appeal to Achilles for the return of Hektor's body (*Il.* Book 24). After Zeus's messengers, Iris and Thetis, have allayed the king's fears and soothed the hero's anger (*Il.* 24.120–140), and Hermes has guided him through the Achaean camp, Priam arrives at Achilles' tent bringing lavish gifts. But it is Priam's reminder to Achilles of his aged father at home ("Achilleus like the gods, remember your father, one who is of years like mine, and on the door-sill of sorrowful old age ... " [*Il.* 24.486–487]; "Honour then the gods, Achilleus, and take pity upon me remembering your father, yet I am still more pitiful ... " [*Il.* 24.503–504]) that inspires mercy in Achilles' heart.

Priam's arrival as a suppliant is the moment usually shown on vases.¹⁹ On an amphora by the Rycroft Painter (fig. 2), Priam rushes up to Achilles, who reclines on a couch.²⁰ The body of Hektor lies beneath it; in the *Iliad* the corpse is elsewhere, but the vase painters consistently show it to make the visual narrative clear. Priam's white hair streams out behind him, showing his urgency. His strong arms reach out in supplication to Achilles, who remains aloof. Hermes stands at left.

The well-known skyphos by the Brygos Painter in Vienna also presents a single moment in time and a unified group of figures: Achilles reclining at his meal, the corpse below, Priam, the gift bearers at left.²¹ More emotion is sometimes evident in Priam's face, but unusual is the apparent indication of him speaking to Achilles (Priam's mouth is open and there is direct eye contact between the two) in the tondo of a cup by the Painter of the Fourteenth Brygos. The narrative is reduced to the old king and the reclining hero: Hektor's body is not there, intentionally, in Alan Shapiro's

¹⁷ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2307: ARV² 26.1; BAPD 200160; Priam appears elsewhere on Western Greek vases, e.g., at Cassandra's prophecy at the departure of Hektor on a volute krater attributed to the Underworld Painter (Berlin, Antikenmuseum 1984.45: Taplin 2007, 252–255 no. 101), originally white-haired and bearded, but with the added white worn away.

¹⁸ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.473: Para 164.31bis; CVA Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 2, 24–25 pl. 82.1; BAPD 351200.

¹⁹ Shapiro 1994a, 38–45.

²⁰ Toledo, Museum of Art 72.54: CVA Toledo Museum of Art 1, 2–4 pl. 4–5; BAPD 7276.

²¹ Berlin, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3710 (328): ARV² 380.171; BAPD 204068.



Fig. 2: Ransom of Hektor, black-figure amphora attributed to the Rycroft Painter, ca. 520–510 BCE (detail), Toledo Museum of Art, Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1972.54. Photo: Richard Goodby, New York, courtesy museum.

view; rather it is part of a true narrative sequence with the exterior, where the full scene, including the corpse and multiple offering bearers, appears.²²

The murder of the aged Priam by Neoptolemos is one of the most powerful episodes in the *Ilioupersis* story. The king has taken refuge at the altar of Zeus Herkeios in the heart of his palace, but Neoptolemos violates both the sanctity of the sacred space and the fundamental Greek concept of the protection of the god embodied in his statue or sacred altar.²³

The murder is at the heart of the visualization of the Sack of Troy in Athenian vase painting. Here, too, the murder takes place at the altar. The Trojan king is in civilian dress, the Greek warrior in hoplite gear. In some versions, the weapon is the standard hoplite spear. More commonly, it is the body of a small boy, Priam's grandchild, Astyanax, adding greatly to the horror and poignancy of the scene and increasing even further Neoptolemos' violation of civilized conduct.²⁴

Early versions on black-figure vases, e.g., an amphora by the Leagros Group in London,²⁵ show Priam pushed brutally back across the altar, his head back, white

²² New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection: Shapiro 1994a, 44 fig. 27; BAPD 204333.

²³ Hedreen 2001, 64–66.

²⁴ Not in surviving literary sources, as analyzed by Hedreen 2001, 64–66; Hart 1992, 50–51 suggests Stesichoros as the source.

²⁵ London, British Museum B 241: ABV 373.175; BAPD 302170.



Fig. 3: Iliupersis, with death of Priam, red-figure kalpis attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 480 BCE (detail), Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81699. Photo: Hirmer Verlag München.

hair streaming down, arms flailing, as Neoptolemos attacks. Red-figure vases show more detail, variety, and pathos. In the tondo of the Onesimos Iliupersis kylix in Rome (formerly at the J. Paul Getty Museum), Priam, white-haired and balding, seated on the altar, looks directly into the eyes of Neoptolemos, as he draws his legs up into a nearly fetal position.²⁶

The Kleophrades Painter's famous hydria in Naples shows the boy already dead from his wounds, but rather than being used as a weapon, his body is sprawled across Priam's lap.²⁷ The old king covers his already battered and bleeding head with his forearms, his back hunched, his chin drawn into his chest, defensive, self-protective, in despair (fig. 3). His dead grandson is part of the reason for the anguish expressed in his pose. Priam is not thinking only of himself, but also, as in his prophetic speech in the *Iliad* 22, of his family and of Troy.²⁸

Plays were apparently already a source for Trojan scenes in fifth-century Athens. The Embassy and the Ransom were the subjects of the first (*Myrmidons*) and third

²⁶ Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 121110, formerly in the J. Paul Getty Museum: BAPD 13363.

²⁷ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81699: ARV² 189.74; BAPD 201724.

²⁸ On Priam's vision of the sack and his death in *Iliad* 22: Hedreen 2001, 64–65.

(*Phrygians* or the *Ransom of Hektor*) plays of Aeschylus' *Achilles* trilogy. Possible references to this trilogy are found on multi-register vases by Polygnotos and the Eretria Painter, where the subjects, including the Embassy, are the same as those of two or more of the plays.²⁹ Oliver Taplin sees reflections of these lost plays in South Italian vases.³⁰ Aeschylus' presence in Sicily is well known, and the evidence that plays by him were commissioned and performed there is strong, but epic continued to be a popular source and influence on vases seems to have come from both.³¹ An Embassy scene on an Apulian fragment in Heidelberg attributed to the Sarpedon Painter shows the white-haired Phoinix deep in conversation with Ajax and Odysseus.³² Alan Shapiro suggests that the Heidelberg fragment is closer to the *Iliad* than to Aeschylus' *Myrmidons*, with which Taplin and others concur.³³ Either way, unable to sustain pathos over time as did Homer or Euripides in the *Trojan Women*, vase painters chose a dramatic moment. Athenian painters often showed an event that occurs offstage, like the murder of Agamemnon in the *Oresteia*, for which Western Greek painters substituted the meeting of Orestes and Elektra, which is integral to the text.

As South Italian vase painters developed their iconography in the fourth century, new scenes became popular. The Ransom of Hektor became the favored Trojan War episode in Western Greece.³⁴ The winning play at the Lenaia in Athens of 367 BCE was a *Ransom of Hektor*, written by Dionysios I, ruler of the Sicilian city of Syracuse. South Italian Ransom scenes show differences from the *Iliad* and from Athenian representations (as described above) that have been ascribed to the staging of Aeschylus' *Phrygians* in Western Greece.³⁵ A volute krater from the Circle of the Lycurgus Painter in St. Petersburg (fig. 4)³⁶ combines, in two registers, some of the most characteristic new elements. Achilles sits up, mourning, on his kline, not reclining, drinking, or eating from a table of food before him. Hermes (Priam's guide in disguise in *Iliad* Book 24) stands near him, as does Athena. Antilochos (named) is at right, and his father, the old white-haired king Nestor, at left. Priam, white-haired and in ornate Persian dress, sits below Achilles, seemingly outside, given the evident groundlines, with a suppliant branch in one hand and the other held to his head in mourning. He looks

²⁹ Polygnotos: calyx krater, Vienna University 505: ARV² 1030.31; Matheson 1995, 79 pl. 62 and 264; BAPD 213416; Eretria Painter: squat lekythos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.13: ARV² 1248.9; BAPD 216945.

³⁰ Taplin 2007, 83–85; also Moret 1975, Kossatz-Deissman 1978.

³¹ On Aeschylus in Sicily: Boshier 2012; on epic sources: Morgan 2012; on identification of theatrical elements on vases: Roscino 2003.

³² Heidelberg University, Archaeological Institute 26.87: Trendall 1938, 27, 41 no. 85 pl. 29; RVAp I 165 no. 5; LIMC I (1981) 111 no. 457, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Shapiro 1994a, 21 fig. 11.

³³ Shapiro 1994a, 21; Taplin 2007, 277 no. 118; Phoinix appears in both.

³⁴ Taplin 2007, 84.

³⁵ Taplin 2007, 83–85.

³⁶ St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum B1718 [St.422]: Todisco 2003, 437–438 no. Ap 104, pl. LXXVIII; Taplin 2007, 85–87 no. 20.



Fig. 4: Ransom of Hektor, red-figure volute krater, Circle of the Lycurgus Painter, Apulian, ca. 350 BCE (detail), The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg B-1718 Photo: Vladimir Terebenin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets. © The State Hermitage Museum.

not at Achilles, but in the direction of Hektor's body, which is being carried to or from the weighing. The scales for weighing the gold equal to Hektor's body weight – the offered ransom that Achilles had told Hektor he would decline (*Il.* 22.351–352) – are piled high with the precious metal (the piles of gold are not in the *Iliad*, but Aeschylus includes them).³⁷ At right are Thetis, seated, and a young warrior, unnamed. Nestor's son, Antilochos, and Thetis' son, Achilles, will die as Priam's son already has – Thetis already knows this when Zeus summons her to tell Achilles to allow Priam to ransom the body (*Il.* 24.84–86). Taplin suggests that Nestor and Thetis are related to the theme of grief at the death of a son. This would be suitable iconography for a funerary vase.

In South Italian vase paintings, the grieving is shown through pose and gaze as vividly as in the most moving Athenian *Ilioupersis* scenes, but also through facial expression, as in an exceptionally poignant Priam attributed to the Black Fury Painter, on a fragment of a calyx krater in New York (color fig. 8).³⁸ A column signifies Achilles' tent. The hero's muscular arm is bent upward, although the pose of the figure is unclear. Priam, his white hair and beard cropped short and unkempt in mourning but dressed in elaborate costume and Phrygian cap, seems to kneel at Achilles' feet, distraught, his face cast down, his body bent at the waist as it curls in

³⁷ Taplin 2007, 86.

³⁸ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.195: Todisco 2003, 411 no. Ap 21, pl. LI; Taplin 2007, 87 no. 21 and 277 n. 126.

on itself in submission and grief. His face is marked with deep sorrow as well as age – furrowed brow, sad eyes, sagging cheeks, and slightly parted lips. Hermes is present: part of Priam's sandaled foot appears next to Hermes' winged boots.

The number and variety of mythical contexts of old kings known from Athenian vases expand on vases from Western Greece, especially in the fourth century BCE; space constraints prevent reviewing them all here. Myths that are not seen on surviving Athenian vases but seemingly appear first on these Western Greek vases may, as is argued by Taplin, relate the latter to plays.³⁹ Among these, in the aftermath of the death of Niobe's children, several painters focus on Niobe and her father, Tantalus, king of Sipylos. The old king either entreats his daughter, who sits in mourning on the tomb, to live – lest he lose her as well as his grandchildren⁴⁰ – or watches as, by her own wish and standing in her tomb, she turns to stone.⁴¹ The subject is unknown on Athenian vases, but Tantalus appears in the *Niobe* of Aeschylus, to which these vases may relate.⁴²

Oineus, king of Calydon, appears as an old man with his daughter Deianeira and Herakles.⁴³ Old, white-haired Oineus, his “Horse-Driving” epithet merely a memory, appears on a calyx krater by the Dinos Painter, seated, in a departing warrior scene with his son Meleager (named), grandson Parthenopaïos, and likely his wife, Althaea, and Meleager's wife, Alkyone/Kleopatra.⁴⁴ None of Oineus' woeful biography – he lost Meleager (killed after the Calydonian Boar Hunt), his wife and daughter-in-law (suicide), and his throne, and was imprisoned by the sons of his brother Agrios – appears on vases.⁴⁵ Oineus marries again and has a second son, Tydeus, dead before the Trojan war, who fathered a son, Diomedes (*Il.* 14.114–125). On a hydria attributed to Python, a still older Oineus is led by Diomedes, returned from Troy, to an altar on which Agrios (named) is seated, his hands tied behind his back, looking like a sacrificial animal.⁴⁶ Diomedes has captured Agrios and gives his grandfather the

39 Taplin 2007, *passim*.

40 Varrese Painter, amphora, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 8935: Todisco 2003, 441–442 no. Ap 114 pl. LXXXII; Taplin 2007, 74–75.

41 Campanian hydria, Sydney, Nicholson Museum 71.01: Green 1994, 53 fig. 3.1.

42 Green 1994, 52–53 (with reservations); Taplin 2007, 74–75; other examples: Todisco 2003, 451 no. Ap 138 pl. XCI; 515 no. C 22 pl. CXLVII; 516 no. C 31 pl. CXLIX.

43 E.g., hydria, Leagros Group, London, British Museum B313: ABV 360.1, BAPD 301996; stamnos, Group of Polygnotos, Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale 81535: ARV² 1050.4, Matheson 1995, 218 pl. 164; BAPD 213635.

44 Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 2500: ARV² 1152.7bis; Matheson 1995, 254–256 pl. 170A–D. LIMC I (1981) 558 no. 1 pl. 417, s.v. Alkyone II (M. Brouskari); LIMC VI (1992) 415 no. 4, s.v. Meleagros (S. Woodford). For a scene of the preparations for the Calydonian boar hunt, see Barbanera in this volume.

45 Ps.-Apollodorus 8.1–6, although killed, not imprisoned; LIMC VIII (1997) 915–919, s.v. Oineus I (E. Stasinopoulou-Kakarouga).

46 London, British Museum F 155: Green/Handley 1995, 48 fig. 25; Todisco 2003, 503 no. P 13 pl. CXXXVI; Taplin 2007, 198–199 no. 70; LIMC VIII (1997) 919 no. 55, s.v. Oineus I (E. Stasinopoulou-Kakarouga).

chance to kill him – as J. R. Green says, “Revenge at last.”⁴⁷ The dramatic moment is not known from Athenian vases, and Taplin suggests it is “possibly related to” the *Oineus* of Euripides.⁴⁸

The old kings Pelias and Aison appear on Athenian vases as Medea helps Jason drive his uncle (Pelias) from the throne that his father (Aison) had been forced by Pelias to abdicate, before committing suicide. On a stamnos attributed to the Copenhagen Painter, Pelias, now an old man, sits watching as Medea tells his daughters she can make him young again with a magic herbal concoction, and demonstrates on a dismembered ram that is miraculously restored to life.⁴⁹ The daughters cut their father to bits and put them in the magic brew, which, unsurprisingly, does not work. An alternative story on a hydria by the same painter has Jason’s father Aison still alive, but very old.⁵⁰ Medea’s magic brew will work on the rightful king, who stands watching the revived ram, awaiting his own rejuvenation. Ultimately, Pelias’ son Akastos seizes the throne, and Jason and Medea flee to Corinth.

Once in Corinth, things go badly again. Jason falls in love with Glauke and divorces Medea, who takes her revenge by killing their children. As has been noted, this is a new twist to the story that appears on South Italian but not Athenian vases and can likely be ascribed to Euripides’ *Medea* of 431 BCE, as perhaps can Medea’s escape in the chariot drawn by snakes or dragons, shown on a Lucanian calyx krater by the Policoro Painter.⁵¹

A third old king enters Medea’s life when she flees Corinth following the murder of her children, comes to Athens, and marries Aigeus. Medea appears with Aigeus on a krater by the Kekrops Painter, leaning on her new husband, an old, white-haired man.⁵² Below them is Theseus, now Medea’s stepson, with the Marathonian Bull. Athena is present, and, as Alan Shapiro suggests, we seem to be on the Acropolis. Behind Medea is likely another of Athens’ ancient kings, Erechtheus, who is closely associated with the Acropolis.⁵³ Shapiro has characterized this Medea as having become a minor Attic heroine, part of a stable ruling family. The subject is seemingly unique, and unrelated to theatrical sources.

⁴⁷ Green/Handley 1995, 48.

⁴⁸ Taplin 2007, 198–199; another example: Todisco 2003, 518 no. C 38 pl. CLI.

⁴⁹ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2408: ARV² 257.8; CVA Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 5, 34–35 pls. 244.1–2, 245.7; BAPD 202926.

⁵⁰ London, British Museum E 163: ARV² 258.26; CVA London, British Museum 5, 10–11 pl. 70.4; BAPD 202944.

⁵¹ Formerly Cleveland Museum of Art, now returned to Italy: Todisco 2003, 391 no. L 14 pl. XXX; Taplin 2007, 122–123 no. 35; Taplin 2012, 231.

⁵² Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 78: ARV² 1346.2; CVA Adolphseck Schloss Fasanerie 1, 36–38 pls. 49, 50.1–2, 51.1–2, 52.1 (F. Brommer, 1956); Shapiro 2009b, 262–263 color pl. 21A–B; BAPD 217590.

⁵³ Brommer, n. 53 above; Shapiro 2009b, 262–263.

In a traditional Athenian scene of Aigeus greeting Theseus on a cup by the Codrus Painter, Aigeus appears as an old man acknowledging his son.⁵⁴ An apparently new depiction of Theseus and the Marathonian Bull that fuses it with the recognition scene appears on Athenian vases around 430 BCE and has been linked to the *Aigeus* of Euripides: Theseus capturing the bull, old Aigeus standing at left, and Medea fleeing to right, holding the oinochoe and phiale with which she will try to poison Theseus.⁵⁵ The name vase of the Adolphseck Painter shows the climax, as old Aigeus, his white hair in added white now worn away, holds up the sword and at last recognizes his son, Medea drops her oinochoe, and Theseus pours the poisoned wine from the phiale onto an altar. This scene, not represented on Athenian vases, has also been linked to Euripides' *Aigeus*.⁵⁶

Finally, we come to one of the most wretched old kings in Greek tragedy, Oedipus, king of Thebes. As Alan Shapiro notes, Athenian artists did not illustrate the myths of the old king explored by Sophocles, favoring the youthful hero and the Sphinx.⁵⁷ On an Apulian calyx krater close to the DeSchulthess Painter, however, a blind, white-haired, and diminished Oedipus sits on an altar.⁵⁸ In Taplin's words, the vase "shows the Oedipus at Kolonos story with details that cannot be interpreted without knowledge of Sophocles' play": Antigone at right, veiled and modest, and Ismene, just arrived, richly dressed, ribbons flying; Kreon at left and Polyneikes beside Antigone; an Erinys above.⁵⁹ Taplin states further that this vase, with its particularly Athenian story but made in Apulia, "must be regarded as strong evidence that Sophocles' *Oedipus at Kolonos* was re-performed in Western Greece in the mid-fourth century."⁶⁰

Recent studies on the performance of Greek theater in Sicily and South Italy have added to our understanding of such re-performances and the overall state of the theater in Western Greece in the fourth century. In a chapter in Kathryn Bosher's *Theater Outside Athens: Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy*, Taplin draws from Plato (*Republic* and *Laws*) and Demosthenes; plays by Aeschylus (the *Aetnaeae* and *Persae*) known to have been commissioned, written, and performed in Sicily; and archaeolo-

⁵⁴ Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 15365: ARV² 1270.2; Avramidou 2011, 89 no. 18 pl. 14b; BAPD 217221.

⁵⁵ LIMC I (1981) 359–367, s.v. Aigeus (U. Kron); e.g., Group of Polygnotos, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.48: Matheson 1995, 222 pl. 165; Todisco 2003, 372 no. A 38 pl. XIV; BAPD 213734. See also in this volume von den Hoff's discussion of Attic red-figure scenes that were mistakenly interpreted as Medea trying to poison Theseus.

⁵⁶ Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 179; Todisco 2003, 416 no. Ap 41 pl. LVII; Taplin 2007, 198–199; another example: St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum W2075: Todisco 2003, 417 no. Ap 42 pl. LVIII.

⁵⁷ Shapiro 1994a, 148.

⁵⁸ Melbourne, Geddes Collection: Todisco 2003, 448 no. Ap 131 pl. LXXXIX; Taplin 2007, 100–102 no. 27.

⁵⁹ Taplin 2007, 100.

⁶⁰ Taplin 2007, 102. Perhaps another, but disputed: Todisco 2003, 424 no. AP 69 pl. LXVII.

gical evidence for the large number of theaters constructed in Sicily and South Italy, to argue convincingly for the existence of traveling troupes of actors who performed in competition at festivals of Dionysos throughout the region, based on the model of the rural Dionysia in Attica.⁶¹ These troupes would consist of three or four actors and a few stage hands. The chorus for each performance would likely be local citizens. Taplin suggests that there might have been local variations in the texts performed, especially those of the chorus, and possibly local variations, with some originality, in the staging of plays. One such example might be the snakes/dragons pulling Medea's chariot, which, once tried, became popular and ultimately standard.⁶²

Performances might also, Taplin suggests, have been commissioned for special events such as funerals and tailored to particular individuals and circumstances. Is it unreasonable to propose, as he does, that this burgeoning theatrical industry might generate the sort of variation we see on vases, perhaps also specially commissioned? While I have oversimplified a complex argument here, I do find Taplin's thesis a plausible explanation.⁶³

So where does this leave our wretched old kings? Most of the Athenian and Western Greek vases that show old kings in tragic circumstances come from tombs, most from tombs in Italy. The subjects were clearly considered appropriate for funerary offerings, perhaps evoking the idea that grief is a universal human condition, even for kings. Priam and Achilles share "a moment of ineffable sadness" in the Ransom scene, so deeply associated with death and the grief of an old father.⁶⁴ Such scenes on funerary vessels, objects of remembrance and commemoration, suggest that the "message of mortal consolation amidst the sufferings of human life was appreciated."⁶⁵ If some of the South Italian funerary vases were commissioned in association with performances of plays at funerals, perhaps the interest they reveal in the pathos and moral example of such scenes and the viewers' empathy with the old kings' grief was as natural as the popularity of the epics and plays from which they were drawn.

⁶¹ Taplin 2012; see also Todisco 2003, Green 2006.

⁶² See n. 51 above. This motif was also popular in Roman sepulchral art: see Boschung in this volume.

⁶³ *Contra* Todisco 2012, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Shapiro 1994a, 45.

⁶⁵ Taplin 2007, 102.

Judith M. Barringer

Athenian State Monuments for the War Dead: Evidence from a Loutrophoros*

My first article appeared in *AJA* 1991 at the beginning of my career, and I was immensely proud that my work appeared together with an article by Alan Shapiro in the same fascicule.¹ Alan had been the external reader of my Ph.D. dissertation, and, of course, his work had been an important resource for me in a dissertation on ancient Greek iconology. His *AJA* 1991 article on mourning motifs in Athenian art is a classic, which gathers together a vast amount of material, offers new interpretations, and remains a valuable resource for students and scholars alike. My contribution here takes up where Alan leaves off, toward the end of the fifth century BCE, with a funerary vessel, a fragmentary Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Manner of the Talos Painter, which is now divided between Berlin and Athens (color figs. 9–12 and fig. 1).² This is a small tribute to a scholar and friend for whom I have immense respect and fondness. I have learned a tremendous amount from him over the years, and his advice and support have always been invaluable to me.

This loutrophoros is one of a group of about forty vessels decorated with warriors, which began as early as ca. 490 with the greatest concentration of examples in the last part of the fifth century BCE. According to scholars, they were created specifically for Athenian state burials of the war dead, perhaps serving as private – in counterpoint to the public – offerings to the deceased.³ They often survive only in fragments because they apparently were deliberately broken during the burial;⁴ many show traces of burning and were found around, but not in, the graves. Of the fourteen with known provenance, all were found in Athens, and at least four derive from the Kerameikos.⁵ Most have been attributed to major burials, suggesting that these large vessels were specialties of just a few painters in Athens (the most numerous attributions are to the Kleophon Painter, the Group of Polygnotos, and the Talos Painter and

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1 Shapiro 1991.

2 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 3209 and Athens (ex-Schliemann), National Archaeological Museum 26821; BAPD 5280.

3 Stupperich 1977, 162 and 1994, 97; Bergemann 1996, 173 n. 125; Hannah 2010; Low 2010, 348; Mösch-Klinge 2010, 59.

4 Stupperich 1977, 98–102, 155.

5 Stupperich 1977, 162; Hannah 2010, 276.

his circle).⁶ On those examples where it is possible to understand the larger scene, we see warriors on foot or on horseback, often engaged in battle, but also sometimes standing near a tomb, as on an example of ca. 450–400 BCE, now in Oxford.⁷

These warrior scenes are one of the few motifs used to decorate loutrophoroi in the last part of the fifth century BCE. Earlier sixth-century Attic black-figure loutrophoroi were decorated with funerary protheses, and fifth-century Attic red-figure loutrophoroi continued the protheses but also bore nuptial imagery, including weddings (though not the two types of scenes on the same vessel). By the second quarter of the fifth century BCE, warriors, either near a tomb or engaged in battle, were added into the catalogue of motifs, while protheses eventually dropped out of the repertory.⁸

In cases where provenance is known, wedding and warrior depictions appear on loutrophoroi found in funerary contexts, while those decorated with nuptial imagery were also uncovered in sanctuaries. None derive from domestic contexts,⁹ and all were recovered in Attica. Many, though not all, of the fragments were found between the Dipylon gate and the Academy in Athens, that is, in the area that has been identified as the *demosion sema*, the collective state burial place for prominent individuals and especially for the Athenian war dead.¹⁰ We know about the *demosion sema* from written sources, particularly Thucydides' (2.34) vivid description of the burial rites in his account of Perikles' funeral oration and Pausanias' travel writing (1.29.2–16), as well as from inscribed stelai – some decorated with reliefs – found in the area.

Perhaps the most impressive of the warrior loutrophoroi, which is *not* from the *demosion sema*, was discovered near the present-day Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens at the corner of Panepistimiou and Charilaou Trikoupi streets, where many graves came to light. It was found in sherds strewn around, but not in, a grave.¹¹ The loutrophoros is estimated to have been originally 1.28 m,¹² and is dated on the basis of style ca. 440–400 BCE.¹³ It is highly unusual within the genre of warrior loutrophoroi in terms of the many number of figures shown on it, the theme of its subsidiary band, and its iconography (color figs. 9–12 and fig. 1). The composition depicts two moments: a warrior's departure from an old man, a scene that is flanked by a female and a male looking on, and figures standing at a tomb. Broken lekythoi (seemingly white-ground) litter the steps of the tomb, and a ribbon encircles the top portion of the gravestone. To

⁶ Stupperich 1977, 156; Sabetai 2009, 294, who concentrates on loutrophoroi with wedding scenes; Hannah 2010, 300–303.

⁷ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1921.867: BAPD 340052.

⁸ Mösch-Klingele 2010, 56, 58.

⁹ Schmidt 2005, 79–82.

¹⁰ Scholars have debated the precise location of the *demosion sema*. See Arrington 2010, 500–522.

¹¹ Wolters 1890, 347–348 and 1891. Sabetai (2009, 303) reports that the vessel is not associated with a grave but this is not what is recorded by Wolters in the initial publication.

¹² Bakalakis 1971, 75. Schäfer 2002, 235 no. G25 estimates it as 1.30m.

¹³ Schäfer 2002, 236 no. G25.

our right of the tomb stands a male, who is crowned with a vegetal wreath, holds a spear, and wears an ornate fringed belted chitoniskos (*ependytes*) and high, laced boots; a petasos dangles from his neck. Behind him stand two draped women; the one to our far right holds a flat basket or tray in her outstretched left arm. A hunter approaches the tomb from the left. He wears a petasos and chlamys and carries a *lagobolon* slung over his shoulder from which hangs a dead hare. Between the hunter and the tombstone, and overlapping both, is a male mounted on a white horse, which stands atop a base; in other words, the horse and rider comprise a sculptural group.



Fig. 1: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 26821, fragmentary Attic red-figure loutrophoros from Athens attributed to the Manner of the Talos Painter, ca. 440–400 BCE. Photo: Demetrios Gialouris, National Archaeological Museum, Athens. ©Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The iconography is unusual for the similarity between mounted and standing warriors and the inclusion of the sculptural group. The rider wears a richly decorated belted *ependytes*, high-laced boots, a petasos hanging from his neck, a spear in one hand, and a wreath on his head; in other words, he is attired similarly to the male facing him, although the rider also has a dagger at his side. The similarity of the rider and figure standing opposite has suggested to scholars that they are colleagues or, even the same figure, i.e., the deceased.¹⁴ This would make the scene something of a fantasy: the cavalry soldier stands at his own tomb, looking upon a monument in his honor, while figures perform funerary rites. But it is important to note that while the figures are very similar, they are not identical: the ornament on their *ependytai* differs, and indeed, a number of the warrior loutrophoroi fragments show the same type of ornate fabric worn by the horseman and the figure facing him on our loutrophoros.¹⁵ Rather than thinking in terms of the two figures on the one loutrophoros as identical, I think it is more likely that all the warriors attired in this fashion on this class of loutrophoroi should be thought of as a group of warriors and as the same type of soldier: all cavalry, either from a single region or from a single battle.

The presence of the sculpture of a horse and rider is a unique instance on warrior loutrophoroi, although depictions of statues on vases and sculpture are nothing new. What is striking is the scale of the monument, which is nearly life size. Consider, by contrast, depictions of statues on other vases and in sculpture, where such figures are relatively diminutive in scale. The Athena statue in the Ilioupersis scene on the well-known Vivenzio hydria comes to mind,¹⁶ but closer in date are the depictions of statues on the Parthenon metopes (e.g., North 25¹⁷) or the petite statue in the Centauro-machy scene on the Ionic frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai.¹⁸ One could argue that the size was dictated by the need to make a plausible likeness between the soldier on the horse and the one standing in front of the tomb.

Scholars usually regard the sculptural group as a metaphor or symbol, rather than a reflection of an actual monument. Indeed, Paul Wolters regarded all of the images as references to the deceased's pastimes (horses, hunting, companions) and his death (warrior).¹⁹ If we are willing to accept that the stelai-topped tombs depicted on loutrophoroi and lekythoi refer to actual tombs (although not necessarily specific tombs), then the same reasoning should apply to the sculpture of a horse and rider: it refers to

¹⁴ Bakalakis 1971, 77; Hannah 2010, 288.

¹⁵ Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls Universität S./10 1557b–c, 1568a, c–f, b+h; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.70. See BAPD 11608, 205752, 217523; CVA Tübingen 4, 30–32; Hannah 2010, fig. 11.2.

¹⁶ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2422, attributed to the Kleophrades Painter: BAPD 201724.

¹⁷ Brommer 1967, pls. 105–108.

¹⁸ London, British Museum 524.

¹⁹ Wolters 1891, 404. A notable exception is Schäfer (2002), who recognizes an actual monument. Cf. Hannah 2010, 288, 290.

something in the real world, not a fantasy created by the artist. That would also explain the size of the sculptural group: it corresponds in scale with the tomb monument in the background so as to suggest that both are real monuments. I wish to propose that the horse and rider may represent a real three-dimensional statue group that stood in Athens to honor fallen cavalry.²⁰

Free-standing equestrian monuments existed in Athens in the second half of the fifth and early fourth century BCE. A statue of a man leading a horse was dedicated by the *hippeis* next to the Propylaia, as known from the extant inscribed base, probably in the 440s–430s BCE, and a bronze victory monument for a win in a quadriga race was set up on the Acropolis ca. 450, as attested from the inscribed base and cuttings for the statue.²¹ The former is a votive monument, the latter is a victory monument, but parts of free-standing sculpted horses found in and near the Kerameikos suggest that three-dimensional monuments stood in this funerary context, as well. Fragments of marble horse legs found in front of the Dipylon Gate are likely to derive from a state monument in the *demosion sema*, and a bronze front hoof of a late classical life-size monument may have belonged to a monument in the Kerameikos.²² In addition, we possess written testimony of now missing monuments in the Kerameikos (Pausanias 1.2.3; Diogenes Laertius 7.182) and perhaps in the *demosion sema*; Pausanias' description of the type of monuments he sees in this area is ambiguous as to the form of the objects.²³

Although scholars believe that the warrior loutrophoroi were intended as monuments for the *demosion sema*, the loutrophoros under discussion here was not found in that location. We can imagine various scenarios that could explain the vase's findspot, e.g., all warrior loutrophoroi were not created for the *demosion sema*, but were available for burials anywhere, or all were created for the *demosion sema* but some warrior loutrophoroi were eventually used elsewhere, either in a primary or secondary use. Whatever the case, I think that the monumental size of the vessels, their fairly standardized decoration, the similarity of the warriors' ornate attire, and the limited number of painters producing them in the last third of the fifth century BCE point to a discrete group of objects with a fixed purpose: to honor warriors who died in battle, perhaps a specific battle, particularly those men entombed in the *demosion sema*. In this scenario, the imagery on the loutrophoroi would reflect their intended locale, and it would be safe to surmise that such a horse and rider statue group stood in the *demosion sema*.²⁴

²⁰ Cf. Schäfer 2002, 193–194, who shares this opinion.

²¹ Hurwit 1999, 147. See also Schäfer 2002, 195–209.

²² Schäfer 2002, 192, especially n. 1100.

²³ Stähler 1976, 68 n. 46. Stähler (1976) also argues that a marble rider sculpture (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.751) – damaged but clearly recognizable – of the late fifth century BCE derives from a multi-figure, three-dimensional funerary group in Athens; and Karusu (1961) has proposed that a free-standing statue of Hermes was placed in the Kerameikos shortly after ca. 450 BCE.

²⁴ If Arrington (2010) is correct in his claims about the establishment of the *demosion sema* and its relationship to the Athenian democracy, then any hippic monument would have been located to the

With few exceptions, however, scholars have been reluctant to acknowledge the possibility of free-standing sculptural monuments in the *demosion sema* in Athens. We know a fair amount about the *demosion sema*, especially about the burials, *epitaphioi logoi*, and the social aspects of these funerals. The stelai bearing inscribed casualty lists arranged by tribe are a well-known feature of the area and also appear in vase painting,²⁵ but few scholars discuss other monuments that were located there, including the images that topped the casualty lists; we will return to this matter below.²⁶ Polly Low points out that the lists of inscribed names of the war dead would have individualized the deceased to their mourners akin to the effect of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC (no doubt this is true: naming always individualizes mass casualties as on the recently unveiled 9/11 Monument in New York).²⁷ But the comparison stops there. The powerful understatement and starkness of the modern memorials are not at all like the ancient *demosion sema* of Athens. From ancient written descriptions and the extant monuments, I think we must conclude that the *demosion sema* was like the Kerameikos in that it was replete with monuments of all types, a riot of color in the form of painted sculpture (including marble *loutrophoroi*), painted vases, and ribbons, with inscriptions, and offerings of many kinds, as well as the ephemeral funeral rites and games.

Many of the extant reliefs belonging to the casualty lists in the *demosion sema* were found in various locations in Athens (none were found *in situ*), where they were reused in later monuments.²⁸ I think we should expect that any free-standing monuments would have suffered a similar fate or were destroyed or melted down to be reused in other ways, and this would explain the relatively few extant remains. The reliefs may help us in reconstructing, at least to some degree, the kind of free-standing monuments that once honored the war dead in the *demosion sema*.²⁹ The sculpted reliefs decorating the casualty lists depict a limited number of motifs – battle, hunting, and standing figures. Many of the casualty list reliefs depict warriors on horseback and therefore may be especially useful in understanding cavalry

east of the Academy Road, along the Leokoriou road near the Hippios Kolonos, and would have been associated with the aristocracy. While it is true that horses were associated with aristocrats in Athenian thinking (and elsewhere, of course), Arrington's claim that " ... the demos was never completely comfortable with the cavalry" (530) is not entirely convincing when one thinks of monuments, such as the Parthenon frieze, largely filled with horsemen (not cavalry, but horses, nonetheless). Cf. Hurwit 2004, 26–27, who gathers many examples of the importance of horses in fifth-century Athens, and Pollitt 1997, who argues that the Parthenon frieze was intended to celebrate the newly created Athenian cavalry.

25 E.g., Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2455. See BAPD 42150; Hannah 2010, 274 fig. 11.1.

26 Exceptions: Stupperich 1994; Goette 2009; Arrington 2011.

27 Low 2010, 343–344.

28 Arrington 2010, 510.

29 Cf. Goette 2009, 197.

monuments. One common compositional element is the “Dexileos motif,” named for its use on the Dexileos Stele of ca. 394 BCE in the Kerameikos: a warrior on a rearing horse cutting down an opponent who falls to the ground. The Dexileos motif can be seen, for example, on three sides of a sculpted base of ca. 400 BCE that once supported a stele, which perhaps was inscribed with a casualty list and was found on the Academy Road.³⁰ The reliefs on this base are extraordinary. Reinhard Stupperich observes that they appear to show various views of a single monument: “the ... motif on the front of the base is repeated on both sides in such a way as if it was being regarded from both sides, just as a piece of sculpture in the round.”³¹ The prevalence of the Dexileos motif, together with the multiple views on this base, suggest a free-standing state monument or monuments honoring cavalymen who died in battle.³²

The warrior loutrophoroi, fragmentary though they are, share some of the compositional elements visible on the casualty list reliefs, such as a dead warrior on the ground, one arm slung over the head; mounted warriors fighting an opponent on foot; or warriors wearing piloi,³³ which would not be surprising if the loutrophoroi echo real monuments or draw on a common repertory. Although the horse-and-rider group painted on the Berlin/Athens loutrophoros differs dramatically from the fierce battle scenes carved on most stone stelai or on the usual warrior loutrophoroi, the calm, standing warrior figure finds correspondences in some public monuments honoring the war dead, including some of the reliefs adorning casualty lists from the *demosion sema*.³⁴ The painted horse-and-rider sculptural group on the Berlin/Athens loutrophoros then may reflect a three-dimensional cavalry memorial though not necessarily a battle composition. To name but one possibility, we might consider the monument in the *demosion sema* mentioned by Pausanias (1.29.6), which honored the Thessalian horsemen who aided the Athenians when Archidamos attacked Athens in 431 BCE.

Finally, we might consider the subsidiary frieze of the loutrophoros, which depicts an Amazonomachy in a markedly less technically proficient manner than the main scene. The use of this theme on a loutrophoros is unusual with only two other

³⁰ Karo 1931, 218–219 figs. 1–3.

³¹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3708. Stupperich 1994, 95. Cf. Schweitzer 1941, 37, who suggests that we see several views of the same moment.

³² Cf. Clairmont 1993, 2:89, 151. *Contra*: Stupperich 1994, 94, 99–100.

³³ Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls Universität S./10 1624, S./10 1568a, c; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 29.47; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2744; Newcastle, Great North Museum 213. See BAPD 11058, 205464, 217523; Foster 1978, 17; CVA Tübingen 4, pl. 8.1, 9.4–5; Goette 2009, figs. 40–1. Note that Stupperich 1994, 95 expresses hesitation in attributing the New York relief to a state burial. Marble loutrophoroi, normally decorated with tranquil scenes, according to Stupperich, also may have borrowed compositions from state monuments. And marble stelai sometimes depict loutrophoroi with battle scenes, e.g., Goette 2009, 196 fig. 47.

³⁴ Stupperich 1994, 95.

examples among painted loutrophoroi of any type, warrior or otherwise.³⁵ Scholars have offered several proposals to link the Amazonomachy to the main theme above. For example, the mythic Amazonomachy serves as a paradigm for the ἀνδρεία of the deceased³⁶ or of death itself.³⁷ The theme may, as scholars have noted, allude to the mythological paradigms proffered in the *epitaphioi logoi* to inspire Athenians (though the extant evidence for this only begins in the fourth century BCE), and Stupperich even raises the possibility that friezes depicting the Amazonomachy adorned state burial monuments.³⁸ I think we might consider another possibility. Alan Shapiro discusses the practice of creating a *soros* at the place where Athenian soldiers fell on the battlefield.³⁹ As a mythological counterpart, he points to Plutarch's *Theseus* 27, which states that the Athenians who died defending their city against the Amazon invasion were buried together at the Peiraic gate. It may be then, that the painter of our loutrophoros wished to make a visual analogy between the great Athenians of the past and the warrior commemorated by this vessel. While the deceased who was honored by this loutrophoros may or may not have been buried in the *demosion sema*, he was honored by a vessel that reflects the civic ideology articulated in public memorials, both ephemeral and permanent, to the war dead in late fifth-century BCE Athens.

³⁵ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 38.11.4; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13032A (BAPD 213758, 216115). There is possibly a third example, Athens, Third Ephoreia A15369 (Kerameikos Metro). See Hannah 2010, 302 nos. 25, 26, 34; Bakalakis 1971, 79.

³⁶ Stupperich 1977, 158–162; CVA Tübingen 4, 25. Cf. Hoffmann 1980, 137.

³⁷ Bakalakis 1971, 81–82.

³⁸ Stupperich 1994, 97–98.

³⁹ Shapiro 1991, 644.

Wendy E. Closterman

Women as Gift Givers and Gift Producers in Ancient Athenian Funerary Ritual*

Alan Shapiro's seminal article "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art" has contributed significantly to our understanding of how Athenian art portrayed funerary ritual.¹ As his study demonstrates, women engaged in gestures of mourning throughout the history of Athenian funerary iconography. In the Archaic period, they were most frequently shown lamenting and tending the corpse during the prothesis, the first stage of the Greek funeral when the corpse was laid out on a couch. In the Classical period, in contrast, scenes of women visiting graves during post-burial tomb cult outstripped prothesis imagery. Shapiro focuses on this change in the portrayal of mourning, arguing that it shows a shift in emphasis from more heroizing commemoration of the dead in the Archaic period to more private in the Classical period. Here, I wish to highlight another aspect of post-burial tomb cult and the prothesis, namely, women's ritualized gift giving to the dead.²

It can be useful to divide conceptually women's participation in funerary ritual into these two categories: mourning and gift giving.³ Mourning activities involved behavior distinct from the norms of everyday life. Women wailed laments. They tore their hair, lacerated their cheeks, and beat their chests to demonstrate grief. These behaviors, which were at times subject to legal restrictions, were connected with ideology about women that emphasized their untamed and volatile nature. Further, these actions were limited in duration. The space of time when mourning behavior was expected was

* Alan Shapiro's mark on Classical scholarship is remarkably pervasive and wide ranging. One cannot work in the areas that this study relates to – vase iconography, funerary ritual, religion, and gender studies – without engaging with his thorough research and many insights. My debt to Alan's work as a mentor as well as a scholar is profound, and I offer this paper as a thank-you gift in gratitude for all that he has given. I would also like to thank Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou for all their work envisioning, organizing, and editing this volume; George Kakavas from the National Archaeological Museum in Athens for permission to publish the images in this essay; Eleni Zosi from the National Archaeological Museum for her kind assistance when I was studying the objects; the Bryn Athyn College Carpenter Scholars program for support of my research; and Greta Ham for her very helpful feedback on the text.

1 Shapiro 1991.

2 Certainly, women were not the only gift givers in an Athenian funeral. Although we know least about burial ritual at the gravesite, it seems to be a time when men played a more prominent ritual role than women, and archaeology preserves evidence for the many gifts offered at the grave. For state burials, see Barringer in this volume.

3 For studies of women's involvement in Athenian funerary ritual, see Havelock 1981; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 98–125; Stears 1998; Dillon 2001, 268–292; Alexiou 2002, 4–23; Goff 2004, 31–35, 261–264; and, Oakley 2008.

ritually circumscribed, beginning with the moment of death and culminating after thirty days.

Funerary gift giving, in contrast, involved activities that were part of everyday life. Women provided deceased family members with food, adornment, and textiles, taking care of them in death much in the same way as they did in life. These ritual actions reflect the idealized role of women's contributions to their household. Further, this aspect of funerary ritual was not limited to the time of the funeral itself. Shapiro observed that participation in post-burial tomb visits, when gifts were brought to the deceased, lengthened women's ritual obligations well beyond the funeral.⁴ I suggest that preparations for gift giving, especially the production of funerary textiles, also lengthened the timespan for funerary activities in the other direction, to well before the funeral. Analysis of Athenian women's funerary gift giving and gift producing shows that women's care for the current and future dead was an extension of the care they gave the living in their household, and was similarly part of daily life rather than only occurring at moments of crisis precipitated by a death in the family.

Post-burial Gifts

The most widely recognized acts of women's funerary gift giving took place during post-burial tomb cult. Two sets of evidence – iconography found on white-ground lekythoi and scenes from Athenian tragedy, both from fifth-century BCE Athens – offer detailed vignettes of post-burial gift giving. The combined evidence suggests that women not only displayed their care but also maintained communication with dead family members through these gifts.

White-ground lekythoi (oil or ointment vessels produced in the fifth century primarily for use in a funerary context) themselves served as post-burial gifts and portrayed post-burial gift giving in their painted scenes. Mourners might use white-ground lekythoi to pour libations, burn on funeral pyres, deposit in graves, or leave above ground on tombstones.⁵ The majority of the iconography found on white-ground lekythoi is explicitly funerary, including numerous images depicting figures visiting the gravesite to mourn and leave offerings, as well as preparing for such as visit.⁶ Many of the visitors are women, though often men and women are shown paired, and sometimes men appear alone.⁷ On occasion, the vases show men taking part in making offerings, but on the whole, in the iconography of white-ground lekythoi women take primary responsibility; women carry the wide, shallow baskets

⁴ Shapiro 1991, 651.

⁵ Oakley 2004, 8–11; Walton et al. 2010.

⁶ For a recent thorough study of white-ground lekythos iconography, see Oakley 2004.

⁷ On men as visitors, see Oakley 2004, 146, 152–153.



Fig. 1: White-ground Lekythos by the Inscription Painter (475–450 BCE). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1958. Photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

that contain funerary offerings to the tomb and women fill the baskets with the offerings at home.⁸

Two types of gifts are pictured in white-ground lekythos iconography: objects for decorating the tombstone and food and drink for nourishing the dead. A white-ground lekythos by the Inscription Painter in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens illustrates both (fig. 1).⁹ Here, the visitors have tied a ribbon around the tombstone, and

⁸ Garland 2001, 108. Reilly 1989 argues for a different interpretation of the domestic scenes, namely, that they show bridal rather than funerary preparations.

⁹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1958: BAPD 209239; Oakley 2004, 146–148.

the woman on the left is preparing to wrap another one around the monument. Additional ribbons are visible in the offering basket held by the woman on the right. The four rings on the base of the tombstone might represent wreath-like filled ribbons. The two lekythoi hanging in the background evoke lekythos offerings frequently visible on the lower steps of tombstones in other scenes. Food is also visible in the basket carried by the woman on the right. The most common food items on white-ground lekythoi are fruit, as here, but eggs and cakes also appear.¹⁰

Ritualized gift giving creates and maintains connections between the giver and the recipient. Likewise, with post-burial gifts, women could connect with the dead. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has argued convincingly that one role of a tombstone was to be “the ‘presence’ ... of the deceased in the world of the living.”¹¹ As such, decorations for someone’s tombstone could also be understood as gifts for the deceased him- or herself. The tombstone, then, provided something like a physical stand-in for the dead during post-burial gift giving. The gifts decorating the tombstone simultaneously adorned the deceased. With food and drink offerings, women provided for the physical needs of dead individuals just as they did for the living members of their household.

Ritualized gift giving also communicates a message to the living about the relationship between giver and recipient as well as about the status of the giver.¹² Because the physical objects left at a tomb would be visible to passers-by for some time after the tomb cult ritual was completed, offering these gifts created a visible record of the conduct of ritual, tangible evidence that a family remembered its dead and continued to fulfill its obligations to them. These gifts, then, spoke about the devotion of the living family.¹³

The scenes on white-ground lekythoi do not portray tomb visits with absolute historical accuracy.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the iconography provides insight into what the Athenians envisioned as happening when visitors brought such offerings to the tomb.¹⁵ Portrayals of the dead present at the tomb on a number of vases illuminate Athenian beliefs and hopes about what took place during post-burial gift giving.

10 Women also make libations in some scenes. For overviews of the types of offerings depicted on white-ground lekythoi, see Dillon 2001, 283 and Oakley 2004, 203–212.

11 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 141 and 108–147 for her development of this point, focused on Homeric and Archaic period contexts.

12 Satlow 2013, 7–8.

13 In inheritance cases among the Attic orators, fulfillment of *ta nomizomena*, the traditional rites for the dead, and the erection of a tombstone were often cited as a proof of family relationships (Humphreys 1993, 83–84).

14 To provide two examples, the appearance of the tombstones on the vases differs from those attested archaeologically (Shapiro 1991, 655), and at times the imagery appears to be a pastiche between funerary scenes and other daily life scenes (Oakley 2004, 145, 175, and 181).

15 Sourvinou-Inwood characterizes tomb visit scenes as portrayals of the living family’s perspective on death: “death of the other” vs. “death of the self” (1995, 324–325).



Fig. 2: White-ground Lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1926 (ca. 440 BCE). Photo: author. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The dead take two different physical forms on white-ground lekythoi. Sometimes they appear as very small, winged human-shaped stick figures, which scholars call *eidola*. Alternatively, the dead can appear in a full-bodied human form. Another white-ground lekythos in Athens depicts both of these forms for the dead (fig. 2).¹⁶ Here,

¹⁶ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1926: BAPD 212341; Bardel 2000, 148–149; Vermeule 1979, 30–32.

Hermes Psychopompos on the left ushers forward a deceased woman while an *eidolon* flies in between them. Their destination (not shown in the photograph) is Charon, who waits in his boat surrounded by many more *eidola*. This vase illustrates how the stick-figure *eidola* portray the dead generically and collectively, while specific dead look fully human and individualized. Though distinguishing the living from the deceased in this second form can be challenging, in some instances it is reasonably clear.¹⁷ The dead might appear as ideal types, for example, as a soldier or an athlete.¹⁸ One vase, in Athens, even shows a unique shade-like image of a woman, a full-sized human shape but monotone in color, convincingly proposed to be a ghost.¹⁹ These individualized images of the deceased appear at the gravesite, present when visitors came with their offerings. In the Athenian view, then, offerings were not just a way of tending the place of burial, but were also received directly by the deceased him- or herself.

Like white-ground lekythos iconography, evidence from fifth-century Athenian tragedy depicts women making offerings at tombs, especially food and drink. Here, too, women play a more regular role than men. Tragedy provides a context for the offerings from which it is possible to extrapolate further about their function. Sarah Iles Johnston asserts that two different attitudes prompted interactions with the dead: the desire to appease and the desire to honor.²⁰ In tragedies about Orestes and Elektra, the characters express both sentiments as they seek to pacify the dead and to convey personal affection primarily through the use of food and drink.²¹ Givers request that the dead be favorable to them in return, asking the dead to help by bringing good things and not bad. Tragedy, then, offers a window into the reciprocal nature of post-burial gift giving. The dead are supposed to respond to the gifts of the living with positive gifts of their own.²²

Interestingly, tragedy does not always depict food and drink offerings simply as gifts from one living individual to one dead individual. The recipients are often more numerous, the focus shifting back and forth between the specific dead person at whose tomb the offerings are made and the dead and deities of the underworld more broadly. This characteristic offers some parallel to the different depictions of the dead on white-ground lekythoi – collectively as *eidola* and individualized as full-bodied people. Tragedy provides evidence for the idea that anyone in the afterlife, as well as the owner of the tomb, might enjoy the food and drink offerings made at the tomb. Yet, in these narratives the ultimate goal of the offerings is communion with a specific recipient.

¹⁷ Oakley 2004, 148, 153.

¹⁸ Oakley 2004, 169–171.

¹⁹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1942: BAPD 216368; Oakley 2004, 165–166.

²⁰ Johnston 1999, 38–39.

²¹ Some personal tokens are also offered, especially a lock of hair that functions in the plays as a device for recognition.

²² See Hénaff 2013 for a discussion of the importance of reciprocity in ceremonial gift giving. On the emphasis on the interaction between living and dead in the Classical period, see Johnston 1999, 25–28 and Mirto 2012, 93.

A few specific examples illustrate these points. In Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, Elektra calls on Agamemnon to look kindly on her and Orestes and to help them, while at the same time she pours water for mortals (βροτοῖς) (129–131). The collective dead receive the libations, but Elektra's request for good will and aid is addressed specifically to Agamemnon. In Sophocles' *Elektra*, when Chrysothemis, Agamemnon's daughter, brings offerings to his tomb, the recipients of the sacrifice are also collective, specified as "those below" (τοῖς κάτω) (324–327). However, when Elektra later expresses concern that Chrysothemis brings offerings from Klytemnestra, she explains that Agamemnon will not be happy to receive honors from that source (442–443). Elektra's statement thus makes clear that an individualized deceased – Agamemnon – is the primary recipient of the offerings.

Further, the nature of Agamemnon's relationship with the person responsible for the offering is at stake in the exchange. In Euripides' *Orestes*, Helen sends her daughter, Hermione, to take libations of wine and milk mixed with honey to Klytemnestra's tomb, telling Hermione to ask Klytemnestra specifically to be favorable and promising her gifts suitable for those below (110–125). When Hermione returns from visiting Klytemnestra's grave, Elektra asks about the offerings, identifying them not as offerings to Klytemnestra but "to those below" (νεπρέποις) (1321–1322). Interestingly, Hermione replies that she received Klytemnestra's good graces (πρεπυμένειαν), using the singular rather than the plural found in the question for the recipients of the offering (1323). It seems that feeding the collective dead is part of the individualized exchange between a living and a dead person.

Human beings use food for multiple purposes: nutrition, pleasure, identity, and sociality.²³ These varied functions all play a role in food offerings to the dead. The first two categories – nutrition and pleasure – satisfy those consuming the food. Indeed, food and drink offerings appear to be quite desirable to the dead, collectively and individually.²⁴ The last two categories relate more directly to ceremonial gift giving. Food can create identity both by distinguishing members of a group from others as well as by forging bonds within a group. Food and drink offerings play similar roles in post-burial tomb cult.²⁵ While post-burial food and drink offerings may well provide

23 E.g., Garnsey 1999, 4–11.

24 Johnston 1999, 41. This idea has a long history in Greek thought. For example, in the *Odyssey* when Odysseus seeks to communicate with Teiresias in the underworld, he offers libations and a sacrifice to draw the dead. They swarm, and Odysseus prevents them from reaching the blood that they desire until he is able to speak to the individual he is seeking (Homer, *Od.* 11.24–50). Garland (2001, 112) believes that this "sacrifice is atypical in that its intention is not to administer to the needs of the deceased but to restore them to consciousness" In contrast, the argument presented here suggests the opposite, that this function of communing with the dead was typical.

25 The post-burial offerings we have been considering continue a practice of providing food and drink for the dead that began during the funeral. Archaeology provides evidence for a meal ritually destroyed at the graveside during the funeral. Although it is unclear whether or not the living partook of this food, they did eat a dinner at home after the burial, which the deceased was sometimes thought to attend.

sustenance and enjoyment for the dead alone, they also involve exchange between the living and the dead. In tragedy, many dead receive the sacrifices and libations, but, at the same time, offerings are made as a means for the living to communicate with and seek reciprocity from one specific dead person. Food and drink offerings open up channels of communication between the living and the dead, allowing for expressions of honor and appeasement, because they invite the presence of the dead. In this way, they create a relationship, bringing the living and dead into direct contact.²⁶

In post-burial tomb cult, then, the women's task was to provide for the dead. Offerings like ribbons, wreaths, and ointments expressed care for the individual deceased by adorning the tombstone. Food and drink offerings served as a mechanism for fostering communication between the living and the dead. But post-burial tomb cult did not mark the beginning of women's care for the dead. Instead, in some sense the decoration of the tombstone in post-burial gift giving continued women's care for the deceased that began in the prothesis, the first stage of the funeral when female family members washed, dressed, and adorned the corpse.²⁷

Pre-burial Gifts

Athenian funerary art stretching from the Geometric through the Classical period depicts numerous images of the prothesis. These scenes particularly feature women's lamentation around the corpse. Although men are present too, they appear in fewer numbers than women, at a greater distance from the corpse, and with more restrained gestures. Scholarship on the prothesis has concentrated mostly on women's performance of ritual lamentation and on their physical contact with the corpse, when women also prepared the corpse for the prothesis by bathing and dressing it.²⁸ Here, I focus on the less frequently discussed objects women used to prepare the corpse for display and burial: clothing, pillows, and other funerary textiles, such as a shroud.²⁹ Iconographic evidence, examples of funerary textiles that survive in graves, and sumptuary laws all highlight the importance and lavish-

26 In his famous analysis of rites of passage, Van Gennep (1960, 163) sees post-burial meals and the feeding of the dead as part of a very long transition stage toward separation, because the food maintains the connection between the living and the dead. He also sees meals as facilitating the last stage of the rites of passage, namely, incorporation, which sometimes includes incorporation of the living and the dead (1960, 164–165).

27 Mirto 2012, 96.

28 On women's lament in the prothesis, see Havelock 1981, 111–112; Holst-Warhaft 1992; Stears 1998, 117; Dillon 2001, 292; Alexiou 2002, 14–23. On tending the corpse, see Havelock 1981, 112–114; Parker 1983, 33–48; Shapiro 1991, 634–635; Stears 1998, 117–120.

29 Women might also adorn the dead with other worn items, such as jewelry, a crown, and a chin-strap to hold the corpse's mouth closed.

ness of these funerary textiles that women provided for their dead. Women's use of ritual gift giving to care for the dead, then, was not limited to post-burial tomb cult but also took place in the prothesis.

Patterned funerary textiles appear frequently in Archaic and Classical period depictions of the prothesis. For example, on a large red-figure *loutrophoros* from the burial area at Phaleron, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (color fig. 13), the corpse of a woman, shrouded except for her head, lies on a couch outfitted with patterned textiles.³⁰ Her head rests on a pillow decorated with bands filled with zigzags. The fabric draping the couch, visible on the vase below the pillow, is edged with a patterned frieze and fringe.

The textiles used during the prothesis accompanied the deceased to the burial site during the *ekphora* (the procession to the grave). For example, a bail-handled amphora by the Sappho Painter shows a woman and a man placing into a coffin a corpse wrapped in a textile patterned with dots.³¹ A seventh-century BCE terracotta model depicting a corpse in transit to the grave offers a particularly vivid example of funerary textiles, showing animal friezes as well as patterns (fig. 3 and 4).³² The cart, located in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, is draped with two decorative textiles. One covered the cart and supported a clay model of an enshrouded corpse. This cloth and the corpse were topped by a second (removable) patterned textile, molded so that the four corners do not sit flush with the lower textile, giving the impressions of a thick cloth hanging down. A baby and a bird ride on top of this covering. The painting indicates rich and elaborate patterns covering both of these textiles as well as on the clothing of the female mourners who surround the cart. Because the paint is now faint and damaged, it is not easy to discern all the specific types of patterning on the textiles. However, in addition to a number of geometric patterns, two animals (perhaps horses?) are visible on one side of the top cloth (fig. 4), and the legs of another animal may be preserved on the other side (fig. 3).³³ Funeral iconography captures an ideal form of funerary ritual. Archaic and Classical period Athenian renditions of the prothesis and *ekphora* demonstrate that textiles, especially well-ornamented ones, were a desirable element of funerary equipment.

30 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170: BAPD 205750. Sabetai notes that this vase was "secondarily burnt and bottomless" (2009, 295) indicating that it, like many funerary clay *loutrophoroi*, had been "ritually killed and burnt in *Opferrinnen* and *Opferstellen*" (2009, 301).

31 Brunswick, Bowdoin College Museum of Art 1984.23: BAPD 361401.

32 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 26747; Garland 2001, 32–33; Hampe 1960, 73–75; Kurtz/Boardman 1971, 78.

33 Barber (1991, 377–378) identifies battling warriors, but such figures were not evident to me when I examined the object.



Fig. 3: Vari cart, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 26747 (700–650 BCE). Photo no. 621, National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

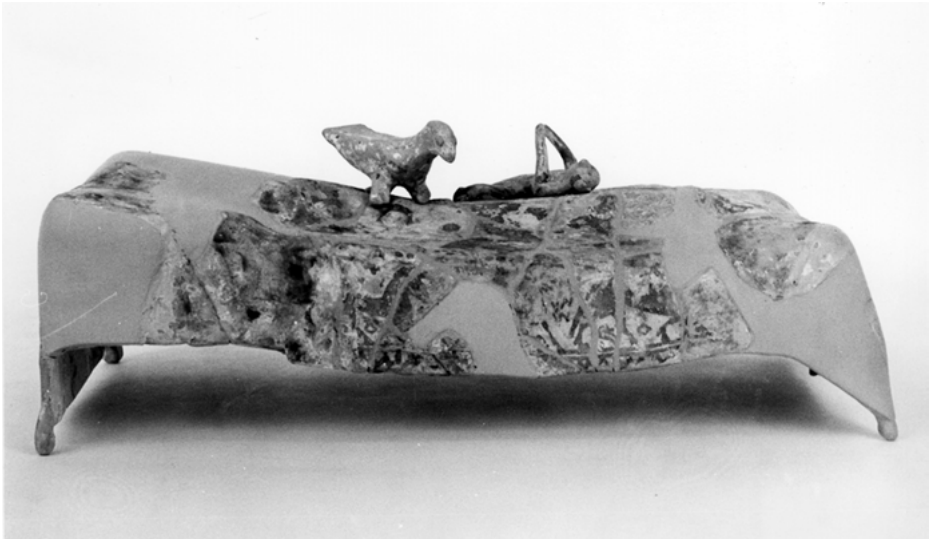


Fig. 4: Vari cart, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 26747 (700–650 BCE). Photo number 627, National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The rare preserved archaeological finds of funerary textiles show that this ideal was at times a reality. Youlie Spantidaki and Christophe Moulherat divide the preserved funerary textiles from Classical Attica into two categories. One group they describe as “very homogeneous” and the second as having “exceptional characteristics.”³⁴ They posit that the first group consists of textiles used in cremation burials while the second group was used for inhumations and represents the textiles worn by the corpse.³⁵ This second group, which includes finds in the Kerameikos and the Attic countryside, stands out for the elaboration of the textiles. It includes fabrics with notably high thread count, added purple thread, or embroidered imagery. Perhaps most notable is the textile from Koropi that has an embroidered diamond and lion pattern.³⁶ Remains of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic period textiles from the Greek world outside of Attica bear out this picture of elaborate funerary textiles.³⁷

Surviving funerary legislation from the Greek world sheds light on the important place of these textiles among Greek funerary equipment.³⁸ In Athens, legislation attributed to Solon seems to have placed limits on the expense and number of textiles.³⁹ Restrictions on textiles found in non-Athenian sumptuary legislation from the phratry of the Labyadai at Delphi and from Ioulis on Kea in the Classical period provides a similar picture.⁴⁰ Even though they do not necessarily illuminate details of Athenian funerary ritual, these non-Athenian laws call attention to the importance of the textiles used in Greek funerary ritual and provide a fuller context for interpreting the Athenian restrictions.

In different ways, these various legislative restrictions on funerary textiles sought to limit textiles’ appearance, value, and quantity. The laws require that the textiles be plain. The fifth-century legislation of the phratry of the Labyadai at Delphi indicated that the shroud had to be thick and gray, while the legislation from Ioulis on Kea specified that the three biercloths (Solmsen-Fraenkel 64, 3–4: στρώματι καὶ ἐνδύματι [καὶ] | [ἐ]πιβλέματι) had to be white. The Kean legislation stipulates a strikingly high monetary cap on the value of these three biercloths: no more than 100 (or 300) drachmas.⁴¹ This financial restriction indicates that funerary textiles might sometimes

³⁴ Spantidaki/Moulherat 2012, 195.

³⁵ Spantidaki/Moulherat 2012, 197.

³⁶ Spantidaki/Moulherat 2012, 195.

³⁷ Gleba/Krupa 2012, 409–413; Spantidaki/Moulherat 2012, 194–196.

³⁸ On Greek funerary legislation, see Garland 1989 and Blok 2006.

³⁹ Legislation restricting aspects of funerary practice is attested at several points in Athenian history: Solonian legislation, the “post aliquanto” legislation (so called after Cicero’s description in *Laws* 2.64 of legislation enacted “sometime after” Solon), and laws issued under Demetrios of Phaleron. The “post aliquanto” legislation and that of Demetrios of Phaleron seem to have focused on funerary monuments rather than on ritual practice. They do not mention textiles.

⁴⁰ Phratry of the Labyadai at Delphi: Solmsen-Fraenkel 49; Ioulis on Kea: Solmsen-Fraenkel 64.

⁴¹ On different readings of the number, see Garland 1989, 11 and Blok 2006, 208. The legislation also specifies that the kline and the textiles should be brought back home after the funeral.

be quite expensive indeed. Restrictions on the number of textiles and pieces of clothing might also have been a way of limiting cost. According to Cicero (*Leg.* 2.59), Solonian legislation limited clothing to three coverings and a purple tunic (*tribus reciniis et tunica purpurea*). Plutarch (*Sol.* 21) states that neither the corpse nor the mourning women could have more than three himatia. The Delphi legislation limited the biercloth (στρώμα) and pillow (ποικεφάλαιον) to one apiece. Overall, then, legislation sought to make funerary textiles less elaborate and less expensive. The existence of legislation from different places and time periods that seeks to make funerary textiles plain and with restricted cost suggests that there was a tendency for funerary textiles to be just the opposite: embellished and high-value. The textiles that women provided for the deceased when they dressed and laid out the corpse for the prothesis were an expensive part of funerary equipment. Josine Blok has argued that the legislative limitations on these gifts for the dead were an attempt to “cut down the degree to which the dead had to reciprocate these gifts and had to act on behalf of the living.”⁴² Funerary textiles, then, like post-burial gifts, contributed to creating and maintaining a relationship between living and dead.

Textiles have a long history as the quintessential women’s gift in Greek ideology of gender.⁴³ The fact that men were involved in commercial textile production at the same time that women carried out home textile production did not invalidate this long-standing ideological gender association, which manifested itself in various ways in Greek literature and art.⁴⁴ Women’s textiles were not always viewed positively in Greek myth. Tragedy, a genre marked in part by violation and reversal of norms, includes well-known examples of negative gifts of textiles, such as Klytemnestra’s carpet or Deianeira’s gift of clothing.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, textiles remained a potent symbol of women’s work and familial harmony.⁴⁶ Textiles also played an important role as women’s offerings to the gods and were women’s gifts in other rituals related to the lifecycle.⁴⁷ Perhaps most notably, during the wedding, a bride gave her husband a textile that she herself wove.⁴⁸ As with the food offerings in post-burial tomb cult, when women gave textiles to the dead, the gifts both served to take direct care of the dead and also communicated to the living information about the well-functioning household.

⁴² Blok 2006, 237.

⁴³ Lyons 2012, 15–19, 22–29. The association between women and textiles is found in many cultures (see Lyons 2012, 14, 16–17), as is women’s role in care for the dead.

⁴⁴ On men as commercial textile producers, see Thompson 1982.

⁴⁵ See Lyons 2012, 77–90 for gifts in tragedy.

⁴⁶ Bundrick 2008, 320–324.

⁴⁷ On textile dedications to deities, see Neils 2009b.

⁴⁸ Bundrick 2008, 321; Sabetai 2008, 296.

Gift Producing

White-ground lekythoi include scenes of preparation for tomb visits in addition to images of the visits themselves. In them, women at home assemble their offerings in distinctive funerary baskets. Such imagery reminds us that women's funerary gift giving involved more than the moments when women offered the gifts; it also involved gift acquisition and production. Although these objects may well have been purchased, I suggest that the ideal was that the women of the household produce them, especially the textiles.

By and large, textile production remained a home industry throughout Greek history. Women, working together with their slaves, produced the cloth the household needed, such as clothing, blankets, pillows, and wall-hangings. Among the textiles women made may well have been the many elaborate textiles used in family funerals. Penelope's famous trick to delay her suitors by secretly unweaving at night the cloth she declared she must finish before choosing a suitor offers an enduring mythic articulation of the production of a funerary textile, since the fabric Penelope was weaving was a funerary cloth for her father-in-law, Laertes.⁴⁹ Because Penelope devoted three years to her task without raising any suspicion, Elizabeth Barber has suggested that Penelope was not simply weaving a shroud, which she estimates would take two or three weeks; instead, Barber argues, she must have been weaving a more time-consuming product, namely a large, pictorial tapestry.⁵⁰ Indeed, on one of the few depictions of this scene in Greek art, a red-figured skyphos from Chiusi, the artist has imagined Penelope weaving a shroud with figural friezes.⁵¹ Barber has further argued that Homer portrays Penelope, the queen of Ithaca, weaving the funerary cloth for Laertes herself, rather than her slaves, because this textile was of particular importance to the family.⁵² The example of Penelope, a mythic icon of an ideal woman, combined with the value Greeks placed on household autonomy suggest that funerary textiles may well have been made at home, at least some of the time. Greek ideology promoted the ideal of women producing both food and textiles at home for their family's needs, with or without the help of slaves.⁵³ These items, especially textiles, exemplified a self-reliant household with well-functioning relationships in the family. Women's idealized roles in the household were thus ritualized in women's funerary gift giving.

⁴⁹ Homer, *Od.* 2.93–103.

⁵⁰ Barber 1991, 358–359.

⁵¹ Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 62705 (also Collezione Civica C 1831): BAPD 216789; ARV² 1300.2; CVA Chiusi 1, 16–17 pl. 35. Both sides of this cup are illustrated here in Stansbury-O'Donnell, 377–378 figs. 2–3.

⁵² Barber 1991, 376–377.

⁵³ Jenkins 1985, 111–112.

Conclusion

Women's role as funerary gift givers integrates with women's other household work done for the *oikos*. Both the types of gifts – foodstuffs and textiles – and the function of gift giving fits into the larger pattern of ideological expectations for women's positive contributions to their households and family members. Preparing funerary gifts, especially the textiles used during the prothesis, extended women's involvement in funerary ritual prior to the beginning of the funeral. Prospective, as well as retrospective, care for the dead punctuated women's daily life outside of the time of the funeral itself – at least in ideology. To the extent that an actual woman's life followed the dictates of ideology, providing for dead family members was interspersed into her daily life outside of the intense moments of care that took place in the days and weeks after the death of a family member.

Matthew Roller

Volgei nescia*: On the Paradox of Praising Women's Invisibility

A funerary plaque of travertine marble, originally from a tomb on the Via Nomentana outside of Rome and dating to the middle of the first century BCE, commemorates the butcher Lucius Aurelius Hermia, freedman of Lucius, and his wife Aurelia Philematio, likewise a freedman of Lucius. The rectangular plaque is divided into three panels of roughly equal width. The center panel bears a relief sculpture depicting a man and woman who stand and face one another; the woman raises the man's right hand to her mouth and kisses it. The leftmost panel, adjacent to the male figure, is inscribed with a metrical text of two elegiac couplets. It represents the husband Aurelius' words about his wife, who has predeceased him and is commemorated here. The rightmost panel, adjacent to the female figure, is likewise inscribed with a metrical text of three and one half elegiac couplets. It represents the wife Aurelia's words: she speaks of her life and virtues in the past tense, as though from beyond the grave.¹ The figures depicted in relief presumably represent the married individuals who are named and speak in the inscribed texts; the woman's hand-kissing gesture seems to confirm this, as it represents a visual pun on the cognomen *Philematio/Philematium*, "little kiss."²

This relief, now in the British Museum, is well known and has received extensive scholarly discussion.³ Here, I wish to focus on a single phrase in the text Aurelia is represented as speaking. Enumerating her virtues in the second verse, she describes herself as *casta pudens volgei nescia feida viro* – "chaste, modest, not knowing the crowd, faithful to my husband." My interest is specifically in the phrase *volgei nescia*, "not knowing the crowd."⁴ The other virtue terms are fairly conventional: women's funerary inscriptions commonly praise "domestic" virtues like *castitas*, *pudicitia*, and *modestia*, along with *obsequium* and *fides* (presumably to her husband, when not

* This contribution is offered in modest tribute to Alan Shapiro's pathbreaking work on women in antiquity and on their iconography. His warmth and generosity as a friend and colleague has transformed my scholarship, along with my view of the field of Classics. The piece presented here would never have come into existence but for the new horizons he has opened for me over the years. It develops an idea I first explored, briefly, in Roller 2001, 24 n. 16.

1 *CIL* 6.9499 = *ILS* 7472; also in many other corpora. Chioffi 1999, 15 provides an up-to-date text.

2 So Koortbojian 2006, 92, correctly.

3 Most recently Koortbojian 2006 and Chioffi 1999, 14–17, both with extensive epigraphic and iconographical discussion and further bibliography.

4 The adjective *nescius*, in its active sense of "not knowing, ignorant of," commonly takes an objective genitive (OLD, s.v. *nescius* 1b and 2). *Volgei* is genitive singular, with *-ei* standing, as often in Republican inscriptions, for the long *i* of Classical Latin (this orthography is seen elsewhere in this inscription in the words *feida*, *conleibertus*, *eidem*, and *veixsit*).

specified), and valorize domestic activities like woolworking (*lanificium*, *lanam facere*, etc.) and “staying at home” (*domum servare*, *domiseda*, etc.).⁵ Nor are these virtues and activities lauded only in the non-elite social stratum, from which most of these funerary inscriptions come. The emperor Augustus himself supposedly saw to it that his daughter Julia, as well as her own daughters, were accustomed to woolworking, and that even they, princesses though they were, should not consort with people outside the household.⁶ The phrase *volgei nescia*, seen in the context of this cluster of domestic virtues, may perhaps be regarded as equivalent to “staying at home”: to do the latter rigorously would mean that one has no exposure to persons beyond the house’s walls. Now, these professed domestic ideals probably had little to do with the reality of many women’s lives. Augustus’ womenfolk were by no means invisible or inaccessible to the larger world; and in non-elite social strata many women worked.⁷ Indeed, this very inscription gives us grounds for suspecting that Aurelia actively labored or in some way assisted her husband in his work.⁸ Furthermore, many women of means functioned as civic benefactors and priestesses in cities and towns throughout the empire; for these activities they were honored with statues and inscriptions. Thus, their exclusion from the official arenas of governmental activity patently did not preclude other forms of visible, public (even civic) activity.⁹ So to the extent that predicates like *domiseda* or *volgei nescia* were thought to indicate women’s virtues, they were probably seldom enacted in any strict way. But even if we take these professed domestic virtues on their own terms as representing aspects of an idealized value system, the phrase *volgei nescia* poses a paradox. For the plaque commemorat-

5 See, e.g., ILS 8393.30 (*Laudatio Turiae*), 8394 (*Laudatio Murdiae* = CIL 6.10230), 8402–8404 (= CIL 6.11602/34045, 15346, 11357), CIL 6.37965.12–15 (epitaph of Allia Potestas: see below). For detailed discussion of women’s domestic virtues and the relationships they articulate between the civic and domestic or public and private spheres, see Milnor 2005, 27–34; brief observations by Forbis 1990, 493–494.

6 Suetonius, *Aug.* 64.4: *filiam et neptes ita instituit ut etiam lanificio assuefacerent ... extraneorum quidem coetu ... prohibuit*; also 73.1.

7 Kampen 1981 remains the landmark study of working women, though focusing on Ostia.

8 Aurelius, in the last verse of his text, declares that “she never held back from her duty out of greed” (*nulla in avaritie cessit ab officio*), and Aurelia concludes her own text by asserting that “he prospered in every respect thanks to my unremitting dutifulness” (*ille meo officio adsiduo florebat ad o[mnis]*). Precisely what *officium* she so diligently discharged is not made explicit. But its linkage in both occurrences with terms referring to material acquisition (*avaritia*, *floreo*) may imply that it involved supporting her husband’s work.

9 Forbis 1990 contrasts the conventional cluster of domestic virtues, as described above, with the quite different cluster of virtues ascribed to women who are honored as benefactors in Italian towns: these women are praised for their *munificentia*, *liberalitas*, *beneficia*, and *merita* – the same qualities ascribed to male benefactors. On the public discourse associated with female benefactors elsewhere in the empire, see MacMullen 1980. Davies 2008 argues that the iconography of honorific public statues of Roman women makes visible the tension between idealized domestic virtues and the real public activities that occasioned these statues.

ing Aurelia was mounted on a funerary monument for all passersby on the Via Nomentana to see; Aurelia is thus being lauded before the eyes of an indiscriminate public for the virtue of not having been exposed to that public. In other words, supposing that the predicate *volgei nescia* does indeed represent a virtue in an idealized system of values that could be applied to Roman women, and supposing that Aurelia indeed never set foot outside the house and so “really was” *volgei nescia* (or if we are to believe that of her), is this virtue not abnegated by the very fact of being celebrated in this way? Does praising a woman for her lack of public exposure not defeat itself by destroying that virtue in the very act of praising it? In short, how is such praise possible?

To grapple further with this paradox, we turn to the (in)famous passage on women's virtues from Perikles' funeral oration, as related by Thucydides (2.45). In his “brief exhortation” to the bereaved women of Athens, Perikles declares that good opinion attaches to those women who do not fall short of their proper nature, and also to the woman about whom there is the least celebrity for virtue or reproach among males (τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἢ δόξα καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ).¹⁰ Here, the same kind of domestic virtue is patently being valorized as in the cluster of values discussed above for Roman women. While Athenian women were generally excluded from the quintessentially civic arenas of the assembly, lawcourts, gymnasium, and magistracies, nevertheless many Athenian women of non-elite status, like their Roman counterparts, worked outside the home and hence were not exempt from the critical, judging gaze and speech of men. Nor were elite women necessarily invisible or exempt from that judging gaze: Perikles' own wife, Aspasia, is hardly a shining example of a woman about whom there is no celebrity among males for virtue or reproach. But let us, again, take the professed values on their own terms, as signaling an idealized vision of female domesticity and an associated moral discourse. Even within this discourse, and according to its own logic, how is the high opinion of any given woman to come into being, if there is no report whatsoever about her? Supposing that a positive evaluation among males is based upon their knowing the sheer fact of her existence and nothing else whatsoever about her, how is even that basic information to be acquired in the absence of any report regarding her? Some scholars have attempted to resolve this paradox by focusing on particular contexts in which the words ἀρετή (virtue) and ψόγος (reproach) could take on specific references, thereby narrowing their scope in order to avoid contradiction. Walter Lacey, for example, focuses on the funerary context of the speech: he argues that ἀρετή and ψόγος refer specifically to how rituals of mourning are discharged, concluding that it

¹⁰ “celebrity ... among males” is the literal yet elegant rendition of Rusten 1989, 175 (slightly adapted). Note that “virtue” (ἀρετή) and “reproach” (ψόγος) are not quite parallel: the former would be the *topic* of men's speech in the praise mode, and the latter would be the *mode* of their speech on the topic of vices.

is only women's mourning practices that Perikles thinks should not be the object of male conversation.¹¹ Also, David Schaps considers how women are spoken of and named (or not named) by the Attic orators in the context of private lawsuits.¹² On the other hand, Jeffrey Rusten rejects such hermeneutic moves and emphasizes the statement's paradoxical quality, and so appears to embrace a broad interpretation of Perikles' assertion.¹³ *Mutatis mutandis*, then, this Greek text presents us with the same interpretive conundrum as the Roman funerary plaque discussed earlier.

When we return to Roman material, a second inscription – the famous epitaph of Allia Potestas – exposes even more sharply the paradoxical quality of this kind of praise for public invisibility. This text, executed in imperfect hexameters, is highly distinctive in content and language; it has been dated anywhere from the Julio-Claudian period to the fourth century CE. Its findspot has been variously reported, but it assuredly emerged from one of the necropoleis outside the city walls of Rome shortly before its first publication in 1912.¹⁴ As a funerary monument, it was intended – like that of Aurelia Philematio – to be visible to and read by passersby. It too, as we shall see, illustrates the tensions between the purported female virtue of public invisibility and the striving for publicity that is characteristic of funerary monuments. The dedicator, who lends his voice to the text and is generally taken to be its author, is Aulus Allius, Allia's *patronus* and presumably one of her two sexual partners discussed in vv. 28–32. He deems the traditional cluster of domestic virtues important enough to trot out: he pronounces her “brave, pure, steadfast, without guilt, and an utterly trustworthy guardian” (*fortis sancta tenax insons fidissima custos*, v. 8).¹⁵ He subsequently asserts that “she was [or remained] uncriticized because there was little speech [sc. about her]” (*exiguo sermone inreprehensa manebat*, v. 11)¹⁶ – apparently a version of the Thucydidean scenario in which any sort of speech about a woman, regardless whether praise or blame, is in and of itself a reason to condemn her. Allius

11 Lacey 1964.

12 Schaps 1977.

13 Rusten 1989, 176: “[T]he paradoxical definition of a great δόξα in terms of the least possible κλέος implies that a good reputation for women is virtually a contradiction in terms”; 177: “a deliberate oxymoron” (see also his comments on the whole passage, 175–178). The other major commentaries do not remark on the questions of how there can be δόξα without κλέος, and whether ἀρετή and ψόγος should be understood broadly or should be applied to some specific context.

14 *CIL* 6.37965. On date and findspot, see Horsfall 1985, 252–253.

15 On this list of virtues, see Engster 2003, 149–150, 155. *Fortis* and *tenax* are not in the usual roster of predicates signifying female domestic virtue. However, they can be salvaged by taking *fortis* to mean “strong” and *tenax* as “frugal” (both of which are possible): Kroll 1914, 280; Horsfall 1985, 259.

16 Several times in this inscription *manere* stands for *esse*: Horsfall 1985, 260, and n. 18 below. *Exiguo sermone* might be interpreted as referring to speech *by* her, i.e., that *she* spoke little, and therefore escaped criticism (sc. which might be directed against a talkative woman). But there is little evidence for silence being accounted a woman's virtue (Horsfall *ad loc*). It therefore seems preferable to understand the phrase as referring to speech *about* her.

then goes on to say (vv. 12–15) that she was the first to rise and the last to bed, once her tasks were completed; that wool never left her hands without reason; and that no one surpassed her in *obsequium* or healthy morals. Still later, he declares that “she had no enthusiasm for knowing [sc. anyone], (for?) she considered herself self-sufficient” (*nosse fuit nullum studium, sibi se satis esse putabat*, v. 26),¹⁷ and that “she was [or remained] without reputation, because she had never done anything wrong” (*mansit et infamis quia nil admiserat umquam*, v. 27).¹⁸ Allia’s domestic virtues, then, again appear to go hand in hand with a low public profile: not knowing strangers; little spoken of.¹⁹

But this is not the whole story. In verse 9, Allia is said to be “neat at home, very neat outside of the home, and very well known to the crowd” (*munda domi, sat munda foras, notissima volgo*). Presumably this public celebrity results from her being *munda foras*, where her neatness could be observed by outsiders. So notwithstanding his assertions elsewhere that she was reluctant to meet outsiders and was not the subject of talk, here Allius suggests that she went out and displayed her *munditia* in a way that attracted public attention (though he pointedly notes that she displayed this quality at home too: a domestic virtue, then, that “bleeds out” into the public sphere).²⁰ Finally, at the end of the text, he describes her as “this woman (who is) renowned because of this inscription” (*haec titulo insignis*). He thereby expressly acknowledges that the inscription seeks to publicize Allia’s virtues – including the

17 A heptameter. *Nosse* is ambiguous in this absolute usage (“no zeal for knowing ... ” what?). But in several places this poet explains an ambiguous statement in the sequel; here, the self-sufficiency ascribed to Allia in the second half of the verse suggests that *nosse* requires “other people” as its implied object (so, e.g., Kroll 1914, 283; Horsfall 1985, 265).

18 *Manere* again for *esse*. As many commentators have seen, *infamis* here must mean “having no reputation” (or at least, “having no bad reputation”), and not “having a bad reputation”; likewise, *admitto* used absolutely probably carries the sense of “do wrong”: see discussion by Kroll 1914, 284; Horsfall 1985, 265.

19 In discussing vv. 26–27 of this inscription, Kroll 1914, 283–284 adduces Cato, *Agr.* 143.1 as a parallel. There Cato advises that the *vilica* be confined to the property and that she not invite strangers in: *vicinas aliasque mulieres quam minimum utatur neve domum neve ad sese recipiat: ad cenam ne quo eat neve ambulator siet*. But Cato does not thereby distinguish her from the *vilicus*, for whom he makes a similar recommendation: *vilicus ne sit ambulator ... ad cenam nequo eat* (*Agr.* 5.2). In my view, Cato is not advocating that the *vilica* display idealized female domestic virtues, but rather is seeking to ensure that both *vilica* and *vilicus* maintain their oversight roles constantly, without distraction (or relief).

20 Horsfall 1985, 260–261 writes, “No incompatibility need be suspected” between this verse and verse 11 (*exiguo sermone inreprehensa manebat*), because “Allia’s virtues were widely known and she was uncensured because there was little *sermo* about her.” But Horsfall underscores the paradox in his very attempt to resolve it. For it is unclear how her virtues became widely known, if there was little *sermo* about her: little *sermo* means little praise as well as little blame/lack of censure. It seems preferable to understand *exiguo sermone inreprehensa* as meaning that she escaped censure by the very fact of there being little *sermo* of any sort, positive or negative – the Thucydidean scenario, as noted above, and incompatible with her virtues being widely known.

virtues of being little spoken about and being reluctant to make acquaintances. Again, the tension between the ideal of women's public invisibility (as part of the package of women's domestic virtues), and the impulse of the funerary monument to enumerate and praise virtues to an indiscriminate public, can be strongly felt. And once again, the monument's praise seems to undo the virtue of public invisibility in the very act of proclaiming it.

A final example of the paradox under discussion, from Seneca's *Consolatio ad Helviam matrem*, takes us out of the funerary realm, and suggests that our paradox is deeper-seated. Seneca audaciously addresses this consolatory treatise to his own mother Helvia on the occasion of his banishment from Rome. Enumerating the sources of comfort by which his mother may assuage her grief at her son's absence, Seneca expatiates in section 19 upon the virtues of a woman he describes as his mother's sister (*soror*) – a woman who, he says, has long been close to Helvia, to Seneca himself, and to other members of their family (19.1–2).²¹ Not only will she continue in her accustomed role as supporter, confidante, and consoler (§3), but she can even model appropriate deportment for Helvia in the latter's current bereavement: for she herself can provide an example of brave endurance and fortitude in the face of a grievous familial loss (*exemplum tibi suum ... narrabit*, §4). This loss, we learn, was the sudden death of her own husband (whom Seneca calls “my uncle,” *avunculus meus*) aboard a ship, as the two sailed from Egypt to Rome at the conclusion of his sixteen-year term as Prefect of Egypt (§§4–6).²² Now, Seneca's portrait of his aunt presents her as possessing at least a few of the standard domestic virtues discussed earlier. In the description of her extraordinary service to the family (*Helv.* 19.2), we hear of her *pietas*, *verecundia*, *indulgentia*, and *modestia*. Seneca later mentions (§4) that she married her husband as a *virgo*, with the implication that she was a *univira* – that idealized woman who marries only once, and *ipso facto* possesses the sexual virtues of *pudicitia* and *castitas*. Fittingly for such a woman, we learn that, upon her husband's death at sea, she rode out a storm at great personal risk in order to stay with his body, bring it to shore, and bury it properly (§5) – *pietas* embodied, one might say. And, along with this package of domestic virtues comes, inevitably, a self-effacing quality: Seneca declares that she

21 Seneca never names this woman, and she is otherwise unattested. Prosopographical studies conventionally call her “Helvia” (e.g., *PIR*² H 79) as if she were another daughter of Seneca's maternal grandfather. But this name is doubtful, as Seneca elsewhere suggests (*Helv.* 18.9) that his mother was her father's only child. Helvia's father probably married several times (Helvia's own mother died while giving birth to Helvia: *Helv.* 2.4), and this “sister” is possibly one of these wives' daughters by a previous marriage. She would therefore bear the *gentilicum* of her birth father, unless Seneca's grandfather adopted her into the *gens Helvia*. For the range of possibilities, see *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970) col. 429–430, s.v. Helvia (23) (K. Abel), refining the argument of Cantarelli 1904, 15–19.

22 This “uncle,” whom Seneca also does not name, was plausibly identified by Cantarelli (1904, 19–22) as C. Galerius, the only attested *praefectus Aegypti* of the early first century CE to whom a sixteen-year term can be assigned (16–31 CE). Subsequent scholars have accepted this identification (e.g., *PIR*² G 25); overview in *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970) col. 430–431, s.v. Helvia (23) (K. Abel).

was so shy that she could not give a confident greeting (presumably to outsiders), or hold a conversation.²³ This text, then, though not a funerary monument – indeed, it speaks of a living woman – nevertheless presents us with the same paradox: her domestic virtues, including her low public profile, are being lauded to an indiscriminate audience of readers (Helvia, the explicit addressee, is by no means the only intended reader of the work); yet these readers are precisely the kind of unrelated, unaffiliated people whom she is (virtuously) too reserved to address, and who, according to the logic of this value system, should themselves think ill of her if they hear anything whatsoever about her, even praise, such as Seneca here bestows.

Yet there is more to his aunt's self-effacement. For in Egypt, as the wife of the prefect, she enacted this virtue more rigorously than ever. Seneca writes,

post hoc nemo miretur quod per sedecim annos quibus Aegyptum maritus eius optinuit numquam in publico conspecta est, neminem provincialem domum suam admisit, nihil a viro petit, nihil a se peti passa est. itaque loquax et in contumelias praefectorum ingeniosa provincia ... velut unicum sanctitatis exemplum suscepit et ... omnem verborum licentiam continuit et hodie similem illi, quamvis numquam speret, semper optat. multum erat, si per sedecim annos illam provincia probasset: plus est quod ignoravit. (*Helv.* 19.6)

After this let no one be surprised that, through the sixteen years in which her husband was prefect of Egypt, she was never seen in public, never admitted a provincial into her house, never petitioned her husband, and never allowed petitions to be presented to herself. Consequently the province, though gossipy and skilled at insulting its prefects, ... looked up to her as an unparalleled *exemplum* of probity, ... entirely restrained the boldness of its words, and today is always hoping, but never expects, to see her like. It was a great achievement if, for sixteen years, the province had approved of her: it is an even greater achievement that it was unaware of her.

This passage is extraordinary. Seneca tells us that his aunt, in virtuously refusing to presume upon her influence with her husband, or to intervene in any way in his performance of his duties, was invisible to the provincials for the sixteen years the couple spent in Egypt. Such was her self-effacement that the province was unaware of her (*illam provincia ... ignoravit*).²⁴ Consequently, the provincials regarded her as an

23 *Helv.* 19.2: *illa pro quaestura mea gratiam suam extendit et, quae ne sermonis quidem aut clarae salutationis sustinuit audaciam, pro me vicit indulgentia verecundiam* (i.e., she overcame her shyness to support Seneca's canvass). For this retiring quality compare *nosse fuit nullum studium* (regarding Allia), and *nescia volgei* (regarding Aurelia).

24 Scholars have observed that this figuration of the prefect's wife responds rather precisely to the arguments of Caecina Severus in his famous speech of 21 CE (at least in the version Tacitus puts in Severus' mouth, *Ann.* 3.33). In this speech Severus contended that wives should be barred from accompanying governors to their provinces – an argument to which Plancina's activities during her husband Cn. Piso's governorship of Syria in 18–19 CE forms an important background. But if Plancina is the negative exemplum of the meddlesome wife who interferes with her husband's duties, then Seneca's aunt forms the corresponding positive exemplum. On Early Imperial governors and their wives, see Raepsaet-Charlier 1982; also Pflaum 1950, 302.

exemplum of probity without parallel (*unicum sanctitatis exemplum*), the like of which they never expect to see again, and refrained from insulting her.²⁵ Thus, she is renowned throughout the province for being unknown, and as such she is held up as an exemplary standard against which the self-effacement of future prefects' wives is to be measured. The paradoxes noted previously – how a judgment is to be formed about someone about whom there is no report whatsoever, including whether she exists at all; and how the virtue of being unknown can survive being publicly acknowledged – are even more glaringly on display in this text than in the texts discussed above.

I do not believe these paradoxes can be resolved, and suspect that efforts to do so are wrong-headed. The root cause of such paradoxes can, however, be explained. In the Roman texts presented above, they arise from a clash between two value discourses that are mutually inconsistent. One of these, as the Senecan passage makes explicit, is the discourse of exemplarity: that discursive loop whereby actions performed in the public eye are observed and judged by an audience of spectators; are commemorated as “good” or “bad” via monuments that take textual, iconographical, or other form; are made known far and wide thanks to these monuments; and are held up as models for imitation by subsequent actors, or as standards by which future performances may be judged.²⁶ Funerary inscriptions are prominent among these commemorative devices, but literary texts like Seneca's *Consolatio ad Helviam matrem* are fully capable of serving the same end. The other value discourse, as described above, is the one concerning the domestic virtue of women, which defines an arena of performance within the family and household and holds the civic sphere to be off limits in the normal course of events. Clearly this discourse encourages a low public profile for women and, in the most extreme (i.e., virtuous) cases, could be imagined to result in women's total invisibility outside the household. The clash, or inconsistency, arises from the impulse within exemplary discourse to monumentalize virtuous performances and expose them to the public gaze as models for imitation or standards of judgment; yet, within the moral discourse of female domesticity, virtuous conduct by definition takes place out of the public eye, and indeed the public eye vitiates any action performed. Thus, when exemplary discourse seizes upon women's domestic virtue, places it in the public eye, and offers it up for praise, it paradoxically abrogates

²⁵ Note that Seneca does not say explicitly that the provincials praised her (though this is implicit in their invoking her as a positive *exemplum*), but only that they refrained from insulting her: *omnem verborum licentiam continuit*. The epitaph of Allia Potestas inflects the idea similarly: the benefit of being little spoken of (*exiguo sermone*) is to be uncriticized (*inreprehensa*). Thus, “avoiding blame” seems to loom larger in the discourse of domestic virtue than “gaining praise.” Thucydides, however, phrases the idea positively: minimal renown (κλέος ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον) yields maximal good opinion (δόξα μεγάλη).

²⁶ On the Roman discourse of exemplarity, see Roller 2009, 216–217 (and *passim*), with further bibliography.

that virtue, as articulated within the logic of the discourse of domesticity, in the very act of commemorating and praising it. A similar clash of value discourses may underpin the Thucydidean passage as well: certainly the terms in which the paradox there is framed resembles the Roman formulations. The public praise of Aurelia Philematio on her funerary monument for being *volgei nescia* – the phrase we sought to explicate at the beginning – compactly embodies this clash of value discourses, and so exposes efficiently the paradox of praising women's invisibility.

Dietrich Boschung

Reduced Myths: Roman Ash Chests with Mythological Scenes*

The Early Roman Imperial period developed a type of sepulchral art in which the dignified and individual preservation of the mortal remains of the deceased was an essential concern. From the reign of Augustus onward, we know of elaborately and artfully decorated marble containers for receiving the ashes or, more rarely, the bones of the dead, and permanently preserving them. In comparison to Late Republican tombs, such funerary practices mark a fundamental change. In this earlier period, the anxiety to implement an imposing representation of the deceased for as broad a public as possible had been most prominent, and, consequently, so was the permanent visual representation of his/her social role.¹ Although some public persons were buried in sumptuous vessels of precious metals, e.g., alabaster or marble,² individual graves can hardly ever be identified inside the lavish grave monuments.

The new types of mortuary containers of the Early Imperial period³ were predominantly designed for single burials, and more rarely for couples, as can be seen from their accompanying inscriptions. The latter note the name of the dead, often contain hints to family connections, and sometimes mention the deceased's profession or age at death. Since the vast majority of the dead were cremated in the first century CE, marble urns and grave altars, which also served as ash containers, were produced in large numbers. For their decoration, sacred elements, such as *bucrania*, garlands, sacrificial tools, or features of temple architecture, were employed regularly, as were motifs of imperial representation, such as laurel, wreaths, and *victoriae*. Portrait-like representations were by no means rare.

When inhumation increasingly became the leading type of burial custom in the early second century CE, sarcophagi soon developed into the dominant category of sepulchral art. The sizeable and long rectangular shape of their fronts provided ample space for large, frieze-like images. Initially, they used the garland decoration typical of urns and grave altars.⁴ Sculptors soon created sophisticated scenes with numerous figures, often representing mythological incidents, the popularity of which is reflected in the fact that the scenes originally developed for sarcophagi were eventually

* Text translated by Dr. Janine Fries-Knoblach. I would like to thank Semra Mägele for her help in preparing the manuscript for publication.

1 Hesberg 1992, 22–36.

2 Sinn 1987, 8–9, 22–23.

3 Boschung 1987; Sinn 1987; ASR 6 2,1: 17–26, with additional literature.

4 Boschung 1993, 37–42 pls. 11–12.

transferred to urns. In the following, I will illustrate through several examples how the mutual reaction of these two genres influenced the representation of Greek myths.

It was only towards the end of the first century CE that mythological scenes first occurred on urns and grave altars. Leto's escape with Apollo and Artemis,⁵ the death of Archemoros/Opheltes,⁶ and Aphrodite bathing are all attested.⁷ Somewhat more common are symbolic images, such as the Roman wolf with Romulus and Remus⁸ and Telephos nursed by a hind.⁹ From the Late Flavian period onwards, the Rape of Proserpine by Pluto is represented several times, always according to the same model: standing on the chariot of his quadriga galloping to the right, Pluto is depicted in a frontal position, facing the observer and gripping the fiercely gesticulating goddess.¹⁰ Proserpine bends backwards in a wide arc from the vehicle so that her head hangs down at the rear and her body forms a semicircle, while she raises her arms at the same time. In most of these pictures, a snake is lying under the hooves of the horses. At least five specimens come from the same workshop,¹¹ operating in the late first to the early second century CE. This representation goes back to fourth-century BCE Greek wall painting¹² and must have been adapted to grave reliefs by the Kore workshop in Rome during the reign of Domitian. The Rape of Proserpine is also represented on a garland sarcophagus as early as the beginning of the Hadrianic period.¹³ Here, too, four horses are galloping to the right, but they are led by Mercury. Pluto in his chariot faces the observer again, but Proserpine, fiercely gesticulating once more, is lying diagonally in his right arm. Although the sculptor adopted the motif of the Rape of Kore from grave altars and urns, he did not follow the formal design of this theme, but instead turned to a fourth-century BCE Late Classical model, which was also used in the "Tomb of Persephone" in Vergina.¹⁴ The slightly later sarcophagi with friezes

5 Boschung 1987, no. 732.

6 Boschung 1987, no. 765.

7 Boschung 1987, 51 nos. 763, 819.

8 Sinn 1987, nos. 204, 460, 483; Boschung 1987 nos. 651–653, 655, 672, 704, 705, 728, 734.

9 Sinn 1987, no. 519; Boschung 1987, nos. 704, 705, 706, 719.

10 Sinn 1987, nos. 518, 668; Boschung 1987, nos. 764 (= Sinn 1987, no. 521), 780, 781, 820, 832 (= Sinn 1987, no. 603); cf. Boschung 1987, no. 759 (Amor kidnapping a girl).

11 Boschung 1987, 44–45 nos. 780, 781, 820, 821; series 29 and 30; Kore workshop. To the earlier series 29, an urn in Villa Albani may be added: Lahusen 1994, 416 no. 525 pl. 247 (= Sinn 1987, no. 518). More substantial differences exist on three other urns with a divergent organization on the front (Sinn 1987, nos. 518, 521, 668). On these, the inscription plate is shifted so much towards the bottom that the abduction scene had to be placed above it. In addition, all three of them enrich the representation with a charioteering Amor, similar to the one in Boschung 1987, no. 820. Thus, the three urns form a workshop series of their own, likely to have originated in the Kore workshop, too. The grave altar (Boschung 1987, no. 759) changes the scene by replacing the kidnapper Hades with a winged Amor.

12 On this motif: Lindner 1984; LIMC IV (1988) 380–384 nos. 76, 82–120 and 400–402 nos. 6–38, s.v. Hades/Pluto (R. Lindner); LIMC VIII (1997) 967–970 nos. 193–248, s.v. Persephone (G. Günter).

13 ASR 6 2,1: 99–100 no. 35 pl. 33.1.

14 Andronikos 1994, particularly 21, 49–69.

embellish this introductory scene and frequently combine it with Ceres' pursuit. Mercury is often shown as a horse driver and, in the vast majority of cases, Proserpine is lying diagonally in Pluto's arms. It is quite clear that sculptors did not pick up the formal iconography developed for urns and grave altars in the period of Domitian.

Three cylindrical urns refer to the myth of Adonis, two of which are dated to the Late Hadrianic/Early Antonine periods.¹⁵ The first urn, housed in the Museo Chiaramonti, has a grooved reverse side. A framed inscription plate (*tabula*) is fixed to the top of its front. The remaining surface is adorned by figural decoration. Left of the inscription tablet is a youth sitting on a rock, with a cloak draped over his left upper arm while the rest of his body is naked. His lost left hand was raised and probably held a spear, while his right is drooping languidly. An adolescent companion, identifiable as a servant by his short *exomis*, supports the sitting man from behind by holding him under the shoulders, at the breast. Similar "groups with a helper" are found in earlier ancient art, as, for example, in depictions of the myth of Philoktetes' wound¹⁶ or when hurt warriors were rescued from battles.¹⁷ In the case of the urn, the injured man is characterized as a hunter by the dog resting at his feet. The supporting helper and the drooping right arm indicate that he is weak or wounded. The hunt itself is implied by the group of fighting animals below the *tabula*: a boar sallying out of his den presses a dog onto the ground.

To the right of the inscription, there is a woman seated on a chair supporting herself with her left hand on the seat. She is wearing a slightly slipped chiton, which exposes her left shoulder, and a cloak is draped over her right upper arm and legs. Her left hand is raised towards the youth, who should be interpreted as Adonis. Behind the sitting female appears an upright woman whose plain peplos indicates a servant or nurse. A male infant, identified as Eros, is resting one elbow on the right thigh of the sitting woman and places his head into the palm of his hand, while he turns towards the seated woman, who can be interpreted as Aphrodite. As has most recently been demonstrated by Friederike Sinn,¹⁸ this group was also used for the representation of Phaidra and her nurse.¹⁹

A second fragmentary urn follows the same scheme.²⁰ Here, too, the reverse side is covered by grooved decoration and the central space on the front is taken up by the

15 Sinn 1987, no. 557. Andreae 1995, 90* pl. 914, 350a (Late Hadrianic to Early Antonine): Vatican, Chiaramonti inv. 1667 (cylindrical urn for the freedman A. Caecilius Anicetus). Sinn 1987, no. 558: Vatican, magazine 3122 (fragmented cylindrical urn).

16 E.g., on the silver cup from Hoby: Müller 1994, 335–339, including fig. 8. For more on depictions of Philoktetes on funerary urns, see Steingräber's article in this volume.

17 On neo-Attic reliefs made after the model of the shield of Athena Parthenos, see Sinn 2006, 89–93 no. 20 pl. 22, with earlier literature.

18 Sinn 1987, 227 no. 557; Zanker/Ewald 2004, 325–329. On the type of figure, cf. Grassinger 1997, 133.

19 Sinn 1987, 245–246 no. 636 pl. 93e: Hippolytos and Phaidra on a Middle Antonine urn in London.

20 Sinn 1987, no. 558.

inscription plate. On the left, Adonis is sitting on a rock supported by a helper and accompanied by a hound; on the right, there is Aphrodite on a chair with her slipped chiton and her hand raised towards Adonis. Once again, Eros rests his elbow on her thigh, and a servant stands in the background. What is omitted is the group of fighting animals, because the enlarged inscription tablet leaves no room for it.

Since the third cylindrical urn depicting Adonis is only known from a representation by Giovanni Battista Piranesi,²¹ it cannot be dated safely. Adonis is seated on a rock and accompanied by a dog, but he is not supported by another figure; instead, his helper remains in the background. Aphrodite's posture and dress, as she sits across from Adonis, correspond to the images on the two other urns, but the goddess lacks any companion figures and her raised right hand lifts the hem of her cloak. Below the inscription plate there is a slain boar lying on its back.

When the myth of Adonis appeared, slightly later, on sarcophagi, it was represented in a different manner from the very beginning. Thus, the earliest specimen in the Louvre already shows the episode in three scenes: Aphrodite enthroned and fully dressed, on the right; Adonis' death at the boar hunt, in the center; the reunification of the couple, on the left, with Adonis' wounds being dressed. It is obvious that neither do the urns follow the representational conventions of the sarcophagi, nor do the sarcophagi pick up the figure types and narrative mode of the urns.²² While the urns show Adonis and Aphrodite opposite each other, thus illustrating both the unity and the separation of the couple, the sarcophagi combine the injury of the youth with the reunification of the couple.

Let us turn now to depictions of Amazonomachies. We encounter figure types commonly found on frieze sarcophagi from the Antonine period onwards, already on a Hadrianic cylindrical urn in Arezzo.²³ One of the figure groups used here features a Greek warrior pulling back with his left hand a fallen Amazon by her hair while placing his left foot on her right thigh. The Amazon has raised both hands above her head in an attempt to loosen his grip. This "group of the treading warrior" can be traced back to the Parthenon metopes²⁴ and is often found on Amazonomachy sarcophagi from the Antonine period.²⁵ Another group, which features a running warrior pursuing a mounted Amazon, is also first found on the Arezzo urn, before it recurs regularly on frieze sarcophagi of the Antonine period onwards.²⁶ This can also be traced back to the fifth century BCE. In view of the frequent use of both groups, it is

²¹ Sinn 1987, 228 no. 559 pl. 85a.

²² Adonis sarcophagi: ASR 12, 1: 70–90. Earliest specimen: Paris, Musée du Louvre 71. 211; ASR 12, 1: no. 43 pls. 38.1, 40.1, 42.1, 45.1, ca. CE 150–160. See, Zanker/Ewald 2004, 288–294.

²³ Bocci Pacini/Nocentini Sbolci 1983, 34–35 no. 46; Sinn 1987, no. 554.

²⁴ ASR 12, 1: 139–142 group B1.

²⁵ ASR 12, 1: 136–191 nos. 101, 104, 105, 114, 116, 130, 134, 137, 140, 144.

²⁶ ASR 12, 1: 140 and 145; group F nos. 95, 98, 100, 116, 119, 137, 143.



Fig. 1: Marble cinerary urn; right side. Cambridge/Bowdoin Collection, Museum of Fine Arts. inv. 1927.20.

unlikely that the sculptors of the sarcophagi took these motifs over from urns; it seems more likely that they shared a common model.

Images of the myth of Medea, unlike the Rape of Proserpine, started to appear on both urns and garland sarcophagi more or less simultaneously, in Late Hadrianic times;²⁷ in this case, the representations on urns and sarcophagi are closely connected in terms of formal criteria. A Hadrianic cylindrical urn at Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine (figs. 1 and 2), and a contemporaneous fragment of a sarcophagus in Venice, represent Medea on a chariot drawn by winged snakes, carrying one of her killed sons on her left shoulder. She is holding him with her left hand from one of his legs; his head and arms are drooping behind her back. On the urn, Medea is

²⁷ Sinn 1987, no. 556. Gaggadis-Robin 1994, 9 no. 1 and 22–24 fig. 1. ASR 6 2,1: 103 no. 40 pl. 36.1 (around 130 CE). See also Oakley in this volume for a discussion of sarcophagi with representations of Medea.



Fig. 2: Marble cinerary urn; left side. Cambridge/Bowdoin Collection, Museum of Fine Arts. inv. 1927.20.



Fig. 3: Medea Sarcophagus; front view. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum inv. Sk 843 b.

looking backward; on the sarcophagus her eyes are directed forward. Only the urn features – below the inscription plate and thus in front of the snake vehicle – the earth goddess, Tellus, catching Medea’s second son with her right hand as he falls; in her left hand, she is holding a cornucopia. Although “Medea on the snake chariots” had been illustrated on South Italian painted vases since 400 BCE,²⁸ there are hardly any formal similarities on the sarcophagi and urn representations to these. In contrast, the

²⁸ LIMC VI (1992) 391–392 nos. 35–45 pls. 198–200, s.v. Medea (M. Schmidt).



Fig. 4: Marble cinerary urn; left side. Ostia, Museo Ostiense Inv. 10.

two figures on the urn and on the garland sarcophagus are so closely related with regard to posture and garments that they must go back to one and the same prototype; at the same time, they clearly differ in these same respects from Late Classical and Hellenistic images of Medea. The motif must have been adapted, therefore, to Roman sepulchral art in the early second century CE.

On the Bowdoin College urn, Jason appears to the right of the inscription confronting the observer and holding two bulls (figs. 1 and 2). While his right hand presses the head of one bull towards the ground, his left hand holds back another bull rearing up. Thus, two essential events of the myth are contrasted with each other: while Jason's success is the result of his spouse Medea's support, infanticide is the abominable outcome of the couple's discord. Soon after, Medea and Jason were represented on second-century CE frieze sarcophagi with identical figure types, but not in this combination. Instead, the image of Medea taking away her murdered children on a snake chariot completes a picture sequence assembled from heterogeneous models,²⁹ culminating in the killing of Kreousa and also broaching the issue of the murder of the two boys (fig. 3). This model, used for a series of sarcophagi from Early Antonine times, was also pursued by a cylindrical urn in

²⁹ Cf. e.g., Grassinger 1997, 125–138; Zanker/Ewald 2004, 82–85, 114 fig. 94 and 336–341.

Ostia³⁰ dating into the Middle Antonine period (fig. 4), and thus some thirty years younger than the urn at Bowdoin College. Here, two key scenes of the Medea sarcophagi were combined: to the left of the inscription, Kreousa's death in the presence of her appalled father is shown; on the right, we see Medea's flight on a snake chariot. The very close similarities of garments and posture reveal that frieze sarcophagi served as the model for this urn. Only small sections could be borrowed from the sequence of scenes developed for the format of frieze sarcophagi and adopted for the cylindrical urn. To this end, the two images most drastically illustrating the atrocity of death were chosen. In contrast, the image of Jason with the two bulls is always separated from the infanticide on Medea sarcophagi by either being placed on the short sides of the sarcophagus or being part of a picture sequence illustrating Jason's deeds.³¹

The representation of an *agon* of *erotes* is also found contemporaneously and in close formal correspondence in both genres, but it was obviously first designed for sarcophagi. The Early Antonine urn of C. Minucius Gelasinus in Liverpool features such a scene below its centrally placed inscription.³² At the bottom, two *erotes* are confronting each other in a bent position, signifying the start of a wrestling match. This group can also be found on a category of Early Antonine sarcophagi.³³ The same is true for the framing figures: on the right, *eros* is standing in front of a herm and a table with prizes,³⁴ and, on the left, there is a winged boy gesticulating with both hands.³⁵ Admittedly, the *erotes* are distributed in different ways. The table with the prizes on the left short side and the boy blowing a tuba on the right short side possess parallels in the – certainly later – sarcophagi with an *agon* of boys.³⁶ The scene on the main side, therefore, was first used for sarcophagi, but soon adapted for the urn. However, the disposition of the rectangular front inspired by first-century urns, with the inscription in the center, demanded a different distribution of figures: the representation is symmetrically related to the inscription and, at the same time, condensed by omitting other scenes.

Something similar happened in the case of the urn of T. Flavius Eucharistus.³⁷ It, too, retained the layout of the front side common for urns of the first and early second century CE. Left of the inscription, there is a dancing couple of a satyr and a maenad.

³⁰ Sinn 1987, no. 635.

³¹ LIMC V (1990) 631–632 nos. 19–21 and 634 nos. 49–52, s.v. Jason (J. Neils).

³² Sinn 1987, 238 no. 607 pl. 88a.b; Davies 2007, 85–90 no. 41 pls. 64–66.

³³ ASR 1, 4: 121 no. 1 pl. 76.6; 136 no. 85 pl. 76.4–5; 151 no. 182 pl. 77.3. ASR 5 2,1: 133–134 no. 5 (pls. 1.1, 3.2); 151–152 no. 82 (pls. 1.4, 5.2–3); 156 no. 106 (pls. 1.2–3).

³⁴ ASR 5 2,1: 156 no. 106 pls. 1.2–3; 162 no. 133 pl. 6.2.

³⁵ ASR 5 2,1: 133–134 no. 5 (pls. 1.1, 3.2); no. 46 pls. 1.5, 6.3; 151–152 no. 82 pls. 1.4, 5.2–3; 156 no. 106 pls. 1.3–4.

³⁶ ASR 1, 4: 132–133 no. 67 pl. 83.4; 134 no. 73 pl. 79.3; 151 no. 181 pl. 88 (table with prizes); no. 275 pls. 84.1, 85.3 (boy playing the tuba).

³⁷ Sinn 1987, 238–239 no. 608 pl. 88a.

Below the inscription lies a woman with a nude upper body and crossed legs, probably representing Ariadne, in accordance with the Dionysian couple, on the left. To the right of the inscription, where figural decoration is to be expected, there might have been Bacchus approaching. If so, this would have been against the convention of Dionysian sarcophagi, which portray Bacchus always viewing Ariadne from the left and Ariadne always sleeping with the upper part of her body supported.

It is striking that there are many other examples of urns which follow the pictorial schemes of sarcophagi in their representation of mythological subjects. This becomes clear if we consider the illustration of the myths of Meleager and Endymion. The cylindrical urn of C. Cornelius Zoticus in Saint Petersburg³⁸ features Meleager to left of the inscription plate, flanked by the Dioskouroi and accompanied by a dog. He carries a hunting spear and attacks the Calydonian Boar that appears to the right of the inscription. In contrast to this setting, images on sarcophagi³⁹ show both Dioskouroi behind Meleager and Atalante, who is absent on the urn, accompanying the hunter. The sarcophagi also represent the boar as Meleager's immediate opponent; on the urn, however, the boar is set at a distance by means of the inscription tablet. The Calydonian Hunt is also shown on five other urns that imitate sarcophagi with their elongated rectangular shape.⁴⁰ Three of them feature sitting griffins⁴¹ on their short sides, similar to the ones found as a decoration on the minor sides of sarcophagi.

In addition, one of the urns also adopted the model of sarcophagi in the shaping of its lid, formed as a representation of the front side of a sarcophagus with a long frieze between two satyr heads.⁴² In four cases, Meleager is accompanied by Atalante with a hound walking between them;⁴³ only on the Ostia urn Meleager faces the boar by himself. This corresponds to the contemporary mode of representation on Meleager sarcophagi. The additional figures who escort the hunting couple or appear on the short sides, find their parallels there, too: a Dioskourous accompanies Meleager and supports his arm or hand;⁴⁴ King Oineus is detached from the debating scene;⁴⁵ the huntsman quietly stands at the right edge;⁴⁶ women mourn at the

³⁸ Sinn 1987, 245 no. 633 pl. 93a.

³⁹ ASR 12, 6; Zanker/Ewald 2004, 347–350.

⁴⁰ 1: Sinn 1987, 245 no. 634 pl. 93b (lost; Middle Antonine?). 2: Sinn 1987, 258 no. 689 pl. 100c–d. Schönert 1997, 85–87 no. 38 figs. 87–89 (Rome, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; late second century CE). 3: Urn of Sempronia Rufina at Ostia, Museo Ostiense inv. no. PB 36415; Morandi 1982, 61 no. 6 fig. 10; Arachne <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/40861>. 4: Warsaw, National Museum inv. 147447; Sadurska 1990, 41–42 no. 39 pl. 27. 5: Urbino, Museo Archeologico Lapidario; Sadurska 1990, 42.

⁴¹ See n. 40 nos. 2, 3, 5. Cf. Koch/Sichtermann 1982, 236–237.

⁴² See n. 40 no. 3.

⁴³ See n. 40 nos. 1, 2, 4, 5.

⁴⁴ See n. 40 nos. 1, 2, 5.

⁴⁵ See n. 40 no. 2.

⁴⁶ See n. 40 no. 1. 2. 4.

grave;⁴⁷ and, Althaea⁴⁸ throws the ominous piece of firewood into the flames. Friederike Sinn has demonstrated that these five urns with representations of the myth of Meleager were products of a marble workshop at Ostia.⁴⁹

Last, two cylindrical urns from Ostia show scenes from the myth of Endymion. On the more complete specimen, which was used for the burial of T. Valerius Sardonyx in the years around 200 CE,⁵⁰ the main figures are arranged into a group left of the inscription plate. Endymion sleeps, his upper body nude, and his right arm placed on a rock behind his head. Behind him appears the bearded winged figure of Somnus carrying a twig. From the left, Luna comes running with her cloak flying. A crescent in her hair characterizes her as the moon goddess. Compared to the representation of the myth on sarcophagi,⁵¹ on urns the story is abbreviated by shifting the figures close together. No space remains, therefore, for the *erotes* and personifications of places, found between Endymion and Luna in more detailed scenes. On the other side of the inscription tablet sits a sleeping shepherd dressed with chiton and cloak. His left hand and right arm rest on the back of a sheep; his head is relaxed and tilted back; his eyes are closed. We can only see the head and one front hoof of two other sheep. A dog is lying at the herdsman's feet and vigilantly turns his head back towards Endymion's group. Sitting and sleeping shepherds with their animals were regularly used on sarcophagi as companions of the Endymion group, but the posture motif of the sleeper on Sardonyx's urn is unparalleled. By this confrontation and the symmetrical relation with the Endymion group, the bucolic episode of the sleeping shepherd is upgraded with respect to its composition and content: this secondary figure in the myth has become an independent and coequal image.

Only fragments survive from a Late Antonine cylindrical urn, also from Ostia, with a representation of the myth of Endymion.⁵² It shows the events as a continuous narrative and largely follows the figure sequence of the sarcophagi. At the right edge of the picture, marked by external grooves, we see the upper part of the body of bearded and winged Somnus appearing above a rock. In his left hand, he holds a twig; his extended right hand supposedly held a horn with poppy juice. Below this, sleeping Endymion is to be restored stretched out. On the right side of the following fragment, there are remains of the billowing cloak of Luna descending from her chariot. Although the two horses of the biga are held by a winged Aura, who is

⁴⁷ See n. 40 no. 2 (left short side); no. 4 (right short side).

⁴⁸ See n. 40 no. 4 (right short side).

⁴⁹ Sinn 1987, 14 and n. 134; 80 and n. 689.

⁵⁰ Sinn 1987, 264 no. 707 dates the urn into the first half of the third century CE; the comparative piece is dated around 200 CE by ASR 12, 2: 113–114 no. 49 pls. 49.1–4; 50.3.4; 66.8. Cf. Arachne <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14240>.

⁵¹ ASR 12, 2: 32–58 and 103–163; Zanker/Ewald 2004, 316–325.

⁵² Sinn 1987, 259–260 no. 692; Arachne <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14241> (inv. 913); Arachne <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14239> (inv. 1499).

standing quietly, they rear up with their front hooves in the air. There is a cupid on each one of the horses and in the charioteer's stand; below them, Tellus is lying on the ground. On the left, a shepherd is seated under a tree between his sheep and a dog. This might have been the end of the scene, but its left rim does not survive. Although this sequence of figures does not possess an exact parallel on any of the surviving Endymion sarcophagi, the dependence of the urn on the model of the sarcophagi is unmistakable.⁵³

Even this incomplete inventory makes it quite clear that numerous mythological themes are found on both urns and sarcophagi. Individual myths were adopted differently by the two genres. Thus, the Rape of Proserpine appeared with a homogeneous iconography on urns in the first century CE, although when sculptors of later sarcophagi took up this theme, they gave it a different form. Something similar happened – some decades later – with the myth of Adonis. Representations of an Amazonomachy, too, are initially found on urns and only later on sarcophagi. Certain analogies of some figure types, however, can be explained by the fact that both genres resorted to the repertory of Classical art. Other myths turned up on urns and sarcophagi simultaneously. Thus, the Hadrianic period saw the emergence of identical versions of “Medea in the snake chariot” on an urn and a sarcophagus. When sculptors of frieze sarcophagi developed new conventions of representation for this myth in later times, these were applied to a Middle Antonine urn. Likewise, it has been demonstrated that scenes and figures for the *agon* of *erotes* initially created for sarcophagi were soon adapted for the decoration of an urn. Images of the Calydonian Hunt and the myth of Endymion on urns are equally dependent on pictures of frieze sarcophagi.

According to the shape of urns, mythical images were accentuated differently. In the case of cylindrical urns, symmetrical arrangement around the inscription plate resulted in a confrontation of two equivalent figures or groups. When the entire front side of a rectangular urn was used, as was the case with the images of Endymion and Meleager, the protagonists of the frieze sarcophagi had to be reduced to a small number of figures. It was particularly this reduction that allowed individual aspects of the content of these myths to stand out more clearly.

⁵³ Shepherd, Aura, Luna, and Somnus correspond approximately to the monoscenic sarcophagi in Villa Doria Pamphili and at Ostia (ASR 12, 2: nos. 47, 49), where, however, Tellus is omitted. Whenever Tellus appears in the relevant position, the representations of Aura and Somnus are more divergent than the figures of the urn.

John H. Oakley

Roman Sarcophagi in the Toledo Museum of Art*

The Toledo Museum of Art, which was founded in 1901, has long been known for its fine collection of antiquities, particularly in the area of ancient glass, but only relatively recently did it add Roman sarcophagi to its collection. It is one from a number of Midwestern museums that have Roman sarcophagi which are unknown or only very poorly known, and this offering is an attempt to help solve that problem.

The first sarcophagus that we will consider is a Metropolitan “lenos” of Proconnesian marble that is completely preserved and intact, less the lid (figs. 1–2).¹ It was acquired by the Museum in 1987 from the New York Art Market, but has been known since at least 1803 when it is reported to have been discovered in the Garden of Venus at Tivoli. It, as well as the other two sarcophagi in the Museum’s collection that we shall be discussing, has a provenience that meets the standards of UNESCO and the Archaeological Institute of America to be considered as a legal antiquity to acquire. It was the first Roman sarcophagus to enter the Museum’s collection.

The chest is full-sized, 205.1 cm in length, 103.2 cm tall, and 68.9 cm deep, and is slightly misshapen, being taller in front than at back. Two holes for lid clamps with remains of iron are found by the rim on each curved side. The front is decorated with an opposing strigilate pattern, and a pointed amphora is in the Mandorla; the curved sides show a lion and its prey: an antelope on the left, a boar on the right.

The sarcophagus was included in Jutta Stroszeck’s excellent volume on lion sarcophagi for the *Sarkophag-Corpus* in which she considers three major groups of lion sarcophagi: 1) sarcophagi with lion heads, 2) sarcophagi with walking lions, and 3) sarcophagi with lions fighting other animals.² The Toledo sarcophagus belongs to

* The study of Roman sarcophagi has long been a specialty of German classical archaeologists, and our honoree is a well-known Germanophile and classical archaeologist, so it seems very appropriate to dedicate this paper on Roman sarcophagi to him. I am particularly indebted to Sandra Knudsen, the former Curator of Ancient Art at the Toledo Museum of Art. She supported my interest in publishing the Toledo sarcophagi from the start, supplying not only information, images, and answers to questions, but also very generous hospitality during my visit to her museum. She also kindly gave me full access to the museum’s files which contained research done on the objects by her and previous curators. I would also like to thank Juliet Istrabadi for facilitating my study of the University of Indiana sarcophagus, Sinclair Bell for copies of his work, Rita Amedick and Guntram Koch for the invitation to present my work in Marburg, and Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou for the invitation to contribute this study in honor of my dear friend Alan Shapiro.

1 Toledo, Museum of Art 1987.223. There is a crack in the center of the front side running from top to near the bottom and another running horizontally through the strigilate pattern slightly above the base molding. For the marble, see Knudsen/Craigne/Tykot 2002, 232, 237 fig. 9, 239 n. 8.

2 ASR 6, 1: 156 no. 367 pls. 36.1–2; 37.1; 118.6.

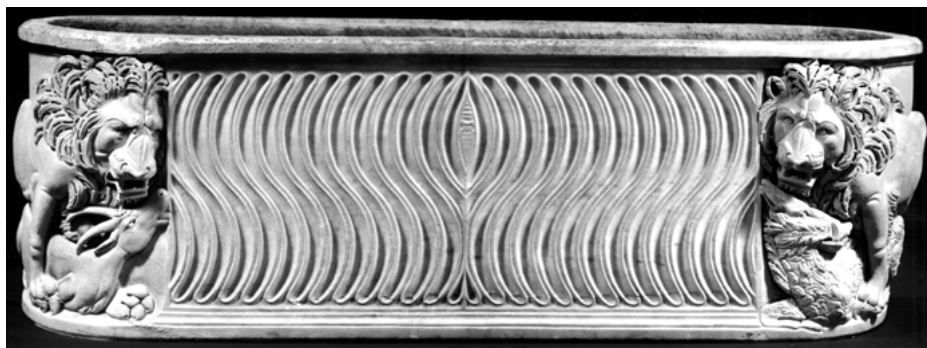


Fig. 1: Lenos with lions, Toledo Museum of Art 1987.223.



Fig. 2: Lenos with lions, Toledo Museum of Art 1987.223.

the last group, which she further divides into five compositional types (I–V). Ours belongs to her Type II, which is characterized by a lion that stands over its defeated prey.³ It is the most popular after Type I.

Her illustrations and description, however, do not show fully the curved sides and roughly picked back, and there are several details not mentioned in the volume, namely: 1) the clamp holes, 2) the bands that both lions have going around their torso just behind their front legs, indicating that they are captives, and 3) the lower part of the tree behind the lion on the left short side was never carved. Similar unfinished areas occur on other Lion sarcophagi, such as a lenos in Agrigento of ca. 280–300 CE

³ ASR 6, 1: 59–60, 64 figs. 5e–f.

where the back half of the lion on the left side is missing,⁴ but such unfinished areas are not overly common. Interestingly, Stroszeck identifies the prey on the Toledo lenos as a rare example of a Roan antelope, which is very difficult to distinguish in ancient art from a Sable antelope.⁵ The latter, along with the Addax, appears much more frequently on sarcophagi than the Roan antelope. She also notes that the tongue protruding from the animal's mouth is an uncommon motif that indicates the animal is about to expire,⁶ and that the pointed amphoriskos in the Mandorla is very popular, and may indicate a libation to be made at the grave or the hope for Dionysian pleasure in the hereafter.⁷ She dates the sarcophagus to 260–270 CE.

Particularly interesting is the history of the sarcophagus, which space and format did not permit Stroszeck to present in her study. The first recorded owner of the piece was Valentine Browne Lawless, the second Irish Lord Cloncurry who obtained it in 1803 while spending time in Rome. The sarcophagus reportedly had been found in the Garden of Venus at Tivoli, as we noted before. He had decided upon a southern European trip after having been a prisoner in the Tower of London for twenty-two months because of his ties with radical Irish political thinkers. During his time in France and Italy (1802–1805) he met his first wife, Eliza Morgan, in Nice, and she gave birth to their two children in Rome. Here he collected antiquities and copies and casts of antiquities with which he planned to outfit his newly refurbished manor, Lyons House, located southwest of Dublin, Ireland.⁸ The well-known architect Sir Richard Morrison had been put in charge of these alterations.⁹ Unfortunately, not all of Lord Cloncurry's acquisitions made it safely to Ireland, for some were lost at sea off the Wicklow coast in Killiney Bay, not far south of Dublin. Among those that did make it back safely was our sarcophagus, which was housed in the mansion's Entrance Hall (fig. 3). That it made an impression on visitors is evidenced by contemporary accounts, including that of John Norris Brewer, who writes in his book *Beauties of Ireland* published in 1826:¹⁰

A fine sarcophagus, admirably sculptured, and in a high state of preservation. This relic is composed of statuary marble, but has curiously acquired, through the operations of time, a thick incrustation, resembling a coat of paint, of a light red tint. The chief subject represented is that of lions destroying a deer – emblematic of the havoc effected on all material beings by the law of nature.

4 Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: ASR 6, 1: 131 no. 200 pls. 66.1; 67.1.

5 ASR 6, 1: 43.

6 ASR 6, 1: 46.

7 ASR 6, 1: 95–96.

8 Tighe 1962, 4 fig. 11 shows the sarcophagus *in situ* in Lyons House. See also Eiffe 1984, with further bibliography.

9 McParland 1973, 1538–1541.

10 Brewer 1826, 76–77. See also, Neale 1829, s.v. Ireland, Lyons, Kildare; Burke 1855, 82. These and other references were supplied by Cashen 1986, in her unpublished Master's thesis on the Lord and his collection.



Fig. 3: Lenos *in situ* in Lyons House.

Lord Cloncurry was a well-liked Irish patriot and led an interesting and varied life, as we have already sensed. His most infamous affair centered on his first wife. While Lord Cloncurry was away, she and her paramour, Sir John Piers, were seen *in flagrante delicto* on the couch in the drawing room of Lyons House by the Italian painter Gaspar Gabrielli who had been hired to paint a series of wall murals. The couple had not noticed him working on the scaffolding, while they were carrying on. Lord Cloncurry, on the basis of this and other evidence, brought legal action in February of 1807 for 100,000 pounds against Sir John Piers, who fled to the Isle of Man. The jury awarded Lord Cloncurry 20,000 pounds. The affair is aptly recorded in a contemporary sketch by Gabrielli (fig. 4) where the couple is shown on the sofa while the artist looks on from the scaffolding in the upper right hand corner of the picture as he himself paints a pair of lovers.¹¹ Oh, if only our sarcophagus could speak!

With the death of Lord Cloncurry, the sarcophagus was handed down by his descendents and remained *in situ* in Lyons House until 1961, when it was removed by G. Mark Winn of Yorkshire, the last member of the family to own the estate which was

¹¹ Guinness 1982, 116 fig. 1.



Fig. 4: Sketch by the Italian painter Gaspar Gabrielli showing him looking from his scaffolding at Sir John Piers and Lady Morgan *in flagrante delicto*.

sold to University College, Dublin in 1962. Winn installed the sarcophagus below a lion-head spout in the garden of Aldby Park, his residence in Yorkshire, where the sarcophagus served as a catching basin – an old but now perverse use of an antiquity. There, it remained until it was brought to London for auction at Sotheby's in December of 1986 where it was sold to art dealers.¹² The following year the museum acquired the sarcophagus from them.

The second sarcophagus to enter the Toledo Museum's collection is a fragmentary Metropolitan garland sarcophagus purchased in 2005 (color fig. 14).¹³ It preserves part of one of the garlands, a small section of the head of an *eros* on the right, who supports the garland made of oak leaves, small flowers, pomegranates, figs, pears, grapes, pinecones, acorns, and sheaves of wheat, and most of one of the lunettes in which Medea with windblown chiton is shown mounting the chariot of Helios to make her escape to Corinth. The vehicle is drawn by two serpentine, winged dragons, parts of whose heads are lost. The reins tied around their necks extend backwards over the front

¹² Sotheby's (London) 8–9 December 1986, lot 339. *Burlington Magazine* 131,1031, Feb. 1989, 184; *Museum Acquisitions*, *Minerva* 1,2, Feb. 1990, 41 figs.

¹³ Toledo, Museum of Art 2005.320.

of the chariot box. Medea carries a dead child over her left shoulder, gripping his left lower leg with her left hand. In her right are the remains of the lower part of a sword she carries, the instrument of death. The boy's arms are outstretched fully backwards; his face with closed eyes is shown frontally – a vivid picture of death. She looks upwards which, combined with the pose of the dragons that already are off the ground, indicates they are taking off. The chariot box and wheel are beautifully embellished with incised leaf and floral decoration.

Medea was not an unpopular subject on Metropolitan sarcophagi.¹⁴ Her escape on the chariot is shown on nine, and possibly ten, others in connection with other scenes, as part of a cycle.¹⁵ A typical example is in the Terme Museum in Rome.¹⁶ On it from left to right are shown: the children of Medea bringing the poisoned wedding gifts to Kreousa, Kreousa's death, Medea contemplating the murder of her children, and her escape in the chariot. The final scene differs in several respects from the fragment in Toledo: 1) the chariot does not yet take off, 2) a female identified as Tellus reclines on the ground by the front of the chariot, 3) the legs of a second murdered child protrude from the chariot box, 4) Medea does not look up and forward, but turns her head to her right, and 5) what remains of her right arm indicates that it was extended out, undoubtedly holding a sword, as is the case on other sarcophagi, such as one in Berlin.¹⁷ In this case a sheath which has fallen to the ground is also rendered, but there is no reclining female, and the head of the child she holds over her shoulder is not shown frontally, but in profile. Thus, there are minor variations to what is basically the same type.

The Toledo fragment, the earliest of this type, is convincingly dated by Helga Herdejürgen and others to the late Hadrianic period, ca. 130 CE.¹⁸ The other examples range in date from then until the end of the century, when interest in the subject on sarcophagi and cinerary urns stopped.¹⁹ It is interesting to speculate if other scenes from the Jason and Medea cycle may have been shown separately in the other lunettes of the Toledo sarcophagus. If this is the case, then the Toledo fragment most likely comes from either the right short side or the right end of the

¹⁴ Koch/Sichtermann 159–161; LIMC VI (1992) 386–398, s.v. Medeia (M. Schmidt); Gaggadis-Robin 1994; Zanker/Ewald 2004, 82–84, 336–341; Gessert 2004; LIMC Suppl. (2009) 330–331, s.v. Medeia (V. Gaggadis-Robin), all with earlier bibliography. See also Boschung in this volume.

¹⁵ These are nos. 2, 3, 4, 7 (possibly), 8, 9, 20, 21, 22, and 24 in Gaggadis-Robin 1994. See 179–189 for the scene. Her no. 14, once lost, has now appeared on the New York Art Market: Sotheby's (New York) 10 December 2009, 47 lot 46.

¹⁶ Rome, Museo Nazionale Inv. 222: ASR 2: 215–216 no. 201 pl. LXV; Gaggadis-Robin 1994, 17–18 no. 21 figs. 32–34.

¹⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Inv. SK 843b: Gaggadis-Robin 1994, 9–10 no. 2 figs. 2–4; Zanker/Ewald 2004, 82–83 figs. 64–65; 337–339 no. 20 with figs.

¹⁸ ASR 6 2,1: 35, 41–42, 48, 103 no. 40 pl. 36.1; Gaggadis-Robin 1994, 9 no. 1 fig. 1, 22–24.

¹⁹ For cinerary urns with this subject, some of which use the same type of composition, see Gaggadis-Robin 1994, 184–185 n. 26 figs. 60–62, and Boschung in this volume.

front side of the sarcophagus. The length of the fragment, 83.8 cm at top,²⁰ suggests that if it comes from the front, only two lunettes decorated that side, for the lunette and garland shown were easily over 100 cm long originally, and two lunettes with garlands of this size would be over 200 cm in length, so somewhere between 200 to 230 cm, the most common range of lengths for Metropolitan, adult, garland sarcophagi.

Why scenes of Medea, a most unsavory character, were used on Roman sarcophagi has been the subject of debate recently. Michael Koortbojian would like to see the scenes of Jason and Medea as *exempla* evoking positively the two Roman themes of *virtus* and *amor* respectively, despite the negative nature of their acts.²¹ Klaus Fittschen followed by Paul Zanker and Bjorn Ewald argues that the sarcophagi with the Jason and Medea cycle focus not on these two, but on Kreousa and Medea's children who are *exempla* of *mors immatura*, so that the scenes are meant to be understood as expressions of grief for untimely lost loved ones and of the horrors of death.²² Thus, Medea's escape in the chariot is not to be perceived as an apotheosis that gives hope for an escape from death and an afterlife, as Margot Schmidt had earlier posited.²³ Most recently, Genevieve Gessert has argued that the Medea Corinthian episodes act like negative comparanda in a Roman *consolatio*, where the negative examples cited in the letter of consolation "function as a vibrant antithesis to Roman funerary ideals" to help mitigate grief.²⁴ In other words the horrific behavior of Medea is meant to be contrasted with the exemplary life of the deceased, so that the viewer thinks about how good the deceased is compared to Medea, and how the deceased left this world in a timely fashion after a life of dignity and virtue, while Medea, fresh from horrific acts, leaves in an untimely fashion. Although, admittedly, Kreousa is very much a "featureless and voiceless figure in the tradition" as Gessert argues, the children do take center stage in the story, so I prefer Fittschen's interpretation. This is not to say, however, that only one interpretation was possible in antiquity, and that the others were not valid in some instances.

Interestingly, the Toledo fragment has also been known for a long time. It first appears in an engraving published in 1743 (fig. 5), which was made by Vincenzo Franceschini of a drawing by Giovanni Domenico Ferretti (1692–1768).²⁵ It shows the fragment coupled with a fragment from another sarcophagus, both built together into a wall of the courtyard of the Palazzo Martelli in Florence. By the time Carl Robert visited the Palazzo in 1882 the fragments had already disappeared and were considered lost, only to reappear years later in 1965 on the Rome Art Market, reportedly from

²⁰ Height 49.9, length 84.2, greatest depth 10.5.

²¹ Koortbojian 1995, 8–9; See also idem 1996 for his review of Gaggadis-Robin 1994.

²² Fittschen 1992; Zanker/Ewald 2004, 82–84, 336–341.

²³ Schmidt 1968, 32–36, especially 33.

²⁴ Gessert 2004.

²⁵ Gori 1743, 88 pl. 13; ASR 5, 1: 31 fig. 47.



Fig. 5: 1743 engraving by Vincenzo Franceschini of a drawing by Giovanni Domenico Ferretti showing two fragments of sarcophagi, one now in Toledo (2005.320), the other in the Indiana University Art Museum (66.27).

Siena.²⁶ The Medea fragment later appeared on the New York Art Market in 1995, then again in 2000 and finally once more in 2005, when it was purchased by the Toledo Museum.²⁷

The other fragment shown in the engraving is part of the front side of a “Meerwesen” sarcophagus and shows a marine thiasos carrying a shell with the head of Venus carved into a portrait. After the fragment’s reappearance on the Rome Art Market in 1965, it was purchased in 1966 by the Indiana University Art Museum where it resides today unknown to most (color fig. 15).²⁸ Ironically, the two fragments once so closely associated in eighteenth-century Florence, now are both in American collections about 280 driving miles apart.

Andreas Rumpf knew the fragment only from the drawing and included it in his volume on “Meerwesen” sarcophagi for the Sarkophag-Corpus.²⁹ Hellmut Sichtermann, in his 1970 “Beiträge zu den Meerwesensarkophagen,” published three photographs of the recently resurfaced sarcophagus fragment and correctly noted that it should date to ca. 220–230 CE because of the female’s hairstyle which resembles that of Julia Mamaea.³⁰ He also noted that Skylla is shown underneath the shell swinging the rudder with only the left hand, not both hands as Rumpf believed, for the right hand lies on the

²⁶ Sichtermann 1970, 217; DAI Rom Inst. Neg. 65.34; LIMC VI (1992) 392 no. 46 pl. 200, s.v. Medeia (M. Schmidt); ASR 6 2,1: 35, 41–42, 48, 103 no. 40 pl. 36.1.

²⁷ Sotheby’s (New York) 8 December 2000, 114–115 lot 140; Christie’s (New York) 8 June 2005, 131 lot 164 where it is noted as belonging to the Carr Foundation; Sotheby’s (New York) 7 December 2005, 74–75 lot 63.

²⁸ Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum 66.27; ASR 5, 1: 31 no. 79 fig. 47; Sichtermann 1970, 217–218 figs. 4–6; Solley 1980, 61. Height 48 cm; width 121 cm; thickness 10 cm; composed of two joining fragments.

²⁹ ASR 5, 1: 31 no. 79 fig. 47.

³⁰ Sichtermann 1970, 217–218 no. 2 figs. 4–6.

sea beast it fights. We might also note here that the stern of the ship is the bifurcated key-like object visible by the rudder, so more of the boat is preserved than previously recognized. There are other slight inconsistencies between the drawing and the fragment. For example, each Nereid wraps her arm around the shoulder of a sea centaur and her hand rests visibly upon his shoulder. The drawing shows only drapery here. None of the misunderstandings, however, changes our basic understanding of the image.

Now let us turn to our third and final sarcophagus from the Toledo Museum of Art, a new purchase that has only been preliminarily presented in several museum publications. A Metropolitan child's circus sarcophagus of high quality (color figs. 16–18), it was acquired in the early twentieth century by Mr. and Mrs. John L. Severance, the great patrons of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Cleveland Orchestra, and used in Longwood, their house near Cleveland, in the loggia, a marble plant room on the west end of their house overlooking a garden. After their deaths, Longwood was torn down and the relatives who had inherited the estate stored the sarcophagus in a garage where it remained forgotten until it was rediscovered several years ago by a member of the next generation of relatives and sold to the Toledo Museum in 2008.³¹

The lid is lost but the chest is nearly complete, with only small bits of the rim on the left of the front side and right short side lost.³² There is slight damage to some figures, most notably those on the far right of the front side (color fig. 16) and left of the right short side (color fig. 18). In addition, the lower right arm of the winning driver on the front and a section of the reins between the right hand of the second chariot's driver and the backside of the collapsing horse are broken off and lost. The lower section of the rein in the second driver's left hand, however, is not lost, but sculpted as broken, as is also the case with the unattached right wheel of the chariot. The interior is roughly picked, the far right end raised to form a pillow for the deceased. The bluish tinge to the greyish marble in places indicates the great likelihood that the stone is Proconnesian marble.

Konrad Schauenburg classified the Metropolitan circus sarcophagi in his volume on them for the Sarkophag-Corpus into three groups. By far the largest is his first group, which consists of 103 of the 144 examples that he catalogued. This group, in turn, is broken into two categories; the larger – 103 of the 113 examples listed – he labeled as “Kanonische Zirkussarkophagen mit Erosen,” whose members are characterized by teams of *erotes* racing four bigae (two-horse chariots) from right to left in a circus setting reminiscent of the Circus Maximus in Rome on the front of the casket. To the 103 examples, Schauenburg later added one that was once in Florence, but now in an English private collection, and another in Rome at the Campo Santo Teutonico.³³

31 Toledo, Museum of Art Inv. 2008.129. Annual Report and Donor Recognition for the Fiscal Year 2007–2008, 4.1, 4 figs.; Reich 2009, 10 figs.; Bacigalupi et al. 2009, 86 figs.; *arTMAatters*, May–August 2009, cover, 20 figs.

32 Length 134.8 cm; height 39.7 cm; depth 50.2 cm.

33 Schauenburg 1999.

Stephanie Dimas added two more fragments in Ostia and the Vatican,³⁴ and Sinclair Bell still another, a fragment at the American Academy in Rome, for a total of 108 examples,³⁵ of what is by far the most popular scene on children's sarcophagi and most popular form of public spectacle depicted in ancient art.

As typical of the canonical group, the image on the front of the Toledo child's circus sarcophagus does not copy exactly that of any other, but shares a number of general characteristics, besides the four chariots, with many others, in addition to displaying a number of less common features.³⁶ Found here as on many other examples are 1) turning posts (*metae*) at each end of the track, 2) an egg-shaped lap counter atop a plinth supported by two columns (*ovarium*), 3) an obelisk near the center, 4) assistants on horseback (*hortatores*), 5) race attendants (*sparsores*) on the ground beneath the horses, 6) a crashing chariot (*naufragium*), and 7) the victor looking back at his nearest pursuer as he approaches the finish. Less common but shown are: 1) the clearly defined *spina*,³⁷ 2) the waters of a fountain with sea beast,³⁸ and 3) a chariot with a horse that has fallen to its front knees, head to the ground.³⁹ Blue used to color the water is preserved and red for parts of the *spina* and chariot is also. There is also considerable color preserved elsewhere, primarily red. Unique is the seated pose of the reclining *sparsor* with a water vessel beneath the first chariot.⁴⁰

The images on the short sides are likewise a combination of common and less common or unique elements. The *eros* riding a horse and carrying a palm frond of victory on the left short side (color fig. 17) is very common, but the archway behind him rare,⁴¹ as is the *eros* in chariot on the right short side (color fig. 18).⁴² Unique is the way the *eros* in the chariot turns back holding the palm frond angled down and the fact that he is accompanied by another *eros* whose lower half is not shown behind the horse. The latter's left hand is raised above the horses' heads, and he carries an unidentified object in his right hand by his chest. We probably do best to understand the horsemen on this sarcophagus as the *hortator* of the winning team on the left short side and the winning charioteer and a *sparsor* on the other;⁴³ the latter acts here as an umpire.

³⁴ Dimas 1998, 258 no. 176; 266 no. 226.

³⁵ Bell 2007–2008, 132, 134 pls. 29.2, 30.6–7. He also notes two listed in ASR 5 2,3 that have now been rediscovered. See also, Bell 2003a.

³⁶ Huskinson 1996, 46–51; ASR 5 2,3: 31–38; Dimis 1998, 133–135; Bell 2007–2008, 130.

³⁷ E.g., Once Lowther Castle: ASR 5 2,3: 67 no. 26 pl. 4.1–3.

³⁸ E.g., Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Inv. 6712: ASR 5 2,3: 68 no. 29 pls. 12–13.

³⁹ E.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 327: ASR 5 2,3: 69 no. 32 pl. 5.3–4. Note the way the *hortator* besides the chariot wreck has turned his horse around to come to the aid of those involved, just as on our sarcophagus, although our *eros* does not mourn with hand to head.

⁴⁰ Compare the pose of the fallen driver on Private, Bryn Mawr: ASR 5 2,3: 82 no. 97 pl. 10.1; Bell 2005 and 2007–2008, 131–132.

⁴¹ E.g., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. I 1130: ASR 5 2,3: 84 no. 101 pl. 1.1–3.

⁴² E.g., Florence, Uffizi Inv. 378: ASR 5 2,3: 63 no. 14 pl. 17.1–3.

⁴³ ASR 5 2,3: 32–33.

It is these unique features as well as others that allow us to recognize the sarcophagus as one listed by Schauenburg in his study as lost and once in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome and known only from a description by Friedrich Matz and Friedrich von Duhn.⁴⁴ Compare their description with the scenes on the Toledo sarcophagus:

Unter dem Zweigespann des ersten Wagens von l. nach r. liegt auf dem Rücken halb sitzend (nach l.) ein Eros, die l. Hand auf einen Krug stemmend, die R. erhebend [NB this is the unique pose mentioned]. Der Beireiter im Hgr. [= Hintergrund] erhebt den r. Arm und scheint den Lenken des Gespannes zur Eile aufzufordern. Zweites Gespann: Der Lenker wirft sich, die Kniee gebogen, ein wenig zurück und zieht die Zügel straff an. Im Hgr. wieder ein Beireiter. Drittes Gespann: Das vordere der Pferde ist in's Knie gestürzt [ein Rad vom Wagen hat sich gelöst; die Peitsche liegt am Boden]; der Beireiter blickt betrübt auf dies Ereignis. Viertes Gespann: Der Wagenlenker wendet sich nach l. um und scheint das gefallene Pferd seines Nachfolgers emporreißen zu wollen, indem er in die Zügel greift. Von dem gewöhnlichen Apparat des Circus sieht man im Hgr. mehrere Spitzsäulen und sechs auf einem wagerechten Querbalken aufgestellte Eier, [sowie unter dem ganzen Hrg. längs die niedrige Cirkusbrüstung, und rechts einen runden Altar, über dem sich wieder Spitzsäulen erheben].

Nss.: L. ein reitender Eros mit Palmzweig in der Hand (auf Spitzsäulen zueilend; hinter ihm ein gemauerter Bogen). R. steht auf seinem ruhig nach r. stehende Wagen ein Eros n. l. gewandt; in beiden Händen halt er vor sich einen länglichen rauhen Gegenstand, der einer Girlande gleicht, [sicher], als wolle er die in der l. Ecke stehende Spitzsäule bekränzen. [Hinter den Pferden steht noch ein Eros e. f. (=en face)].

The description of the unique scene on the right short side as well as the other details leaves no doubt that the Toledo sarcophagus and the lost sarcophagus once in the Palazzo Barberini are the same. Interestingly, some of the details were misunderstood by Matz and Duhn in their description, namely that the *eros* in the chariot on the right short side does not hold a garland but a palm branch; the object identified as a round altar on the far right of the front side is actually part of the base for the *metae*; and there are seven eggs, not six, the final one being barely visible above the head of the *hortator*. Apparently, the lower right arm of the victorious charioteer was once preserved, and is now lost, since he is described as grasping the reins of the crashing chariot, or the arm was restored and the restoration now removed.

Circus sarcophagi started to be made in the Late Hadrianic period, peaked in the Antonine, and tapered off in the late third century CE. Our sarcophagus dates to the Antonine period, probably ca. 160–180 CE.⁴⁵ The uplifted eyes with outlined irises and the deeply furrowed hair of the *erotes* are stylistically reminiscent of contempor-

⁴⁴ ASR 5 2,3: 73 no. 51; Dimis 1998, 261 no. 196; Matz/Duhn 1881, 231–232 no. 2827; Belting-Ihm 1961, 206, no. 9 (an incomplete and inaccurate description based on that in Matz/Duhn 1881).

⁴⁵ ASR 5 2,3: 16–17, 49–55; Bell 2003b, 93 fig. 6.

any portraits of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius.⁴⁶ And the mane of the collapsing horse, in particular, is reminiscent of that of the famous bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.⁴⁷ A circus sarcophagus in the Vatican dated by Schauenburg to 160–170 CE provides a good contemporary parallel from this genre of sarcophagi.⁴⁸ Finally, we should note that the meaning of circus scenes with *erotes* in Roman art has long been debated, and, recently, elegantly summarized by Sinclair Bell, so there is no need to review all the literature here, since our sarcophagus adds nothing new to the debate.⁴⁹

This concludes our look at the relatively newly created collection of Roman sarcophagi at the Toledo Museum of Art. In the case of the lenos with lions, we noted new, previously unrecorded details, and were able to achieve a richer understanding of its use and users in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Medea sarcophagus and a “Meerwesen” sarcophagus, once bound together in an eighteenth-century Florentine Palazzo wall, have been shown now to be permanently housed in the Toledo Museum of Art and the Indiana University Art Museum respectively. And finally, a long lost circus sarcophagus once in the Palazzo Barberini has found a new home in the Toledo Museum of Art as the newest addition to its fine collection of antiquities.

⁴⁶ E.g., Lucius Verus – Rome, Museo Capitolino Inv. 452: Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 79–81 no. 69 pls. 84–86. Marcus Aurelius – Rome, Museo Capitolino Inv. 448: Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 76–77 no. 69 pls. 79, 81, 82.

⁴⁷ Rome, Museo Capitolino, No Inventory Number: Fittschen/Zanker 1985, 72–74 no. 67 pls. 76–77.

⁴⁸ Vatican, Sala della Biga no. 614c Inv. 2351: ASR 5 2,3: 78–79 no. 85 pl. 6.1–5.

⁴⁹ Bell 2003b. See also D'Ambra 2007.



Art and Cult

Monika Trümper

Bathing in the Sanctuaries of Asklepios and Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros

The primary importance of water in sanctuaries of Asklepios has always been recognized. Scholars have argued that water symbolized the sacred character of Asklepios; served to purify the body and soul; and, finally, it contributed “réellement ou mystiquement, à l’assainissement, à la guérison du fidèle.”¹ While the first two functions are uncontested, it is debated, how exactly and to what extent water was really used for therapeutic/curative purposes. None of the famous *iamata* from Epidauros, engraved in the second half of the fourth century BCE, mentions bathing or sophisticated hydrotherapies as part of the curative process.² Instead, textual sources suggest that central to cures in the Classical and Hellenistic periods were incubation and epiphanies of Asklepios in dreams. While some scholars acknowledge that water probably had no immediate therapeutic value, but contributed to healing in a broad sense only,³ others argue that bathing facilities for specific therapeutic/curative purposes constituted a typical, if not indispensable, feature of Asklepios’ sanctuaries.⁴ This notion seems to be primarily based on archaeological evidence, notably that of facilities with innovative heated relaxing bathing forms, which became available in the Hellenistic period and standard in the Roman Imperial period. Remarkably, however, even in the second century CE, the numerous instructions that Asklepios gave to one of his most faithful and devoted followers, Aelius Aristeides, included primarily either abstinence from bathing or bathing in cold, and even icy, natural bodies of water, such as rivers or the sea.⁵

This paper critically reviews the archaeological evidence of bathing facilities in the sanctuaries of Asklepios and his father and cult companion Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros (figs. 1 and 2).⁶ While not the site of origin of Asklepios and his cult, his sanctuary at Epidauros became the most important in the Greek world from the fifth century BCE onwards, serving as “mother” and model for many other sanctuaries of Asklepios.⁷ Thus, one would expect Epidauros to be at the forefront of new develop-

1 Lambrinoudakis 1994a, 228; cf. Ginouvès 1962, 231–427 and 1994; Steger 2005.

2 Dillon 1994, 245; Manuwald 2007, 92 n. 18; Trümper 2013b, 61–62 n. 146.

3 Lambrinoudakis 1994a, 231.

4 Ginouvès 1994; Riethmüller 2005, 2: 164, more skeptical 1: 379; Melfi 2007, 502–503; Levine 2008, 43 n. 70; 63 n. 208.

5 Boudon-Millot 1994.

6 For the relationship between Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios and their sanctuaries at Epidauros, Riethmüller 2005, 1: 150–174.

7 Riethmüller 2005, 1: 49–51.

ments and to provide state-of-the-art therapeutic/curative facilities, particularly during its major expansion and monumentalization in the fourth and third centuries BCE. For lack of space, in the following only structures identified as specific bathing facilities⁸ will be assessed in chronological order, examining whether their function can be determined more closely based on criteria such as location and accessibility, design and size, bathing program, and water supply.⁹ A brief final evaluation of bathing facilities at Epidauros within the larger context of Greek sanctuaries assesses whether there is any conclusive evidence for therapeutic/curative water use at Epidauros.

Greek Period

The earliest supposedly curative bath is the “Hieron Loutron,” built to the north of the Temple of Asklepios (fig. 1 no. 1 and fig. 3), in the area commonly designated as the *hieron* or core sanctuary.¹⁰ In recent research, three phases are distinguished. A small stoa from the sixth century BCE that opened to a rock-cut well in the south is recognized as an incubation hall with an attached sacred well; it is unclear whether specific installations or structures for ablutions existed.¹¹ The second phase, in the early fifth century BCE, comprised a renewal of the stoa and the well, the opening of which was raised and surrounded with a square platform.¹² During the major fourth-century expansion, the stoa (Abaton) was again rebuilt on a monumental scale. Shortly before this, a rectangular complex (12 x 5.7 m) was constructed immediately to the east of the Abaton;¹³ it probably included three rooms preceded by a

8 For wells, cisterns, fountainhouses, and basins, which are not considered here, see: Peppas-Papaioannou 1990 and 2007; Lambrinoudakis 1994a.

9 Water features and management at Epidauros have not been published extensively. Simple bathing facilities may have existed in several buildings, but are not always identifiable from published plans; see, for example, the banquet hall/“Gymnasium” (Leypold 2008, 67–68); or the large building in the northwest (fig. 1 no. 6) with rooms possibly “di funzione termale (o lustrale)?” (Melfi 2007, 113).

10 For the division of sacred space, see Riethmüller 2005, 1: 162–174, 279–295; Levine 2008, 179–202. For “Hieron Loutron,” see Lambrinoudakis 2002, 219–223; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 172 n. 517 with bibliography; Melfi 2007, 25 n. 43 and 42 n. 151.

11 Lambrinoudakis 2002, 220 cautiously cites a layer of reddish mud bricks as evidence of a bathing facility; this alone, however, is not conclusive, especially because abundant use of water commonly requires some water-resistant material, such as protective hydraulic plaster or fired bricks.

12 Lambrinoudakis 2002, 220. Evidence of this seems scanty, including a wall made of poros with mud-brick superstructure and – remarkably – toilets on its west side (not visible on any illustration); see Riethmüller 2005, 1: 172 n. 516.

13 Lambrinoudakis 2002, 219 suggests that the building would have been founded on a layer of poros rubble produced while the Temple of Asklepios was constructed. The traditional construction date of this building, still followed by Riethmüller 2005, 1: 172, is mid-fifth century BCE.

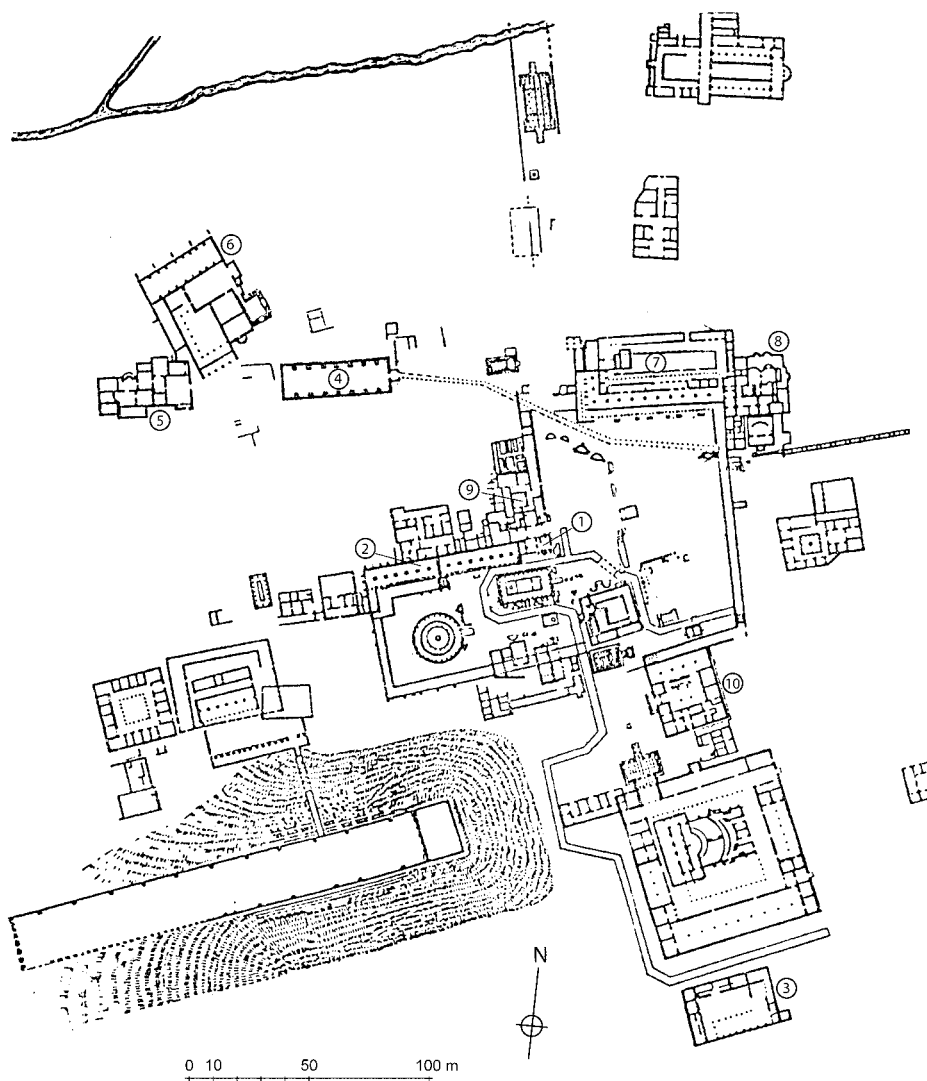


Fig. 1: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Asklepios: plan; 1: “Hieron Loutron”; 2: Abaton; 3: Greek Bath; 4: Hellenistic cistern; 5: NW Bath; 6: Roman NW complex; 7: Stoa of Kotys; 8: NE Bath; 9: Building K; 10: Building Φ. Riethmüller 2005, 1: 292 fig. 42.

porch.¹⁴ This complex is commonly identified as the “Hieron Loutron of Asklepios” that Pausanias saw in a version renovated thanks to the generosity of the Roman

¹⁴ Martin/Metzger 1942/43, pl. 15; followed by Riethmüller 2005, 1: 172. Lambrinoudakis 2002 does not provide a reconstruction of this building. Melfi 2007, 32 fig. 8 shows a much smaller detached building that does not correspond with the state plan in Lambrinoudakis 2002, 221 fig. 4.

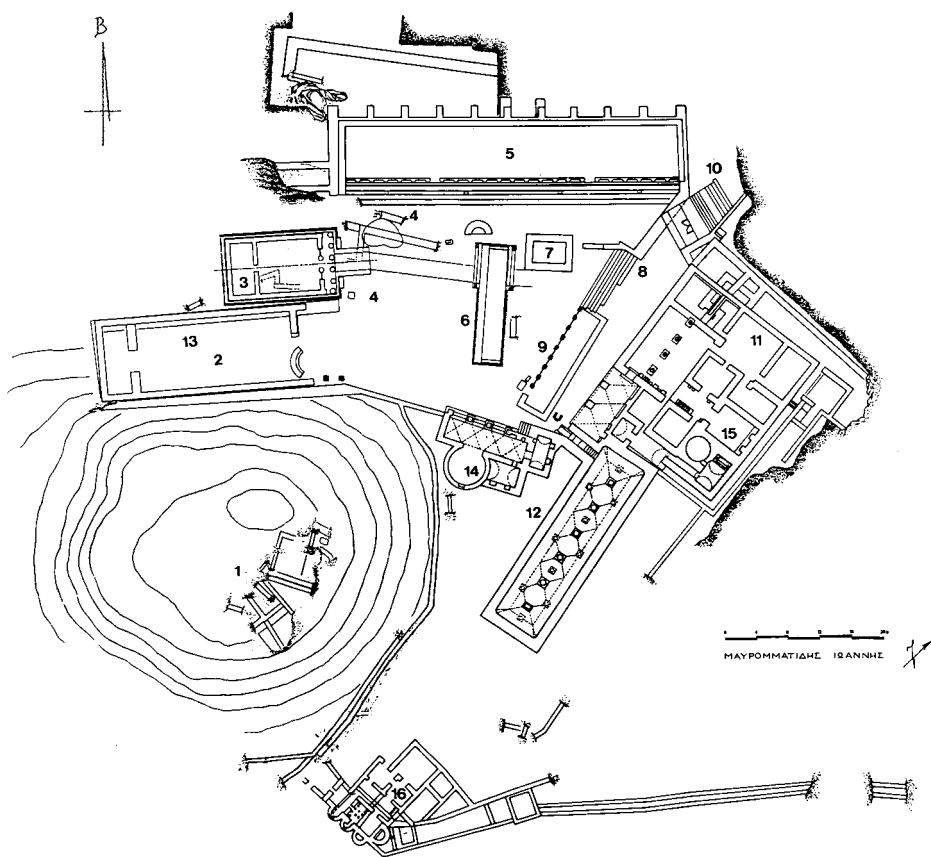


Fig. 2: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas: plan; 1: Prehistoric buildings; 2: Mycenaean terrace; 3: Classical naos; 4: Archaic altar; 5: Large *analemma* and stoa; 6: Monumental altar; 7: Naiskos of Asklepios; 8: Entrance of Classical sanctuary; 9: Temenos of the Muses; 10: Propylon of Roman Imperial period; 11: Residence of priests/"Skana"; 12: Reservoir of Antoninus; 13: Naos-shaped temenos of Roman Imperial period; 14: Nymphaion; 15: Sanctuary of Isis; 16: SE Bath. Lambrinoudakis 1996, 39 fig. 18.

senator Antoninus in the second century CE. It included the sacred well, raised again and continuously used in this phase, and a square basin abutting the south facade of the building, which was fed by a fountain statue in front of the Temple of Asklepios and had an outlet to the north. The Abaton and bath together are seen as an entity that, from the beginning, would have been central to the therapeutic aspect of the cult.¹⁵

¹⁵ Lambrinoudakis 2002.

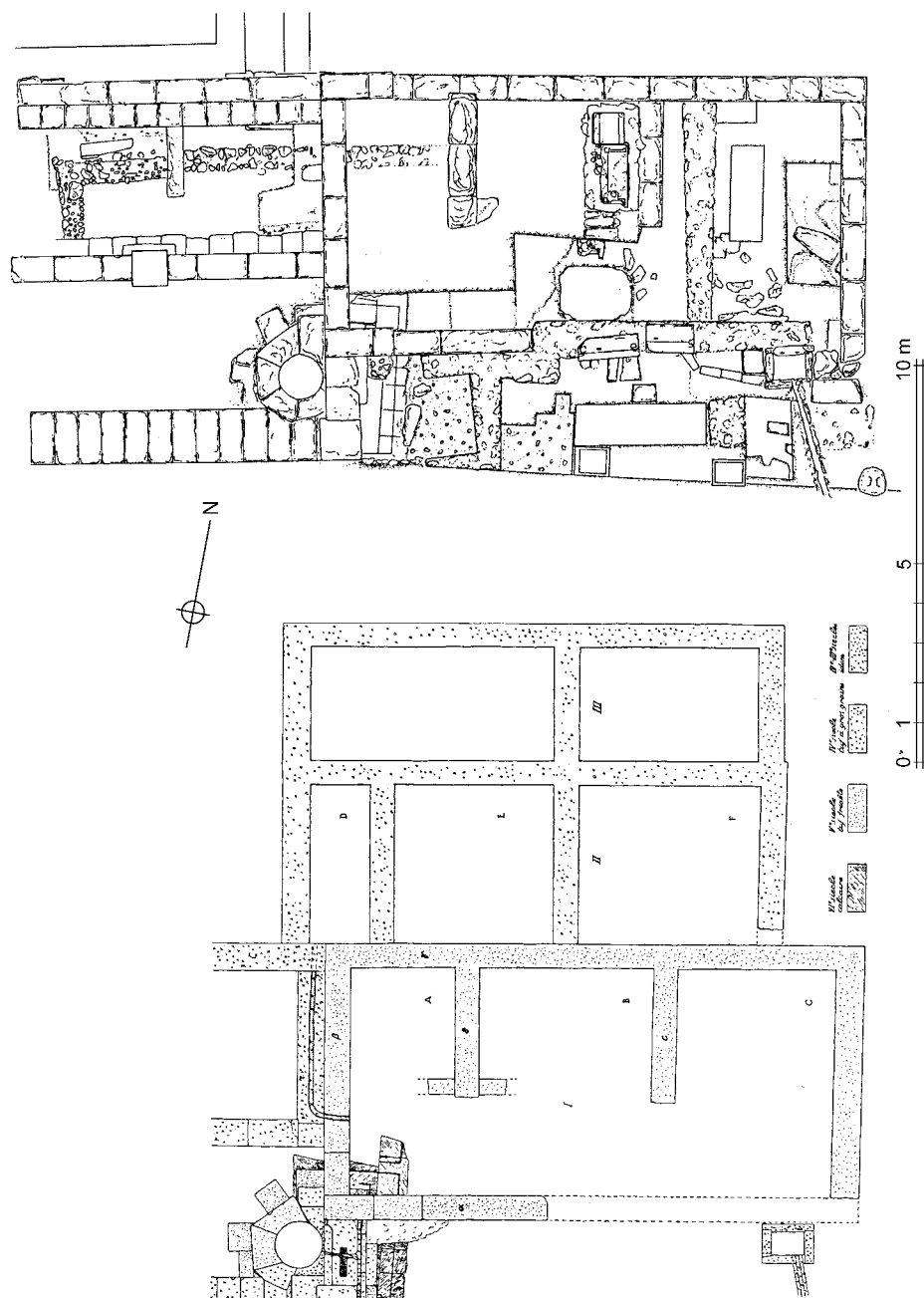


Fig. 3: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Asklepios, "Hieron Loutron": plans. Martin/Metzger 1942/43, pl. 15 (below) and Lambrinoudakis 2002, 221 fig. 4 (above).

This reconstruction raises several questions. The “Hieron Loutron” lacks features typical of contemporary baths (e.g., waterproof decoration, drainage, basin, pool, tub), and heating devices. The chronology of the water features, and thus their availability throughout the use of the building, is not clear.¹⁶ Remarkably, the “sacred” well was deliberately incorporated into the fourth-century Abaton, although it could easily have been included in the earlier “Hieron Loutron.” Nobody discusses how precisely the rooms (potentially fully visible through the wide-open porch) would have been used and what kind of bathing activities would have taken place in them. Jürgen Riethmüller alone argues that the design of the complex with three rooms and a porch speaks instead to an incubation or banquet hall.¹⁷ While intriguing at first sight, this interpretation also does not sufficiently take the larger context into account: e.g., it is not clear how long this building was used and whether its function ever changed,¹⁸ while the adjacent Abaton was continuously used through the Roman Imperial period. In contrast, Building K, constructed in the Roman period to the north of the “Hieron Loutron,” is most likely not the “Loutron of Asklepios” donated by the senator Antoninus, and certainly not a major public thermal facility; thus, it cannot confirm continuous use of this area for therapeutic bathing, as often argued.¹⁹ In sum, the “Hieron Loutron” complex, prominently located and certainly central to cultic life, requires comprehensive reassessment. Its use as a therapeutic bathing facility is questionable and even its (continuous?) use for purifying ablutions with cold (sacred) water needs critical revision.²⁰

A safely identified bath, called the Hellenikon Balaneion, Hellenika Loutra, or Greek Bath,²¹ is located in the outer area (*alsos*) of the sanctuary, close to a guesthouse in the east (*katagogeion*) and a banquet building in the north (“Gymnasium”) (fig. 1 no. 3; fig. 4; fig. 5). While its precise date and plan are still unknown, it most likely

16 Riethmüller 2005, 1: 172 identifies the square basin as a later addition. The plan of Martin/Metzger 1942/43, pl. 15 shows a channel cut into the western foundation wall of the “Hieron Loutron” and the east wall of the Abaton, which is lacking on Lambrinoudakis 2002, 221 fig. 4, and is, indeed, difficult to explain.

17 Riethmüller 2005, 1: 172.

18 Martin/Metzger 1942/43, pl. 15 suggests that it was still used in the fourth century BCE, when the Abaton and buildings II/III were attached to its west and north walls, respectively. This is not reflected in various reconstructions of the “Greek” sanctuary, such as in Pharaklas 1972, figs. 22–24; Tomlison 1983, 41 fig. 4, and Melfi 2007, 32 fig. 8.

19 See below, nn. 46–48.

20 The combination of incubation hall and well/fountain is significantly different, and much clearer, in other Late Classical/Early Hellenistic Asklepieia, such as those at Athens and Corinth; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 267, 385–387; 2: 59.

21 Only fully excavated and restored in the 1990s (Aslanides/Pinatse 1999) but not yet fully published, the eastern rooms (cisterns, pools?) of the bath were covered with tarp and gravel in 2003; Lambrinoudakis 2002; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 291 n. 87 with earlier bibliography; Melfi 2007, 57–58; Trümper 2013b, 71 n. 138 and 2014b, 211–212 n. 54, 56.

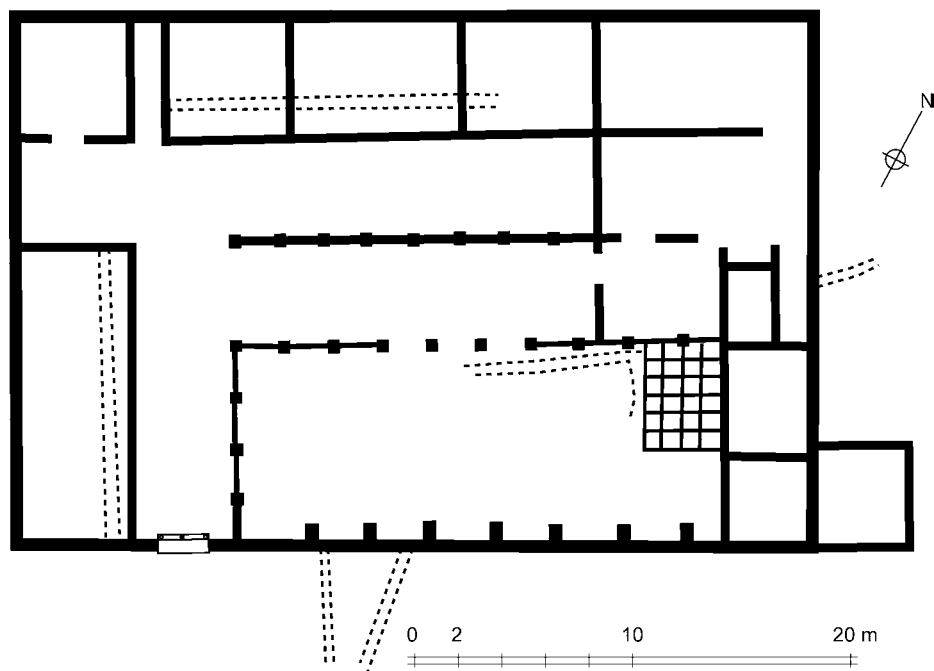


Fig. 4: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Asklepios, Greek Bath: schematic plan. M. Trümper after Kavvadias 1900, pl. 1, Aslanides/Pinatse 1999, 51 fig. 34, and plan on the site.

belonged to the major development of the sanctuary in the fourth and early third centuries BCE and seems to have been used (and remodeled) well into the Roman Imperial period.²² The monumental building (37 x 24.50 m) comprises a series of eleven rectangular rooms grouped around three sides of a large colonnaded courtyard accessible from the south. Water features including channels, drains, cisterns, basins on high feet, and immersion pools, as well as the absence of heating installations, suggest that this building²³ served for simple washings and immersion baths in cold water.

Contemporary parallels for this “ascetic” bathing program are provided by bathing facilities in *gymnasia* and two detached baths in the sanctuaries of Zeus at Nemea and Mount Lykaion, which were both probably reserved for athletes.²⁴ While Epidauros regularly housed games at festivals, it is less certain whether the

²² The expansion of the sanctuary is often subdivided into several phases, see e.g., Melfi 2007, 31–62, and the Greek Bath is commonly assigned to the latest phase.

²³ Melfi 2007, 101 states, with reference to Aslanides/Pinatse 1999, 51, that this bath was provided with a hypocaust in the Imperial period, but Aslanides/Pinatse 1999, 51 do not mention a hypocaust and none is visible on any published plan or photo or on site today.

²⁴ Nemea: 20 x 36.65 m; Miller 1992, 248–249 figs. 352–353. Mount Lykaion: ca. 20 x at least 22.70 m; Romano 2005, 388–389; Trümper 2013b, 60–61 and 2014b, 212–213. Aslanides/Pinatse 1999 date the

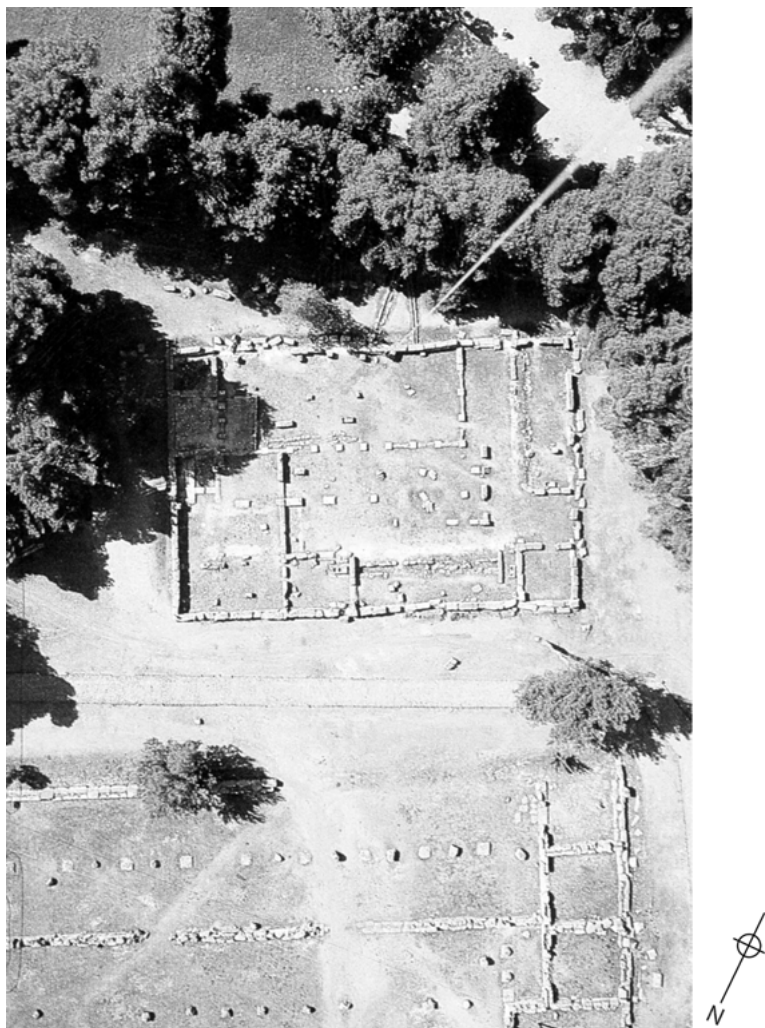


Fig. 5: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Asklepios, Greek Bath: aerial view.
 Aslanides/Pinatse 1999, 51 fig. 34.

bath building here was conceived exclusively for athletes or also for a wider audience of pilgrims for simple cleansing, purifying, or therapeutic/curative bathing. The number of rooms, unusual for a cold-water establishment, indicates that it either offered bathing facilities in a spatially differentiated setting for a large, segregated clientele or also served other functions, such as exercise and accommo-

Epidaurean *piscinae* (pools) to the Roman period, but the parallels and the size of the building suggest that they could date to the Greek period or have Greek predecessors.

dation (of athletes?).²⁵ Independent baths were rare in Greek sanctuaries of the late fourth and early third centuries BCE, but securely identified examples commonly provided more comfort for pilgrims, through continuously modernized warm bathing forms.²⁶ While the size and longevity of the Greek Bath at Epidauros testify to its importance, its design and bathing program defy easy classification, and the lack of any obvious modernization (with heated bathing forms) at least in the Roman Imperial period, suggests a specific function throughout its use.

Several inscriptions from Epidauros seem to refer to at least two *balaneia*, associated with the Greek Bath, which existed at the end of the fourth century BCE, but the texts do not reveal anything about their bathing programs or function.²⁷ Although *balaneion* commonly refers to a public establishment with hot water bathing, terminological distinctions were not clear-cut in antiquity, and the notion of an independent public building may have prevailed for the administrators of the Epidaurean sanctuary.²⁸ It seems obvious, however, that the authorities and officials were responsible for constructing, maintaining, and operating (or at least leasing) bathing facilities in the sanctuary. Thus, accounts regarding expenses for the construction of the *skanamata* in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas also list a *loutron* and a *balaneion* with its water supply.²⁹ Since no bathing facilities from the early Hellenistic period can yet be identified in the substantially revealed remains of this sanctuary, the distinction between *loutron* and *balaneion* in Epidauros cannot be further assessed.

25 A channel runs through all the northern and western rooms, presumably supplying water from the east and draining it to the south. It may have drained water from basins (none *in situ* today) standing at the back walls of the rooms. The slightly smaller building in Nemea included only one pool and two rooms with four basins each, as well as two hypostyle halls, which may have served for exercise and strolling; Miller 1992, 244–250. Finds suggest that the Epidauros building had a second story, whose function is unknown (Aslanides/Pinatse 1999, 51); this is unusual for Greek baths and again speaks to multifunctional use. Buildings for athletes are commonly identified in the unpublished structures to the northwest of the stadion, see Riethmüller 2005, 1: 292–293; Melfi 2007, 58.

26 E.g., Olympia: Trümper 2013b, 52, 62 and 2014a.

27 IG IV² 103 C, l. 271–272: *ba[laneion]*; 273: *[bal]aneiou*; 286: *[balane]iou*; 297: *[balaneion]*. Burford (1969, 79, 210, 221) dates the inscription to 290–270 BCE and identifies the *balaneion* which is to be constructed in the sanctuary as the Greek Bath. Roux (1961, 176) and Ginouvès (1962, 358 n. 4) question the reference to a *balaneion*. IG IV² 110, ca. 320–300 BCE, is an account regarding the construction of *oikoi* that mentions a *balaneion* and its water supply; Burford (1969, 77) recognizes these *oikoi* as the *katagogeion*, suggesting that the *balaneion* could be identified with the adjacent Greek Bath. IG IV² 116 (late fourth century BCE), l. 10–11: *[bala]neion*. Burford (1969, 76, 83, 209) thinks that this “refers to water-channels for a bath ‘along the road to the city,’ that is, somewhere in the complex east of the temple of Themis and north of the Asklepios temple.” IG IV² 123 (350–300 BCE): healing miracle that mentions a blind man who lost his lekythos in a *balaneion* (l. 130), and when he was sleeping in the incubation hall, the god told him to look for it in the large inn, where the man saw the lekythos and was healed.

28 Trümper 2013b, 35–36 and 2014b, 204–207.

29 IG IV² 109, ca. 290–270 BCE: A, 85; C, 39–40, 45.

Although the sanctuary of Asklepios saw no major expansion and building activities in the Late Hellenistic period, it still was one of the major panhellenic sanctuaries of significant political importance before its decline and possible destruction in the first century BCE. This is reflected in increasing dedications of honorific-votive monuments and the remodeling of spectacle buildings, both undertaken at the initiative of private persons and the polis.³⁰ The waning engagement of the sanctuary's administration may account for the lack of any modernization of bathing culture in this period when baths were not yet targets of euergetism and thus would have been the responsibility of the sacred authorities.³¹

Roman Imperial Period

New honorific and votive monuments attest to the revival of the Epidaurean sanctuary under the Julio-Claudians, and an extensive building program to its second heyday in the second century CE, especially under the Antonines. Textual evidence suggests that healing through incubation and dreams had been replaced by long cures that required extended stays in the sanctuary and all kinds of physical therapies and applications.³² Milena Melfi argues that the importance and cultic life of the sanctuary changed again significantly in the third century CE when it finally developed from a popular healing center for the masses into a retreat for a small resident community of elite cultic personnel with intellectual, neo-platonic interests.³³

In correlation with these developments, in the Roman Imperial period both sanctuaries were provided with modern baths: at least three independent bath buildings,³⁴ and three much smaller bath suites for individual use, integrated into larger building complexes. While scholars generally agree that none of these was built before the revival of the second century CE, none has been fully published and safely dated. Indeed, three of them have been variously identified with the aforementioned "Loutron of Asklepios" that, according to Pausanias, "a Roman senator, Antoninus,

30 Melfi 2007, 63–70 and 2010; Riethmüller 2009 emphasizes continuity in the use of the sanctuary at Epidauros and refutes the notion of fundamental changes.

31 In contrast, other Asklepieia (Gortys; Messene) had modernized baths. See Trümper 2013b, 56–57, 2014b, and in preparation, Addendum III.

32 Melfi 2007, 82–125; see also Aelius Aristides, Boudon-Millot 1994, and inscriptions mentioning *sanationes* from Epidauros and other Asklepieia; e.g., *IG IV²* 126; Galli 2005.

33 Melfi 2007, 126–144. Riethmüller 2005 focuses on the beginnings of the sanctuary at Epidauros and its monumentalization in the fourth century BCE and does not discuss in detail its appearance and use in the Roman Imperial period.

34 Lambrinoudakis 2002, 224 n. 44 mentions a fourth bath, under excavation outside the east fence of the Asklepieion, which does not appear on any plan and is not mentioned in Riethmüller 2005 or Melfi 2007.

made in our day.”³⁵ In the Asklepieion, Antoninus also financed construction of two temples (Epidoteion and Temple of Hygieia and the Egyptian Asklepios and Apollo) and a building for giving birth and dying, as well as the repair of the Stoa of Kotys. In Apollo’s sanctuary he dedicated different structures, among them a reservoir.

Various inscribed finds suggest that Antoninus’ euergetic activities encompassed even more structures than recorded by Pausanias,³⁶ but the senator was obviously specifically concerned with improving the bathing facilities of Asklepios’ sanctuary. The wording Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρὸν has been overemphasized, as referring to a specifically “sacred” facility. One may argue, however, that all bathing facilities in the sanctuary belonged to Asklepios and were supplied by “sacred” water. Furthermore, it may be questioned that Antoninus really was the first to build *the* specific bath of the god. Pausanias clearly distinguishes between structures that Antoninus built (presumably from scratch) and repaired, and his list only suggests that Antoninus’ bath was an independent building (dedicated to Asklepios) rather than a bathing facility integrated into a larger complex.

While the significance of bathing in the second century CE is confirmed by the *sanatio* of Apellas, the location of the hot water *balaneion* mentioned there is debated. Apellas dreams that he should rub against the wall in the bath located close to the *akoai* (πρὸς ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐν βαλανείῳ προστρίβεσθαι τῷ τοίχῳ), and that he later emerged from the *abaton* near the *akoai* (ἐξίέναι κατὰ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου). There is no agreement regarding the interpretation of *akoai* and *abaton*.³⁷ Even if it seems most likely that the *akoai* were an important feature situated in the vicinity of a *balaneion* and an/the *abaton*, the location and function of this *balaneion* currently cannot be determined more closely.

The three independent baths were all Roman-style baths, provided with a typical sequence of differently heated rooms, modern heating technology, and lavish decorations of mosaic pavements and marble revetment of walls and bathtubs/pools. With a surface of about 150 to 630 m², the baths are smaller than the Greek Bath. While their location was certainly determined by the availability of water, all are situated at the periphery of the sanctuary or even well outside the main area. Their architectural context is not sufficiently known, but at least two (NE and NW Baths) seem to be attached to larger complexes and may have functioned in connection with these. All

³⁵ Pausanias 2.27.6: ὅποσα δὲ Ἀντωνίνος ἀνὴρ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρὸν (trans. Jones 1964).

³⁶ Most recently summarized by Melfi 2007, 99–123. Finds include stamped tiles and dedicatory inscriptions, e.g., IG IV² 454, 479, 684.

³⁷ IG IV² 126. Galli’s translation (2005, 279–280) omits any reference to *balaneion* in the context of *akoai*, and equates *abaton* with “sanctuary.” Melfi 2007, 125 assumes that *akoai* was the name of the NE Bath, and does not comment upon the relationship between *akoai* and *abaton*. Similarly, Riethmüller 2005, 1: 286 interprets *akoai* as the name of the bath in Building K next to the incubation hall (*abaton*). Some, like Steger 2005, 40 n. 43, assume that the *akoai* were in the *balaneion*, which makes little sense.

are dated based on their building technique and some finds, to the second century CE, and at least two of them give evidence of remodeling and thus longer usage (NE Bath, SE Bath). Their design, which includes small apses – a popular element in the mid-Imperial period – shows no distinctive features that would suggest a specific function.

The NW Bath is the largest (ca. 17 x 37 m) and least well known, located next to a complex with a peristyle courtyard and a large Hellenistic cistern (fig. 1 nos. 4–6). The bath and peristyle building yielded a statue base, dedicated by the polis of Epidauros to Antoninus, and three inscribed tiles with the name of Asklepios and probably also Antoninus. Panagis Kavvadias, therefore, recognized in this complex the bath and hostel donated by Antoninus. This notion has received little attention in scholarship, and the peristyle complex has been since interpreted as a sanctuary of Isis, whose veneration is known from inscriptions,³⁸ or as a sanctuary of Egyptian deities built by Antoninus. The isolated location, size, and provision of the peristyle complex with its own, relatively large bath testify to its significance and suggest fairly independent use.³⁹

The NE Bath⁴⁰ (originally ca. 400 m²) was built between preexisting buildings that were partially renovated in the Roman period (fig. 1 no. 8 and fig. 6): the Stoa of Kotys, a complex convincingly identified as a guesthouse;⁴¹ a small *sacellum* of debated designation (“Epidoteion,” Temple of Telesphoros); and two fountains (“Doric” and “Sacred”) with which the bath probably shared its water supply. The intimate spatial and conceptual connection between the guesthouse and bath is obvious from the fact that the bath was partially built over the guesthouse, and both buildings probably shared some rooms. Since Antoninus repaired the Stoa-guesthouse-complex, and tiles with the inscription of Asklepios were found in the bath, the NE Bath also has been recognized as Antoninus’ donation, appropriately located close to the *hieron*.⁴²

The SE Bath in Apollo’s sanctuary (ca. 150 m²) is probably part of a not yet fully revealed larger complex, located separately to the south of the central buildings (fig. 2 no. 16 and fig. 7). The published plan suggests a complicated building history with several phases. Accessible from the north, and supplied by Antoninus’ large reservoir, the bath and adjacent rooms may have served similar functions as the combined Stoa of Kotys and NE Bath, albeit on a much more reduced scale.⁴³

³⁸ IG IV² 534, 577; Peek 1972, n. 8.

³⁹ IG IV² 684; Kavvadias 1921; Pharaklas 1972, fig. 26 no. 29; Tomlinson 1983, 69; Peppa-Papaioannou 1990 and 2007, 314–317; Philipp 1991, 107–111; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 282 n. 11, 292 fig. 42 no. 21; Melfi 2007, 100 fig. 14, 101–102, 113.

⁴⁰ Ginouvès 1955, focuses on late (third-fifth centuries CE) changes in the bath and does not provide a detailed assessment; Tomlinson 1983, 51–53; Nielsen 1990, 2:33 no. C.267; Philipp 1991, 85–89; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 282; Melfi 2007, 104–106.

⁴¹ Lauter 1986, 127–128; no detailed state or reconstructed plans of this building have been published.

⁴² Roux 1961, 289; Philipp 1991, 85; Melfi 2007, 105–106.

⁴³ Lambrinoudakis 1991, 72–73 and 1994b, 66–67; Melfi 2007, 121 n. 566.

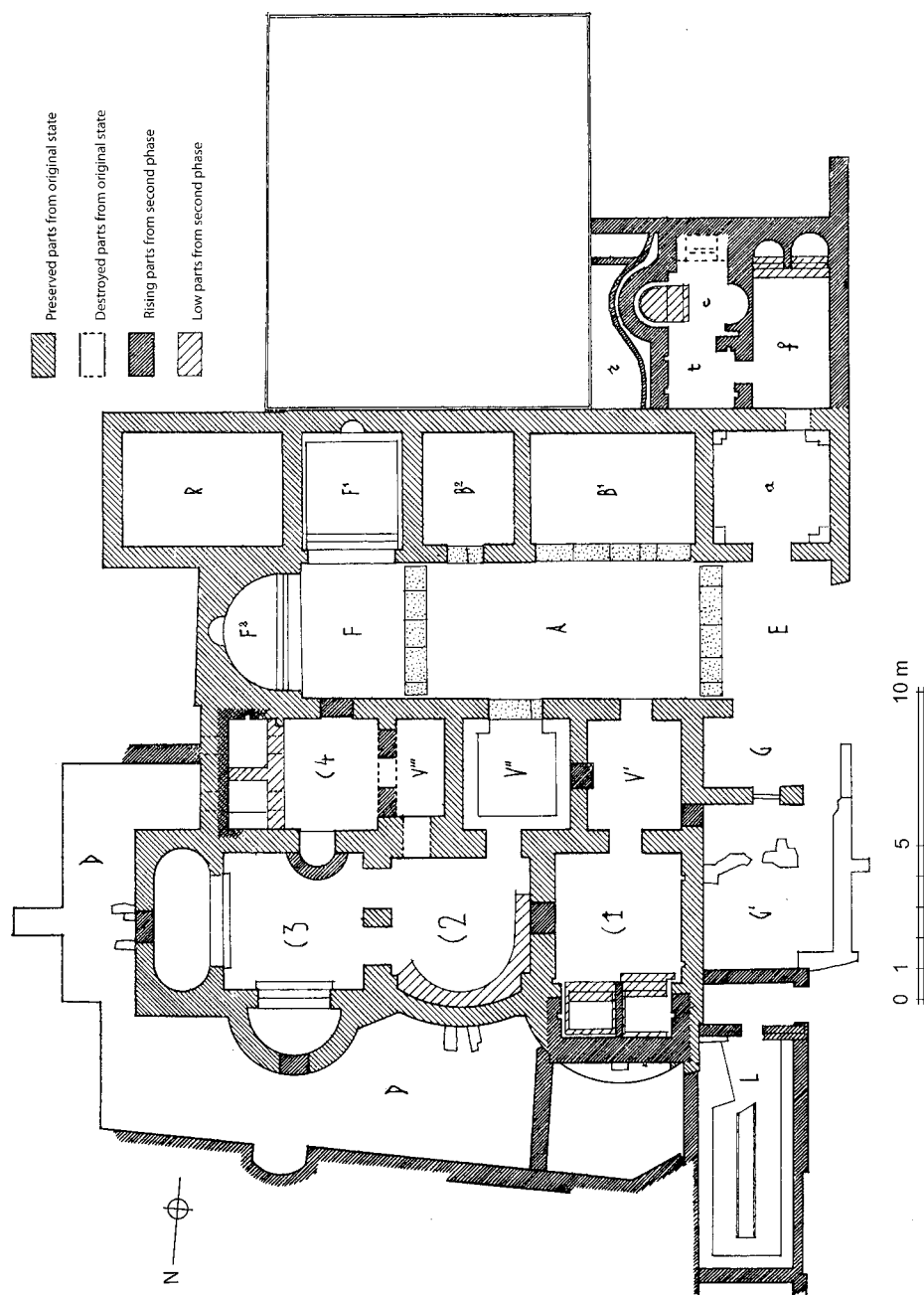


Fig. 6: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Asklepios, NE Bath: plan. Ginouvéès 1955, fig. 7.

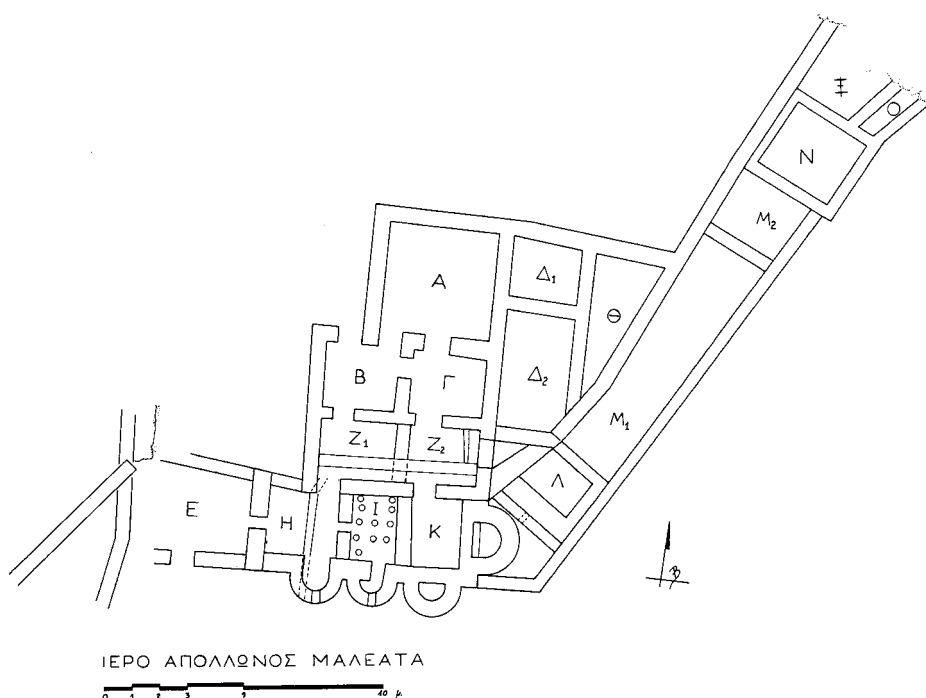


Fig. 7: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, SE Bath. Lambrinoudakis 1994b, 67 fig. 1.

In remarkable contrast to these three independently accessible, modern baths, are three small bath suites, integrated into larger buildings of debated function: Buildings K and Φ in Asklepios' sanctuary and the Skana in Apollo's sanctuary. All suites offered the same bathing program, including a round room with a diameter of 2.70–4.00 m and an anteroom with a small cold-water pool/bathtub for individual immersion baths. Based on the evidence of a central depression in the round room of the Skana, which served to accommodate some heating device (such as hot stones), and based on typological comparisons, the round rooms can be identified as purpose-built sweat baths. However, their technical standard is without contemporary comparison and strangely anachronistic for the Imperial period, when sweat rooms were commonly provided with floor and wall heating. Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, simple round sweat baths without refined heating systems were only built in the second and first centuries BCE and went entirely out of use during the first century CE. The choice of such an old-fashioned bathing form in two closely related sanctuaries can hardly have been accidental, and the three suites must have followed one common master plan or have been modeled after each other. The size, architectural context, and remote location of these bath suites

within the buildings suggest that they were conceived for restricted use by individuals or small groups.⁴⁴

This intriguing similarity of these bath suites may help to determine the date and function of each building. While the Skana dates securely to the second century CE, the other two are variously dated from the second to fourth centuries CE, the late date being based on their mediocre building technique (rubble walls instead of fired bricks). Proposals for the function of these buildings range widely and do not consistently take bath suites into account.

The design and extension of Building K currently cannot be assessed, but the bath suite is located in the southwest corner of the known complex and possibly was accessible via a corridor system (fig. 1 no. 9 and fig. 8 nos. 1–4). The complex lacks any other features of typical contemporary baths, such as hypocausts, wall heating, *praefurnium*, or large collective pools. Following Kavvadias' original idea, Riethmüller still identifies the entire Building K as the *balaneion* frequented by Apellas and Antoninus' *loutron*, presumably confirmed by a roof tile stamped with Antoninus' name.⁴⁵ Others date the visible structures to the third or fourth century CE, partially maintaining the bath theory.⁴⁶ Only Melfi convincingly challenges this identification, comparing the building instead to the nearby multifunctional complex Φ; like the latter, Building K could have served as a residence of cult personnel or the seat of a "filiale della scuola neoplatonica ateniese."⁴⁷

The compact, freestanding, fully closed Building Φ includes a central distributive hypostyle space (2) that is provided with an altar, a statue base, and benches, and gives access to a large hypostyle room in the north (fig. 9 no. 5) and seventeen differently sized rooms/room suites on the other three sides (fig. 9 nos. 3, 4, 6–18), among them the bath suite in the southeast corner (fig. 1 no. 10 and fig. 9 nos. 8–10). It has been identified as a meeting place and perhaps the living quarters of a religious group;⁴⁸ a clubhouse of a religious association in connection with the adjacent "Gymnasium" building;⁴⁹ the sanctuary of the Egyptian Asklepios and Apollo, built by Antoninus, confirmed by a roof tile stamped with his name;⁵⁰ and finally a

⁴⁴ For a detailed assessment, see Trümper, in preparation, Addendum VII. Melfi 2007, 103–104, is the only one who correctly identified the round rooms as sweat baths (*laconica*); she does not recognize, however, the idiosyncratic anachronistic character of these bathing facilities.

⁴⁵ Kavvadias 1900, 157–158; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 170–174.

⁴⁶ Philipp 1991, 103–106.

⁴⁷ Melfi 2007, 103, 144. She does not discuss the complex design of Building K, which has little in common with that of the compact, well-organized Building Φ. For different interpretations of the numerous statues found in this complex, see Melfi 2007, 144; Philipp 1991, 105; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 283.

⁴⁸ Philipp 1991, 99–100. Older identifications as the Stoa of Kotys or the Gymnasium, convincingly refuted by now, are dismissed here; Delorme 1960, 484–485.

⁴⁹ Galli 2004, 343–344.

⁵⁰ Roux 1961, 300–301; Tomlinson 1983, 78; Riethmüller 2005, 1: 288–289.

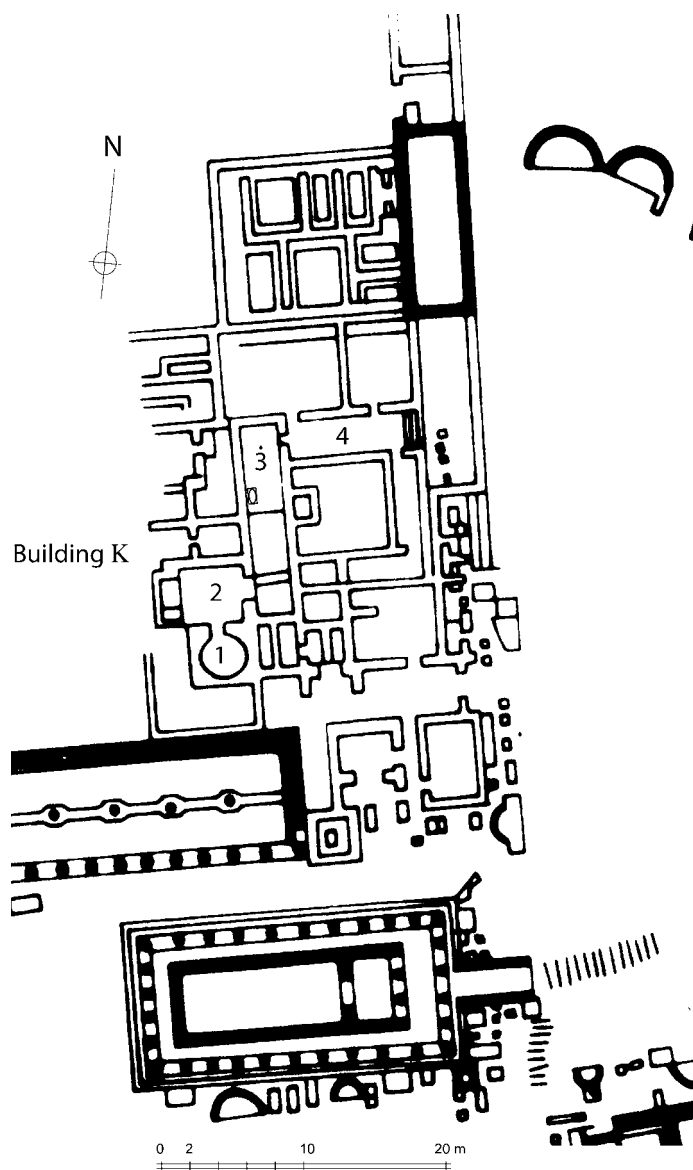


Fig. 8: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Asklepios, Building K: plan. Tomlinson 1983, 42 fig. 5.

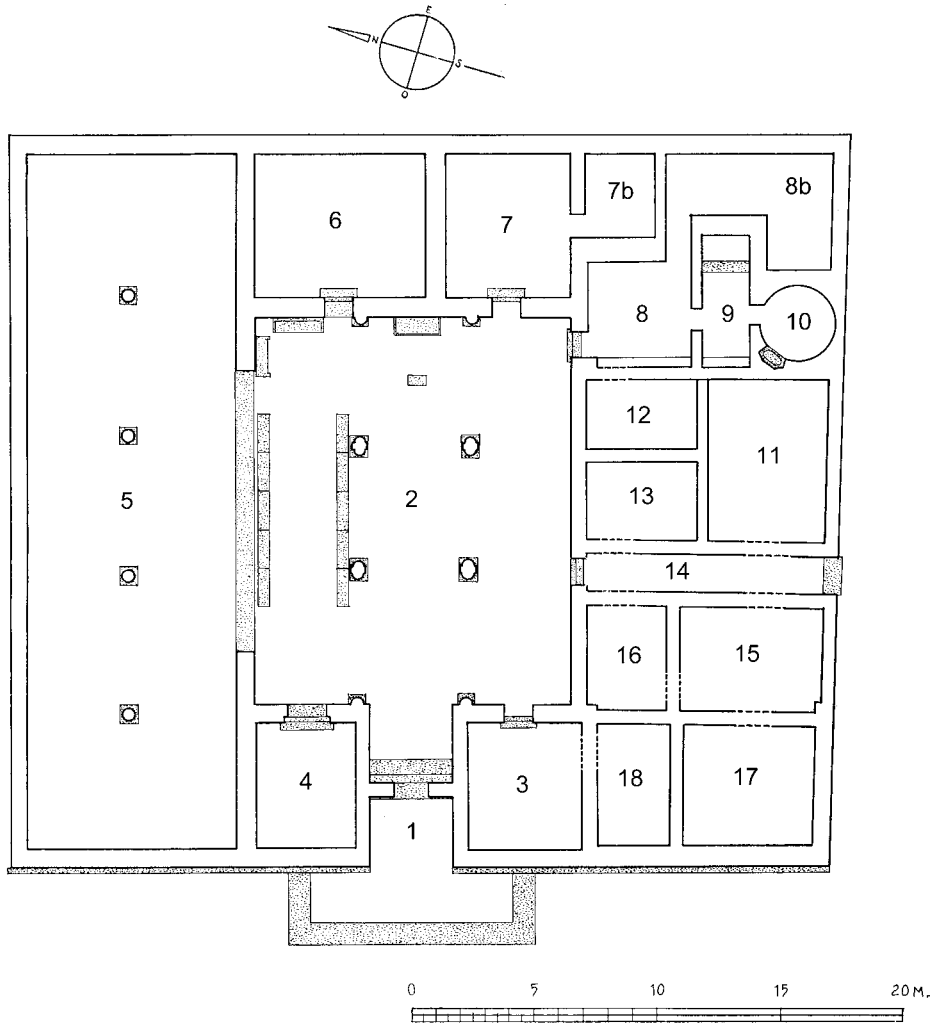


Fig. 9: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Asklepios, Building Φ: plan. Roux 1961, 301 fig. 92.

residence of cult personnel or the seat of a neoplatonic school.⁵¹ While the function of this building cannot be discussed here, the plan suggests a combination of cultic, assembly, and residential functions, and the sanitary facilities could have been required and used for all three purposes alike.

⁵¹ Melfi 2007, 140–141. Her interpretation is closely linked to the late date, which she bases on benches from the Abaton, found reused in room 2. The benches could have been brought later into the building, however, and thus cannot date the construction of this building.

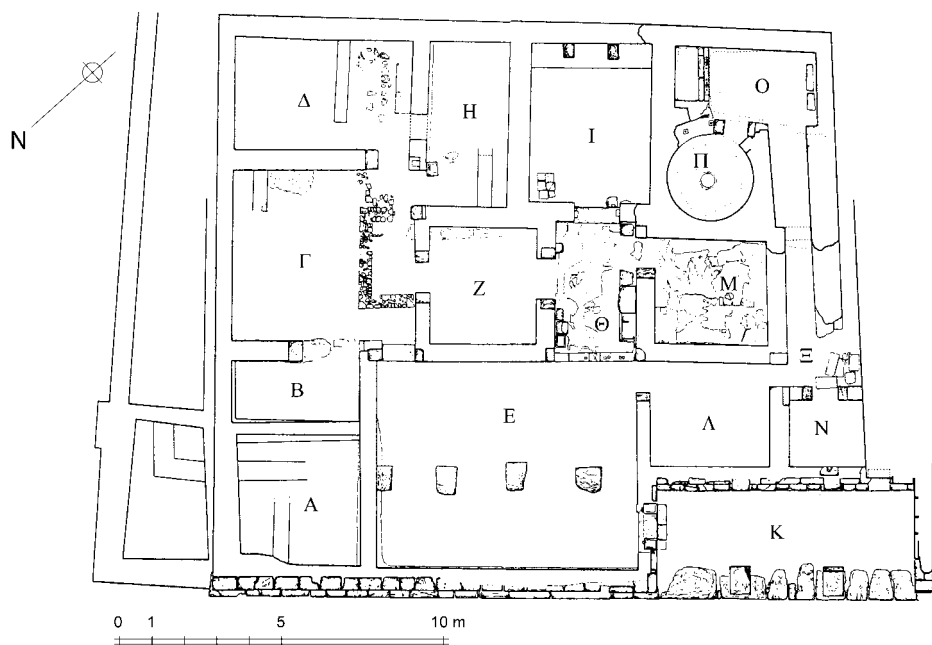


Fig. 10: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, "Skana": plan. Lambrinoudakis 1990, 46 fig. 1.

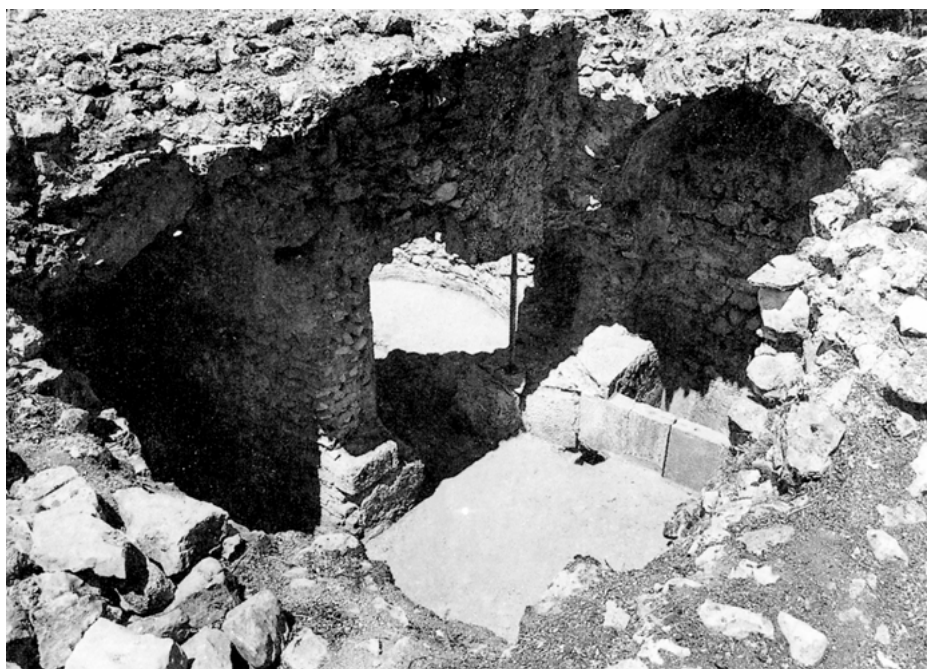


Fig. 11: Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, "Skana": bath suite from S. Lambrinoudakis 1990, pl. 21a.

The detached rectangular Skana has a complex design with fifteen differently sized rooms, organized in at least three groups, among them a bath suite in the southwest corner that was accessible via a long narrow corridor (fig. 2 no. 11; fig. 10 E-II; fig. 11). Vassilis Lambrinoudakis identifies the building as a house of the priests that also included a sanctuary of Egyptian deities, acknowledging, however, that cultic activities are only attested from the third century CE onward.⁵² While Marco Galli recognizes this as a clubhouse of a religious association, Melfi argues that the building was originally a residence for cult personnel; the round room II would have been referred to in an inscription⁵³ mentioning a building dedicated by the senator Antoninus that included a *pyriaterion*. The link with Antoninus is again confirmed by the discovery of roof tiles with his name.⁵⁴ Based on this, Melfi attributes the construction of the entire Skana to Antoninus' large-scale building program in Apollo's sanctuary, which would also have included the *propylon*, cistern, *nymphaion*, and SE Bath. Only from the mid-third century CE onward the Skana would have been used for cultic purposes as a sanctuary for Demeter and Kore.

According to Melfi, the bath suite of the Skana in the rather "secondary" sanctuary of Apollo would have preceded the equivalents in Asklepios' sanctuary for about 100–150 years, and use of the Skana for residential and gathering purposes would have been abandoned in favor of cultic use approximately when Buildings K and Φ were erected precisely for residential and meeting functions. While Antoninus' tiles from the Skana would securely testify to his patronage and to the date of this building, similar tiles from Buildings K and Φ necessarily would stem from ancient reuse or postdepositional disturbances.⁵⁵ It is questionable whether differences in the (little studied) building techniques can sufficiently support this *lectio difficilior*; for now, it seems more likely that all three complexes were built contemporaneously, and probably used by some cultic groups that may have required specific bathing traditions.⁵⁶ To what extent Antoninus inspired and promoted the revival of "time-honored" bathing traditions, financially, conceptually, and intellectually, must remain open, but the dedicatory inscription and tiles suggest strong involvement. This would fit well with the religious *renovatio*, the revival of traditional cults and rituals endorsed and advanced by the educated elite in the second century CE, of which

52 Lambrinoudakis 1990, 1992, 1994a, 229–230, and 1996.

53 Galli 2004, 332–333; Melfi 2007, 119–122. *IG IV²* 454 and 479: the findspot of this dedication to Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios is unknown; traditionally, it has been related with the *loutron* of Asklepios, mentioned by Pausanias 2.27.6, but *pyriaterion* always designates a sweat room, not an entire bath complex; for a detailed discussion, see Trümper, in preparation, chap. IV.

54 Lambrinoudakis 1990, 46–47 fig. 14b.

55 Similarly Philipp 1991, 100.

56 The significantly different plans of the three buildings cannot be discussed here. The prominent location of Buildings K and Φ in Asklepios' sanctuary alone suggests that they were included in the large-scale development of the second century CE.

Antoninus was a prominent representative.⁵⁷ Whether bathing in the old-fashioned suites had a specific ritual or therapeutic connotation and function cannot be determined; in the Late Hellenistic period, at least, round sweat baths were a luxury feature used for pleasure, relaxation, and socializing, and not obviously conceived for religious-curative purposes.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggests that the authorities of the sanctuaries at Epidauros were concerned with providing bathing facilities from at least the fourth century BCE onwards, the period of major extension and monumentalization. The nature and function of these baths is not specified in the inscriptions. While ancient terminology of baths is not entirely consistent, *loutra* and *balaneia* did not just serve for ritual purifying ablutions, but provided cleansing and, in the Hellenistic period, relaxing bathing forms. Assessment of securely identified baths from this period, notably the Greek Bath, is also challenging: conveniently located next to a large banquet building and the *katagogeion*, and remarkably monumental, this complex obviously provided a cold water bathing program that was rather ascetic and substandard in comparison to equivalents in other sanctuaries. The reasons for this “reticence” – lack of resources or a specific function for use by athletes or for ritual-curative purposes – currently cannot be determined.

Both sanctuaries at Epidauros did not visibly profit from or participate in the major development of bathing culture and standards that occurred in Greece in the second century BCE.⁵⁹ Indeed, no major changes took place before the second century CE, suggesting that baths constituted a luxury and not a dire necessity central to the cultic life.⁶⁰ The Epidaurean sanctuaries shared the new bathing luxury with several other panhellenic Greek sanctuaries.⁶¹ Thus, the three independent Roman baths also show significant similarities in size, design, bathing program, and location with baths of other sanctuaries. The first bathing facilities to include heated bathing forms in Epidauros, these independent baths may have been closely linked, spatially and

57 Melfi 2007, 146 argues that the Epidaurean sanctuary was remodeled in the second century CE after the famous Asklepieion at Pergamon, which Antoninus also knew and promoted. Note, however, that the core sanctuary in Pergamon did not include any heated bathing facility, nor round sweat room, let alone an independent modern bath. A relatively small thermal facility was built only in the Late Imperial period behind the *via tecta* that led to the sanctuary; Radt 1999, 145, 221 fig. 168 no. 31.

58 Trümper 2008, 258–275; in preparation, chap. V.

59 Trümper 2009, 2013a and 2014a.

60 When exactly in the Roman Imperial period the Greek Bath was remodeled is unknown.

61 Philipp 1998; Yegül 1993, 2014; Reinhard 2005, 14–18. Cf. the sanctuaries in Olympia, Delphi, Eleusis, and Isthmia. Only the latter’s bath significantly stands out in size with a surface area of about 2000 m².

functionally, to complexes with some residential function, serving the convenience of pilgrims. This is common practice in extraurban sanctuaries, from at least the Hellenistic period onwards, best visible in the case of Olympia.⁶²

While the inclusion of bathing facilities in buildings with residential function (“houses for cult personnel”) also has a long tradition in Greek sanctuaries,⁶³ the three suites in buildings K and Φ and the Skana still are unique in their retrospective bathing standard. Pausanias reports that the priest of Athena Kranaia in Elateia would have stayed in the sanctuary and bathed in tubs “after the ancient manner.”⁶⁴ This may testify to specific bathing traditions for priests, but the archaeological remains have not yet been systematically investigated for conclusive evidence of this phenomenon.

In sum, the nature and development of bathing culture at Epidauros is hardly groundbreaking. At times, most notably in the Late Hellenistic period, it even seems backward in comparison with that of other sanctuaries of Asklepios, as well as of other gods. This confirms the picture gained from textual sources, especially the *iamata*, that bathing and any specific use of water were not commonly part of the healing process. Even if Apellas’ cure included several instructions regarding washing and bathing, these therapies do not seem to have required any specific installations or water and most likely could be performed in any (modern) bath. Thus, the development of medical cures and therapies followed that of bathing culture, and did not visibly promote innovation in bathing or the spread of baths in sanctuaries of Asklepios.⁶⁵

Finally, “taking the waters” in clearly identified spas commonly stipulates internal and external use of particularly beneficial water (mineral or hot springs). A specific quality of the water sources at Epidauros has not been securely proven so far. One may argue that the “sacred” nature of water substituted for scientifically confirmed benefits, the more so because even rainwater provided by the god and collected in cisterns obviously qualified as “sacred.”⁶⁶ Thus, in theory, any water installation at Epidauros could have provided drinking cures and hydrotherapies with cold “sacred” water. Such a use, however, cannot be derived from the archaeological evidence alone and, again, the textual sources are conspicuously quiet as to therapeutic/curative usage of water. There is currently little evidence, therefore, that the sanctuaries of Epidauros ever specifically became a place for “taking the waters.”

62 Trümper 2013b, 59 fig. 17: Olympia boasts eight baths dated to the Roman period.

63 Cf. the bathing facility in a complex identified as priests’ house in the Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina, dated to the third century BCE; Furtwängler 1906, 92–99.

64 Pausanias 10.34.8: καὶ λουτρὰ αἱ ἀσάμινθοι κατὰ τρόπον εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀρχαῖον.

65 Similarly, Flemming 2013, for the relationship between medicine and bathing in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

66 Pausanias 2.27.7.

Olga Palagia

The Three Graces at the Panathenaia*

In 1981, a rescue excavation near the temple of Hephaistos in Athens brought to light fragments of two Panathenaic amphoras of the Hellenistic period with representations of the three Graces (figs. 1–2).¹ The Graces are shown as a threesome, sporting a *lampadion* hairstyle, wearing high-girt peploi, and holding hands while lifting the hems of their dresses as if they are performing a slow dance. Their high waists and elongated proportions can be dated to the last quarter of the second century BCE, by comparison with the figures on the frieze of the temple of Hekate at Lagina in the Istanbul Museum.² The three Graces performing a slow dance in late Hellenistic Athenian art can also be found in a number of Hekataia, as for example, on two from the Athenian Agora, where the Graces, one of them in archaistic form, dance around a herm of Hekate.³ A similar group of dancing maidens with *lampadion* hairstyle, who may be Graces or nymphs, appear on a votive relief of the second century BCE from the south slope of the Acropolis, involving Apollo, Hermes, and a group of votaries.⁴

Panathenaic prize amphoras held olive oil awarded to victors in the equestrian and gymnastic events during the festival of the Great Panathenaia, which celebrated Athena's birthday every four years. They were decorated with a striding Athena on side A and the contest in question on side B. Athena was initially flanked by columns carrying cocks. In the early fourth century, the cocks were replaced with depictions of well-known Athenian statues. These are thought to have been chosen by the eponymous archon of Athens, whose name appeared on Panathenaic amphoras, probably from 397/6 to 312/1 BCE. The official's name served as a means of controlling the amount of oil collected by each archon and also functioned as a sell-by date.⁵ The abandonment of the archon's name after 312/1 is attributed to the reforms carried out

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1 Athens, Third Ephoreia 9659 (fig. 1) and 9661a (fig. 2). Tsouklidou 2001, 33–40 pl. 13.1 and 5; Tiverios 2009a, 60 fig. 31.

2 Cf. Baumeister 2007, pls. 11, 15, 20.

3 Athenian Agora S 862 and 1145. Harrison 1965, nos. 152–153 pl. 38; LIMC III (1986) 198 no. 28 pl. 154, s.v. Charis/Charites (E. B. Harrison)

4 Athens, Acropolis Museum, ex National Archaeological Museum 1966. Tsouklidou 2001, 36 with n. 28; Kaltsas 2002, no. 645. For Hermes' presence on the Acropolis, see Kokkinou in this volume.

5 On a tentative date of the inception of the archon's name on Panathenaics, see Palagia 2014. For 312/1 as the last date of the appearance of the archon's name, see Bentz 1998, 180; Shear 2003, 97.

by Demetrios of Phaleron.⁶ In the fourth century the statues on columns served as archons' emblems, each being invested with a particular significance that now eludes us.⁷ The front sides of amphoras produced in the year of archon Charikleides (363/2 BCE), for example, show Athena flanked by acanthus columns, carrying statues of Nike holding a torch in one hand and a ribbon in the other. The statues are placed as high as possible, reaching almost to Athena's face. The archon's name is written vertically alongside the column on the right, while the inscription TON AΘENEΘEN AΘAON (of the prizes from Athens) is written alongside the column on the left. Wrestlers are represented on the other side.⁸ So far as we know, Panathenaic amphoras of the same archon-year carried identical designs on side A.

Few examples of Panathenaics from the Hellenistic period have come down to us. Judging by the scanty remains, their iconography no longer follows the rules established in the fourth century.⁹ In the middle years of the third century an official's name reappears, indicating who was in charge of collecting the olive oil and incidentally serving as a means of dating the harvest year. The treasurer of the military fund (*tamias ton stratiotikon*) seems to have been in charge of the harvest at first, until the director of games (*agonothetes*) took over around the middle of second century.¹⁰ The placement of the official's name varies though it is usually on side A: it can be written vertically within the borders of the column shaft or inside the base of the statue standing on the column. In the case of King Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (163–130 BCE), when he served as *agonothetes*, his name was written vertically alongside the column. Statues placed on columns need not flank Athena but may be found on the backside with the competing athletes.¹¹ It is unclear whether statues on columns represent the officials' emblem: we find the same statue represented on two Panathenaics with different treasurers' names that may be decades apart but the treasurers were members of the same family, possibly father and son (Eurykleides I and Mikion III), in which case the statue may have had a particular significance and could have been recognised as the family insignia.¹²

⁶ Shear 2001, 399.

⁷ On statues on Panathenaic prize amphoras, see Eschbach 1986. On their significance, see Eschbach 1986, 166–169; Tiverios 2007, 8 and 2009a.

⁸ Eschbach 1986, 42–54 pls. 11.3–4, 12–13, 14.1–2.

⁹ For Panathenaic prize amphoras from the third to the first century BCE, see Tsouklidou 2001, 2007, and 2008; Barringer 2003; Williams 2007.

¹⁰ Shear 2001, 399–400; Barringer 2003, 246; Williams 2007, 150–152.

¹¹ Treasurer's name written inside column shaft: Athenian Agora P 8522, Barringer 2003, fig. 6. Treasurer's name written inside statue base: Athenian Agora P 109, Barringer 2003, fig. 2. *Agonothetes*' name written alongside column (King Ariarathes V): Athens, National Archaeological Museum A 17934, Mitsos 1948–1949; Tsouklidou 2001, 39 pl. 17, 4. Statues on columns represented on backside with athletes: See here fig. 2 illustrated below.

¹² Statue of Dionysos (?) on column shown on Panathenaic amphora of treasurer Eurykleides (I): Athens, National Archaeological Museum Acr. 1113a, Barringer 2003, fig. 1. Eurykleides (I) was treas-

The amphora fragments with the Graces come late in the series and are not canonical. The Graces on the first fragment (fig. 1) are not placed on a column extending to the full height of the decorated panel but appear to stand on a low pedestal below Athena's shield. A statue of an archaistic Tyche on a tall column, accompanied by the inscription "of the prizes from Athens" written vertically alongside her, is placed on the backside of the amphora next to a group of runners. On the second fragment (fig. 2) we see the same Graces standing on a low pedestal on side A, while the same figure of Tyche stands on a tall column again on side B. This Tyche appears on side B on a third amphora fragment, without lettering, flanking a horse race.¹³ The *agonothetes*' name on the amphora illustrated on fig. 2 is written in the genitive to Athena's right; only the letters]ΩΣ survive. Despoina Tsouklidou has suggested that the *agonothetes* may have been a Hellenistic king ([ΒΑΣΙΛΕ]ΩΣ), but this is by no means certain.¹⁴

The Graces on both amphoras (figs. 1–2) are identical, presumably because they reflect a well-known Athenian statuary group. This group also appears on new style Athenian tetradrachms issued in 122/1 BCE by the mint magistrates Eurykleides and Ariarathes.¹⁵ The mint magistrate Ariarathes cannot be the king of Cappadocia Ariarathes V, who died in 130, but is very likely Ariarathes of Syllaetatos.¹⁶ The other mint magistrate, Eurykleides (V), was a priest of Demos and the Graces.¹⁷ He was a descendant of Eurykleides (I) of Kephisia who served as treasurer of the military fund in 244/3 and founded the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios along the Panathenaic Way soon after the departure of the Macedonian garrison from Athens in 229 BCE.¹⁸ The new cult was a thank offering for the city's newly found independence. Eurykleides (I) served as its first priest and the priesthood probably became hereditary in his family. His name as priest of Demos and the Graces appears on one of the seats of the theatre of Dionysos.¹⁹ The sanctuary of Demos and the Graces never acquired a temple but an altar dedicated to Aphrodite, leader of the Demos, and the Graces was set up there by the Council of 194/3 BCE in the priesthood of Mikion (III), son of Eurykleides (I).²⁰ The appearance of the Graces

urer of the military fund in 244/3: Habicht 1982, 121. The same statue appears on a column on a Panathenaic amphora bearing the name of treasurer Mikion (III), probably Eurykleides' (I) son: Athenian Agora P 109, Barringer 2003, fig. 2. On Mikion (III) as treasurer, see Habicht 1982, 123. On the family of Eurykleides and Mikion in general, see Habicht 1982, 179–185.

13 Athens, Third Ephoreia 10317: Tsouklidou 2001, 38–39 pl. 16.4.

14 Athens, Third Ephoreia 9662: Tsouklidou 2001, 40 pl. 13.4.

15 On the tetradrachm, see LIMC III (1986) 197 no. 26 pl. 153, s.v. Charis/Charites (E. B. Harrison); Monaco 2001, 135–137 fig. 15; Tsouklidou 2001, 36 pl. 15.1 with further references.

16 Habicht 1991, 8; Perrin-Seminadayer 2007, 573 n. 4.

17 Habicht 1991, 8 and 2006, 163.

18 Habicht 1982, 179–180, 1999, 180–181, and 2006, 159–160.

19 IG II² 5029a; Maass 1972, 109–113 pl. 8.

20 On the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces, see Wycherley 1957, 59–61; LIMC III (1986) 192, s.v. Charis/Charites (E. B. Harrison); Mikalson 1998, 168–207; Habicht 1999, 180–181; Monaco 2001. On the



Fig. 1: Fragment of Panathenaic amphora with Athena and the three Graces on side A. Athens, Third Ephoreia 9659. Photo courtesy of Despoina Tsouklidou.

on the coin of 122/1 minted by Eurykleides (V) emphasizes his connection to the Graces' sanctuary on Kolonos Agoraios.²¹

The Graces were patron goddesses, among other things, of the Athenian military.²² Athenian conscripts, the ephebes, swore an annual oath to a number of deities

altar in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1495, *IG II²* 2798, see Monaco 2001, 114–117 fig. 7. For its date, see Mikalson 1998, 176. On Mikion (III), see Habicht 1982, 165–166.

²¹ Habicht 1999, 180 and 2006, 163.

²² Habicht 1999, 181.

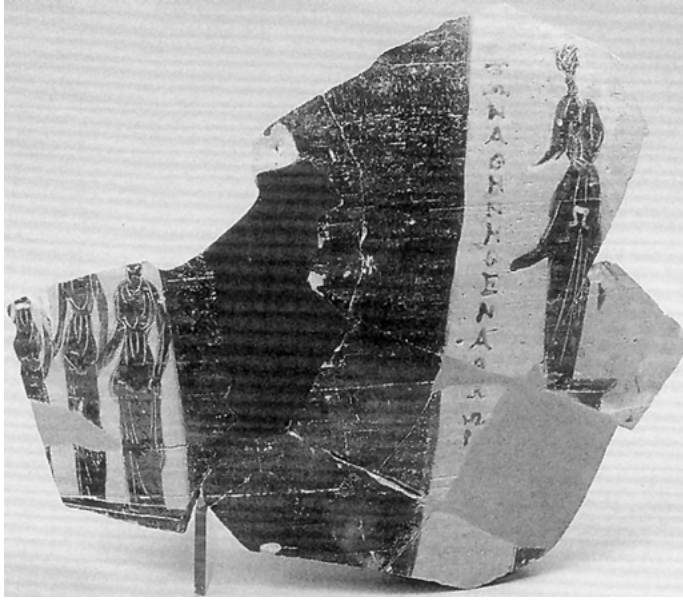


Fig. 2: Fragment of Panathenaic amphora with the Graces on side A, an archaistic Tyche on side B. Athens, Third Ephoreia 9661a. Photo courtesy of Despoina Tsouklidou.

including the Graces, who are named Thalo, Auxo, and Hegemone in a fourth-century version of the oath preserved on a votive stele from the sanctuary of Ares at Acharnai.²³ The priest of Demos and the Graces customarily attended the annual oath ceremony and the inaugural sacrifices offered by the ephebes at the Prytaneion.²⁴

Despoina Tsouklidou compared the Graces on the Panathenaics (figs. 1–2) to the statuary group on the silver tetradrachm of 122/1 and postulated that the Graces on the coin reflect the cult group of the Graces in the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces.²⁵ She went on to attribute the two amphoras with the Graces to the Panathenaic games of 122/1. Still, all we know about the Panathenaia of 122/1 is the fact that the ephebes sacrificed a cow to Athena Nike for the occasion.²⁶ There is no need, therefore, to date the two Panathenaics with the Graces (figs. 1–2) to 122/1, especially since there is no evidence that the Graces on the amphoras are an official's emblem. Their presence

²³ Athens, École Française d'Athènes I 7: Rhodes/Osborne 2003, no. 88 pl. 8 with further references.

²⁴ SEG 15, 104.5–8; Mikalson 1998, 173.

²⁵ That the Hellenistic statuary group represented on the silver tetradrachm was inspired by a now lost group of the Graces in the sanctuary of Demos and the Graces was also suggested by Monaco 2001, 137–138.

²⁶ IG II² 1006.14–15; Shear 2001, 207, 225–226.

may imply instead that the Graces had a significant role to play in the Panathenaia. Perhaps we could look to Athena Nike for a connection.

Before the cult of the Graces found an additional home on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios, it was already housed in a shrine on the Athenian Acropolis.²⁷ Pausanias (1.22.8; 9.35.3 and 7) tells us that sculpted images of the Graces made by the philosopher Socrates stood at the entrance to the Acropolis, where they were worshiped with a mystery cult. He also informs us (2.30.2) that a statue of the triple Hekate by Alkamenes stood near the temple of Athena Nike. From an inscribed seat in the theater of Dionysos in Athens we learn that Hekate, also known as Artemis Epipyrgidia (on the bastion), shared a priest with the Graces, which indicates that their cults were adjacent, being therefore located on the bastion of Athena Nike.²⁸ The top fragment of a fourth-century relief found on the Acropolis shows the three Graces as half-figures wearing poloi, accompanied by a half-figure of Athena holding a phiale and a pomegranate.²⁹ The pomegranate was an attribute of the cult statue of Athena Nike.³⁰ Half-figures indicate ascent from the ground (*anodos*) and suggest a chthonic nature. The three phialai represented on the background between the figures are unusual, but phialai and other implements could hang from walls as votives. The entire arrangement may be a topographical indication, serving as a backdrop to the main scene on the relief which is now lost. The relief can be explained thanks to a scholion to Aristophanes' *Clouds* (773) telling us that the Graces of Socrates were carved on a wall behind Athena. As Socrates' Graces were cult images, it follows that they had an open-air shrine in the vicinity of the Nike temple. It may well be that the half-figures of the Graces on the relief were inspired by the Graces of Socrates.

If the cult of the Graces can be tentatively located somewhere between the Nike temple and the Mycenaean wall of the Acropolis, which is still preserved behind the south wing of the Propylaia,³¹ what is its connection, if any, with the Panathenaia?

We have visual evidence associating the Graces with the weaving of the peplos that was presented to Athena every four years at the Great Panathenaia. According to the ancient sources, the loom for weaving this garment was ritually set up during the festival of the Chalkeia nine months before the Panathenaia.³² The ceremony involved more than one priestess of Athena, assisted by two little girls, the *arrhephoroi*, who performed certain duties in the service of Athena on the

²⁷ On the Graces on the Acropolis, see Palagia 1990 and 2009, 29–34.

²⁸ *IG II²* 5047 and 5050; Maass 1972, 121–122 pl. 13.

²⁹ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2556: LIMC III (1986) 194 no. 11 pl. 151, s.v. Charis/Charites (E. B. Harrison); Palagia 1990, 350–355 fig. 14 and 2009, 31–32 fig. 6.

³⁰ Harpokration, s.v. Nike Athena; Mark 1993, 93–98.

³¹ Palagia 1990, 353–355 fig. 17.

³² The sources on the Chalkeia are collected in Parker 2005, 464–465.



Fig. 3: Fragment of a votive relief with an *arrhephoros* at the loom and one of the Graces. Athens, Acropolis Museum 2554. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

Acropolis.³³ This information comes to us through some late lexicographers (Suda, s.v. Chalkeia) and implies more than it says. Who were the priestesses involved? And, what is the connection with the Graces?

An answer to the last question may be found on two other fragments of fourth-century reliefs from the Acropolis, which represent the Graces alongside scenes related to the weaving of the peplos. The first fragment shows a little girl, presumably an *arrhephoros*, busy at a loom, accompanied by the Graces represented as half-figures pouring libations (fig. 3).³⁴ A phiale hangs on the wall above the Graces' heads, indicating that the Graces' images were inspired by a prototype carved on a wall from which hang dedications, possibly the Graces of Socrates. The scene at the loom can be compared to an Attic black-figure lekythos at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.³⁵

³³ On the *arrhephoroi* and the weaving of Athena's Panathenaic peplos, see Dillon 2003, 57–60; Palagia 2008, 33–34. The location of the loom is a knotty problem. Premierstein (1912) and Gauer (1984) place it somewhere in the Agora, while Palagia (2008, 34) suggests that it was set up on the Acropolis.

³⁴ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2554: LIMC III (1986) 194 no. 13, s.v. Charis/Charites (E. B. Harrison); Jenkins 1994, fig. 15; Palagia 1990, 31–32 fig. 16 and 2008, 34 fig. 5.

³⁵ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art Fletcher Fund, 1931 (31.11.10): ABV 154.57; Barber 1992, 106, 108 fig. 66a,b; Wagner-Hasel 2002, fig. 3; Picón et al. 2007, no. 73.



Fig. 4: Fragment of a sculptured statue base with an *arrhephoros* carrying a warp peg and one of the Graces. Athens, Acropolis Museum 3306. Photo: Hans R. Goette.

The second relief belongs to a fragmentary statue base from the Acropolis (fig. 4).³⁶ The Graces here attend a girl holding up a warp hanging from a peg. More figures were represented on the left and right but are now lost. The base could have carried a statue of an *arrhephoros* by analogy with a number of Hellenistic and Roman statue bases of *arrhephoroi* dedicated on the Acropolis by their parents and relatives.³⁷ The implication of these reliefs (figs. 3–4) is that the manufacturing of Athena's peplos was placed under the auspices of the Graces, whose association with weaving is also recorded by Homer (*Il.* 5.338) and Bacchylides (5.9; 19.6–11).³⁸

The fragmentary nature of the relief of the three Graces with Athena³⁹ raises the question of the occasion for the dedication. Three other fragments of reliefs from the Acropolis involving the Graces may provide the answer. On the first fragment we see the tops of the Graces' heads distinguished by their poloi, accompanied by the tip of

³⁶ Athens, Acropolis Museum 3306: Palagia 2008, 34 fig. 6 and 2009, 31–32 fig. 7.

³⁷ Donnay 1997, 204–205; Dillon 2002, 58 with n. 94; Schmidt 2010.

³⁸ On Graces and weaving: Wagner-Hasel 2002.

³⁹ See n. 29 above.

Nike's wing.⁴⁰ The second fragment shows one of the Graces hovering above Nike's wing.⁴¹ The implication is again that the half-figures of the Graces serve as a backdrop to the main scene, which can be no other than a victor's coronation by Nike. Such coronation scenes are familiar from Attic red-figure vase paintings of the fifth century celebrating Panathenaic victories, as, for example, on a bell krater in London, potted by Nikias, where Nike crowns the eponymous hero of the victorious Antiochis tribe after the Panathenaic torch race, and an Attic red-figure amphora from the Athenian Agora where the victor of a chariot race receives a prize amphora from Nike.⁴² A votive relief of the fourth century from Rhamnous shows Nike crowning a victorious team after a torch race in the presence of Nemesis and Themis.⁴³ Finally, a fragmentary document relief of the year of the archon Sokratides (374/3 BCE) showing one of the Graces was issued in a Panathenaic year and may be associated with the Panathenaia in connection with the cult of the Graces.⁴⁴

At the Panathenaia, Athena was honored in her capacity as Polias, patroness of the city (polis); the priestess of Athena Polias, therefore, was in charge of the proceedings. A sacrifice of a hundred cows was offered to the altar of Athena Polias in front of the Erechtheion on the final day of the Panathenaic festival. According to an Athenian decree of the 330s reorganizing the finances of the Little Panathenaia, the finest cow out of the hecatomb, was to be offered to Athena Nike. A sacrifice to Athena Hygieia was also accounted for.⁴⁵ We know from the third-century historian Philochoros that for every calf sacrificed to Athena, a sheep had to be sacrificed to Pandora,⁴⁶ and this very likely included the occasion of the Panathenaia.⁴⁷ We have, therefore, the involvement of other cults in the Panathenaia besides that of Athena Polias. Athena Ergane, frequently evoked by modern scholarship as patroness of weaving and women's handicraft,⁴⁸ very possibly had no independent cult, for Ergane was just another epithet of Athena Polias, as is made clear by a fourth-century dedication

⁴⁰ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2555; LIMC III (1986) 194 no. 12, s.v. Charis/Charites (E. B. Harrison); Palagia 1990, 351 fig. 15.

⁴¹ Athens, Acropolis Museum 2644; Walter 1923, 130–131 no. 275a.

⁴² Attic red-figure bell krater, London, British Museum 98.7–16.6; ARV² 1333.1; Kephaliidou 1996, 219 no. L4 pl. 56; Bentz 2007, 76–77. Attic red-figure amphora, Athenian Agora P 9486; ARV² 1040.18; Kephaliidou 1996, 233 no. I 21 pl. 67.

⁴³ London, British Museum GR 1953.5–30.1 + Rhamnous 530; Palagia/Lewis 1989, 340–344 pls. 48c and 49; Palagia 2000a, 404 fig. 3.

⁴⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 157; Palagia 2009, 32 fig. 8.

⁴⁵ *IG II²* 334+SEG 18.13; Rhodes/Osborne 2003, no. 81.

⁴⁶ Philochoros FGrH 328 F 10; Palagia 2000b, 62.

⁴⁷ Cf. Shear 2001, 207.

⁴⁸ Cf. Parker 2005, 464–465.

addressed to Athena Polias Ergane.⁴⁹ Athena Nike, in contrast, not only had an established sanctuary on the Nike bastion, she also received dedications on the occasion of the Panathenaia at least in the third century BCE, if not earlier.⁵⁰ If more than one priestess of Athena was involved in the setting up of the loom, then the priestess of Athena Nike is as good a candidate as any, given also her association with the Graces on the Acropolis.

Even though we have no text connecting the Graces with the Panathenaia, I believe that the testimony of Athenian art is eloquent enough. Their appearance on fourth-century Attic votive reliefs associated with the Panathenaia (figs. 3–4) and on Hellenistic Panathenaic prize amphoras (figs. 1–2) indicates involvement in the festival proceedings. They may well have taken the weaving of the peplos under their wing and appear to have been celebrated alongside the Panathenaic Athena as symbols of the Panathenaia, Athena's greatest festival.

49 *IG II²* 4318; Mikalson 1998, 110 n. 15; Müller 2010, 163–167. Athena Ergane received dedications on the Acropolis in the fourth century but there is no indication of a shrine. The evidence on Ergane is collected in Müller 2010, 201–206.

50 *IG II²* 677 ll.4–6; Shear 2001, 206–207.

Lina Kokkinou

Hermes and the Athenian Acropolis: Hermes Enagonios (?) on a Red-figure Miniature Amphora of Panathenaic Shape by the Bulas Group*

Both sides of a Panathenaic-shaped miniature amphora by the Bulas Group in Baltimore of ca. 400 BCE¹ feature securely identified divine figures (figs. 1–2). On side A, Poseidon and Athena face one another as in peaceful dialogue (fig. 1). On the left, Poseidon, nude but for his himation, holds a trident in his right hand. He rests his left foot on a rock and his left arm on his raised leg. On the right, stands a helmeted Athena, carrying a spear and a shield with a gorgoneion and a star as an emblem. On side B, Hermes, recognized by his kerykeion in his right hand, faces left (fig. 2). He wears a petasos and a mantle and rests his left arm on a rectangular object on a base that resembles a pillar or a stele.² A thick black line defining the rear part of his face may be suggestive of a mask, according to some scholars, although the design is not particularly good to be certain.³ Fruit-bearing trees separate the scenes on each side. Their foliage covers a lot of the empty space around Hermes on the reverse, perhaps an artist's attempt to associate the trees mainly with this god rather than the divinities

* I owe my knowledge in iconography and religion to my mentor, Professor Alan Shapiro. With this contribution I would like to show my gratitude for all his helpful comments as my advisor during the completion of my dissertation and for all his help until today in my professional development. I owe many thanks to the editors of this volume, Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou, for their valuable comments and suggestions on this text. I wish also to thank Ruth Bowler at the Walters Art Museum, and Andreas Dobler at the Museum Schloss Fasanerie, who kindly provided me with the photographs used here and the permission to publish them.

1 Walters Art Museum, no. 48.59, height 8.8 cm, greatest dimension 4.6 cm. ABV 662; CVA Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 1, 1–2 fig. 1.1 pl. 1.1–4; Neils 1992, 45, 189 no. 66; LIMC VI (1994) 472 no. 235 pl. 374, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon); Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 202 no. 93; Shear 2001, 434; Tiverios 2005, 316 n. 118 fig. 13; Marx 2011, 35–37. I was unable to consult the article by Hill, Dorothy Kent (1953), “Playing Panathenaia,” *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 5, 1–2. I am informed about her interpretation of the vase as a children's toy through the reference by Jenifer Neils in Neils 1992, 189 cat. no. 66. For the miniature Panathenaic-shaped amphoras and their date, see Bulas 1932; Beazley 1940–45, 10–21; ABV 661–663; Para 316–317; Add² 147; Gorbunova 1983; CVA Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 1, 1; Neils 1992, 44–45, 189 no. 66; Bentz 2001b, 196–198 and 2001c, 111; Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 202 nos. 93–94; Shear 2001, 433–435; Tiverios 2007, 18.

2 Stele in CVA Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 1, 1. Pillar in Neils 1992, 189 no. 66.

3 CVA Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 1, 1–2. According to Erika Simon, the gods on the obverse may also be wearing masks: LIMC VI (1994) 472 no. 235, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon).



Fig. 1: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.59. Attic red-figure miniature amphora of Panathenaic shape, side A. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.59. Attic red-figure miniature amphora of Panathenaic shape, side B. Photo: Museum.

on the obverse. Although their leaves are similar to both olive tree and myrtle leaves, their thick trunks make it certain that they are olive trees.⁴

The shape of this amphora beyond doubt imitates, in smaller scale, the standard Panathenaic amphoras given as prizes, full of sacred olive oil, to the victors of the gymnastic and equestrian contests in the Great Panathenaia.⁵ The majority of the

⁴ For the depiction of myrtle in Greek art, see Kunze-Götte 2006.

⁵ Several types of Attic vases were influenced by the shape, technique, or imagery of Panathenaic prize vases from around the mid-sixth century BCE onwards. For these vases and their varied uses, see selectively Neils 1992, 42–46; Bentz, 2001a, 177–195, 2001b, 196–198, and 2001c, 111–117; Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 199–202; Tiverios 2007, 18; Valavanis 2009, 297–305; Shear 2001, 433–435, 438–440, 444–447, 450–451.

Bulas group amphoriskoi allude to the prize vases by means of decoration and technique. Normally, they are black-figure and they feature Athena or rarely an athlete or athletes on the obverse, and either an athlete or athletes (usually seated) or a torch racer on the reverse.⁶ These vases appear around the end of the fifth, and continue to be manufactured in the first half of the fourth century BCE.⁷ They were possibly containers of scented oil, perhaps the *Panathenaicum* mentioned by Pliny the Elder and Athenaios, sold as a memento of the Panathenaic festival.⁸

The vase under study differs from the majority of the Bulas Group amphoras both in technique⁹ and in decoration. Its iconography, however, allows an association with the Athenian Acropolis, since Athena's sanctuary is reflected in the vase's shape, the divinities depicted, and the way they are represented.

Athena and Poseidon on the front side (fig. 1) were major divinities on the Acropolis in the fifth century BCE, a role they held since much earlier periods.¹⁰ During the time of our vase's manufacture, Athena as Polias and Poseidon were worshiped in the same temple, the so-called Erechtheion, consecrated in 406/5 BCE.¹¹ They also featured prominently together on the western pediment of the Parthenon depicting their contest over the possession of the Attic land.¹² More importantly, their images on the amphoriskos have been associated with an existing statue group erected in Athena's sanctuary. Poseidon's stance is also known from a contemporary lekanis fragment from the Acropolis and from later works of art. Most likely, all of these works allude to a common model of monumental character, perhaps the bronze statue group of Athena and Poseidon with their gifts to the Athenians, i.e., the olive tree and the salt water, which was erected on the Acropolis probably sometime in the later part of the fifth century BCE.¹³

⁶ See the lists in Beazley 1940–45, 10–11; ABV 661–662; Para 316–317; and most recently Bentz 2001b, 196–198. Cf. Shear 2001, 433–435.

⁷ See above n. 1.

⁸ Beazley 1940–45, 10; Neils 1992, 44–45; Bentz 1998, 21; Shear 2001, 432–435; Tiverios 2007, 18. Julia Shear has suggested that other vessels were also used as containers of this scented oil: Shear 2001, 435–438, 449.

⁹ The only other red-figure amphoriskos belonging to the Bulas Group depicts two women on the obverse and a woman with Eros on the reverse: Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 202 no. 94. For red-figure amphoras of Panathenaic shape, see Valavanis 1991, 301–301 pl. 149–151; Shapiro 2001, 119–124; Oakley 2001, 137–143; Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 199–202; Shear 2001, 444–447, 450–451.

¹⁰ For the obvious connection of Athena with the Acropolis, see selectively Hurwit 1999, 12–34; Pala 2012, 91–135. For the early relationship of Poseidon with the Acropolis and his presence on vases of Panathenaic shape and imagery, see Shapiro 1989, 104–105; Tiverios 2005, 302–303 n. 30; Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, 128–131; Kokkinou 2011, 45–47, 167–169, 237–266; Marx 2011; cf. Binder 1984, 21–22; Jeffery 1988, 126.

¹¹ For the Erechtheion, see Hurwit 1999, 200–209.

¹² Palagia 2005a, 232 fig. 80.

¹³ Ghedini 1983, 12–36; LIMC VI (1994) 473 no. 236, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon); Delivorrias 2005, 157–168; Tiverios 2005, 316 n. 117 and 2009b, 169 n. 26.

Hermes, the sole protagonist on the reverse (fig. 2), also has a strong and very early relationship with the Acropolis, as archaeological and literary evidence indicates.¹⁴ Interestingly, our vase is not the sole example of Hermes on vases of Panathenaic shape. The preserved black- and red-figure examples of this shape suggest that he played an important role on the decoration of this type of pottery. Some, at least, of these examples may also reflect Hermes' early presence on the Acropolis and perhaps his early association with the Panathenaic festival.¹⁵ The most distinguished among the black-figure examples has been attributed to the Swing Painter and features the god beside Panathenaic Athena between the characteristic columns with roosters.¹⁶ Two Panathenaic-shaped amphoras associated with the workshop of the same painter depict Hermes and Athena with mortals (?) on the obverse and subject matters related to competitions on the reverse.¹⁷ The Nikoxenos Painter placed Hermes alone beside an altar between columns with cocks on both sides of a Panathenaic-shaped amphora now in Zurich,¹⁸ and the Berlin and the Syleus Painters juxtaposed Athena and Hermes on the two sides of two vases of the same shape.¹⁹

Corroborating evidence reveals an old and important presence of this god on the Acropolis, despite the fact that he did not own a temple. Pausanias describes a wooden xoanon of Hermes covered with myrtle branches in the Erechtheion. The old form of the statue and its connection to Kekrops are suggestive of its anti-

14 For the cult and iconography of Hermes in general, see selectively Lullies 1931; Brown 1947; Wrede 1986; Harrison 1965, 108–176; Zanker 1965; Willers 1967; Malagardis 1985; Kyle 1987, 62–64, 72, 80; Shapiro 1989, 125–132; Miquel 1992; Durand 1992; Furley 1996, 13–17; Parker 1996, 80–83; Rückert 1998; Lembesi 1985, esp. 163–187; LIMC V (1990) 285–387, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); Krämer 2001; Palagia 2009, 26–33; Valavanis 2009, 301; Karoglou 2010, 11–13; Gratziou 2010; Alexandridou 2011a, 61–62 and 2011b, 15–26; Versnel 2011, 309–377; Thomsen 2011, 272–274.

15 The relationship of the iconography of these vases to the Panathenaic festival is not always clear. However, many of them feature Panathenaic subject matters: see Shapiro 2001, esp. 123–124 and above n. 5. For Hermes on amphoras of Panathenaic shape, see Zanker 1965, 65–70; Shapiro 1989, 32–33, 35 n. 139; Valavanis 2009, 298, 301.

16 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.117: Böhr 1982, 18, 91 pls. 86–87; Shapiro 1989, pl. 14.

17 Once Basel Market: Böhr 1982, 18, 92 pl. 89; Shapiro 1989, 33 pl. 12b; Valavanis 2009, 298, 301 fig. 4. London, British Museum B144: Böhr 1982, 110 pl. 170; Shapiro 1989, 32 pl. 12a; Valavanis 2009, 298, 300–301 fig. 5.

18 Private Collection: Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 200 no. 33.

19 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17907 (Berlin Painter) and Würzburg, University, Martin von Wagner Museum L501 (Syleus Painter): Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 199–200 nos. 8 and 42. Two other red-figure Panathenaics that feature Hermes possibly reflect the Panathenaic festival: one by the Nausica Painter with Apollo *kitharoidos* mounting the *bema* in the presence of Athena on side A and Hermes with Poseidon on side B (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 96.719; Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 202 no. 75) and another by the Kleophon Painter depicting a funerary scene with Hermes (Quebec, Laval University D25; Neils/Oakley/Shapiro 2001, 202 no. 77; Oakley 2001). The rest of the Panathenaic-shaped amphoras with Hermes are black figure and depict the god attending Herakles' deeds or performances alongside Athena (ABV 307.61, 369.121; Para 130.5bis), playing music with Herakles (ABV 382.1), or in wedding scenes (Para 56.58bis).

quity.²⁰ A cult of Hermes in the area of the entrance to the sanctuary most probably existed earlier than the classical one of Hermes Propylaios.²¹ One of the early Attic herms, either votive or cultic, probably stood somewhere in the sanctuary.²² In subsequent years, more herms were added.²³ Possibly related to Hermes' early presence on the Acropolis are the votive pinakes discovered on the Acropolis and its slopes, on which Hermes holds the most significant position, following Athena and Herakles, since he appears on eleven examples.²⁴ On one of these examples, his relationship to the main deity on the Acropolis is emphasized, as he is depicted approaching the temple in which Athena is represented.²⁵

In the classical period and the time of our vase's construction, Hermes featured on the Parthenon²⁶ and possibly also on the temple of Athena Nike.²⁷ On the new Mnesikleian Propylaia, the new statue by Alkamenes in the shape of a herm served the cult of

20 Pausanias 1.27.1; Burkert 1966, 15–16; Shapiro 1989, 105, 127; LIMC V (1990) 295 no. 8a, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); Furley 1996, 15; Rückert 1998, 78–79, 87; Palagia 2009, 26. For the myrtle in the Panathenaia and in general, see here n. 4; Neer 2002, 18–19. For the form of this statue and a summary of previous scholarship, see Rückert 1998, 78–79 who does not necessarily associate it with a herm; *contra*: Palagia 2009, 26. For Hermes and the Kekropidai in myth, see LIMC I (1981) 284, s.v. Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos (U. Kron); Shapiro 1995a, 41 and 2008, 169–170; Sourvinou-Inwood 2008, 128–131 n. 5; Alexandridou 2011a, 63 and 2011b, 21–22 fig. 13.

21 Shapiro 1989, 126–127; Harrison 1965, 122; Willers 1967, esp. 86–87; Rückert 1998, 81–86. Most probably, the dedication the Keryx Oinobios made around 500 BCE was addressed to Hermes Propylaios, since it was discovered in the area of the later Propylaia (Raubitschek 1949, 316–318 n. 295; Willers 1967, 87 n. 123; Rückert 1998, 68, 71, 81).

22 Athens, Acropolis Museum 642; Shapiro 1989, 126–127; LIMC V (1990) 293–294 no. 9, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); Rückert 1998, 81; Krämer 2001, 5. For an even earlier herm from Sounion, see Rückert 1998, 55–57, 67.

23 Harrison 1965, 122 n. 113; Rückert 1998, 81. For Hermes' presence on architectural decoration on the Acropolis, see Athens, Acropolis Museum 9 and 622; Brouskari 1974, 34, 60, 100–101 pls. 27, 107, 194; LIMC V (1990) 316, 333 nos. 328, 565, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); Valavanis 2013, 43.

24 Karoglou 2010, 25; Pala 2012, 237, 240. For the pinakes on the Acropolis, see Karoglou 2010; Pala 2012, 72–79, 336–340. On the basis of the preserved pieces of evidence, Hermes features on 80 vases from the sanctuary, a significant number of depictions after the 334 of Athena and the 134 of Herakles: Pala 2012, 237, 240–241. We should not, however, take for granted the association of artifacts discovered in the so-called “Perserschutt” on the Acropolis with cultic activity in this sanctuary, since recent opinions challenge the provenance from the Acropolis of some of the material in the associated deposits. For this matter, see Hurwit 1989, 62–63; Stewart 2008, esp. 381–407; Karoglou 2010, 16–17. Significant is also the presence of Hermes on votive vases from the Nymph sanctuary: Alexandridou 2011b, 15–22.

25 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2547, ca. 520 BCE: Zanker 1965, 65; Shapiro 1989, 32 pl. 11d; LIMC V (1990) 355 no. 821, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); Karoglou 2010, 25, 82 cat. no. 59 fig. 46.

26 Palagia 2005a, 232, 249 fig. 80; Gratziou 2010, 378–379.

27 Palagia 2005b, 188.

Hermes Propylaios from ca. 430 BCE.²⁸ Kekrops' xoanon stood now presumably in the Erechtheion. Perhaps another statue of young Hermes with kerykeion and turtle, a reference to his rivalry with Apollo, was erected sometime in the second half of the fifth century BCE.²⁹

All divinities on our vase had cults on the Acropolis, the deities on the obverse may well have been inspired by a statue group once set on the Sacred Rock, and the vase's shape and the presence of the olive trees both allude to the Panathenaia. This suggests that Hermes, on the reverse, should be associated with the Acropolis, too. His image may also reflect a large-scale work in the same sanctuary. However, no known depiction of Hermes displayed on the Acropolis at the end of the fifth century BCE presents a similar pose.³⁰ Therefore, either this is a generic depiction of Hermes as an Acropolis divinity, or it reflects an unknown work.³¹

The rectangular object on which Hermes rests his arm may facilitate a better understanding of the god's role on this vase. Although the careless design allows no certainty, I believe we should recognize it as a short column inspired by the starting, turning, or finish post in racecourses, namely, the *kampter*. Similar posts appear frequently in vase painting, mainly in connection with sport scenes, and function as symbols of the athletic activities depicted or as topographic indicators.³² Moreover, in the second half of the fifth century several vases feature athletes leaning on posts, as Hermes on our vase.³³ On the reverse of some fourth-century BCE Panathenaic prize amphoras, women associated with the *agon*, rest in similar poses on short columns, presumably inspired by turning posts.³⁴ As far as I know, Hermes in human

²⁸ Harrison 1965, 122–124; Willers 1967; Shapiro 1989, 127; Palagia 2009, 26, 29, 32–33; Gratziou 2010, 381–382. For Hermes Amyetos and his identification with Hermes Propylaios, see Willers 1967, 87 n. 123; Furley 1996, 15; Rückert 1998, 84–86.

²⁹ Athens, Acropolis Museum 1346: Despinis 2005, 71–74; Gratziou 2010, 382–383.

³⁰ For the classical statue types of Hermes, see most recently Gratziou 2010.

³¹ Neils 1992, 189.

³² For posts in athletic scenes, see Beazley 1951, 8–12 fig. 2; Jüthner 1968, 67–69 pls. 4b, 15a and d, 17, 23a, 26a, 24, 46b; Manakidou 1994, 41 pl. 88; Schäfer 1996, 118–121 and nn. 40–43. For turning posts in general, see Jüthner 1968, 56, 67–69; Miller 1980; Valavanis 1991, 162–163; Brulotte 1994, 53–63; McGowan 1995, and esp. 622–628. For athletic facilities in Attica, see Delorme 1960, 33–62; Benton 1972; Kyle 1987, 56–101; Valavanis 1991, 163–164 n. 443 and 1999, 63–63; Morison 2000, esp. 96 and n. 14; For columns in athletic contexts, see Valavanis 1991, 162–170; McGowan 1995. For the rectangular object beside the “Mourning Athena” and the debate around its interpretations, see selectively Brouskari 1974, 123–124 pl. 237; Schäfer 1996, 120 n. 43; Thomsen 2011, 205; Valavanis 2013, 60.

³³ For example: London, British Museum E524 by Aison (ARV² 1175.17); Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 86046 (ARV² 1178, 1209); Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81473 (Oakley 1990, 72 no. 33 pl. 34h); Paris, Musée du Louvre G 540 (ARV² 134.2); Rome, Villa Giulia 63684 (ARV² 1392.10).

³⁴ Valavanis 1991, 162–163 cat. nos. X3 and K4 pls. 36β, 46β. For women associated with the *agon*, see idem, 151–152, 154–155.



Fig. 3: Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, AV 78. Attic red-figure calyx krater, detail of side A. Photo: Museum.

form³⁵ was never connected securely with turning posts in the art of the earlier periods, unless we interpret the columns supporting roosters in Panathenaic imagery, between which he is depicted,³⁶ as allusions to such implements.³⁷ The association of Hermes with the turning post in this representation alludes to his capacity as *agonios/enagonios*, i.e., god of the contest,³⁸ a function that perhaps is also reflected, although indirectly, in other contemporary depictions of Hermes in vase painting.

³⁵ For the representation of a column, possibly a turning post, and a youth offering a wreath to a herm on a red-figure cup by the Dokimasia Painter in Copenhagen (National Museum 6327), see CVA Copenhagen, National Museum 3, 111 pl. 143; Rückert 1998, 129–130.

³⁶ See above and nn. 16 and 18.

³⁷ McGowan 1995, 624–625. For the various explanations of the columns in the Panathenaic imagery, see Valavanis 1987, 467–468 n. 1; Tiverios 2007, 5.

³⁸ For the *enagonioi theoi* and their complex relationship with contestants and victor, see most recently Mikalson 2007, 33–40.

For example, in vase painting of the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, and particularly near the end of the century, this multifaceted god may also have alluded to the *agon*, since he is juxtaposed with victory figures and symbols, and because he frequently attends scenes involving strife and competition. Interestingly, some of these depictions associate him closely with the Acropolis.³⁹ Two calyx kraters by the Kekrops Painter in Schloss Fasanerie (figs. 3 and 4), contemporary to the vase under study, have been associated successfully by the honoree of this volume with an Acropolis setting represented mainly by its cult figures, Hermes included among them.⁴⁰ On a krater depicting a moment after the successful transfer of the Marathonian bull to the Acropolis by Theseus (fig. 3), Hermes occupies the upper right part of the decorative surface, near three branches of olive trees and a tripod, which perhaps alluded to the dramatic contests of the Greater Dionysia.⁴¹ Two small Nikai are also represented nearby in the upper register, and fly above the head of the central Athena.⁴² The second krater features the display of offerings to the newly born Erichthonios, the mythical founder of the Panathenaia and the apobatic race,⁴³ on the Sacred Rock in the presence of several Acropolis cult figures (fig. 4): Hermes is placed again on the upper right corner, while a tripod is depicted immediately below him. The agonistic character of this part of the vase painting is further enhanced, if we accept the interpretation of the woman on the pillar holding the weapons of Athena beside Hermes as Nike Apteros.⁴⁴ This is also fitting because of the vicinity of the cults of Hermes Propylaios and Athena Nike in

39 For Acropolis topography in the vase painting of the last quarter of the fifth century BCE, see Shapiro 2009b.

40 Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 77 and 78. For this reading and previous bibliography, see Shapiro 2009b, 261–269. For a contextual historical approach, see Tiverios 2005 and 2009b.

41 For branches as victory symbols, see Kephaliidou 1996, 52–60, 62–66. For the tripod as symbol of victory in dithyrambic contests, see Kephaliidou 1996, 105 n. 48; Thomsen 2011, 194–195. For the tripod as a symbol with multiple connotations, see Kephaliidou 1996, 104–105 n. 46; Thomsen 2011, 195–197. Dramatic contests were introduced in the program of the Panathenaia in the Hellenistic period: Valavanis 2007, 127–128.

42 Shapiro 2009b, 261–267. For Nike and the *agon*, see Thöne 1999, 77–96.

43 Shear 2001, 43–55.

44 For this interpretation, see Beazley 1957, 111; Tiverios 2005, 304–305 no. 47; Shapiro 2009b, 268 n. 42; Thomsen 2011, 212–219, 419. Different opinions are summarized by Thöne 1999, 74–75; Shapiro 2009b, 264–265, 268 n. 42; Thomsen 2011, 212–214. For Nike Apteros in art, see Thöne 1999, 73–76; Shapiro 2009b, 265–267. The interpretation of this pillar is hard in this case, because it is very thin and erected on an extended base. Alan Shapiro interprets it as “a kind of pillar or boundary stone that could mark off the ‘temenos’ of Athena Nike” (Shapiro 2009b, 265). See also Thomsen 2011, 212 for an interpretation as “Stele or Schranke.” For a similar but taller, narrow post on an extended base, on which a female in Dionysian context sits, see the bell krater in Glasgow, Hunterian Museum D1981.26: CVA The Glasgow Collections, 27–28 pl. 27.6–7. For Nike seated on pillars, see Thomsen 2011, 200–205.



Fig. 4: Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, AV 77. Attic red-figure calyx krater, side A. Photo: Museum.

the sanctuary.⁴⁵ Another small personification of victory features on the upper register between the heads of Kekrops and Athena and refers exclusively to the specific event.⁴⁶

A series of other vase paintings may also associate Hermes with the *agon*. On a calyx krater in the manner of the Kadmos Painter in the Virginia Museum of Art, Hermes, Nike, and a flying owl carrying an olive wreath feature above the birth of Erichthonios.⁴⁷ Along with Nikai, a column with a tripod, and a woman with a wreath, Hermes is represented on the upper register in another scene featuring Herakles and a bull in the

⁴⁵ On the west pediment of the Parthenon, Hermes was also connected with Nike, Athena's charioteer, since he was represented near her and had his head turned towards her: Palagia 2005a, 232 fig. 80 and 249.

⁴⁶ For the presence of the two Nikai, see Beazley 1957, 111; Shapiro 2009b, 268 n. 42.

⁴⁷ Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art 81.70: Shapiro 2009b, 264–265 fig. 7; Thomsen 2011, 210 offers a summary of explanations regarding Hermes' presence. For the wreath as a victory symbol, see Thöne 1999, 94–95.

presence of Athena.⁴⁸ Perhaps, the presence of Hermes watching Eumolpos and Erechtheus fighting on the Pella hydria, whose main subject matter is the contest of Athena and Poseidon, alludes to his agonistic character, too.⁴⁹

The perception of Hermes as patron of the *agon* in Attica is not new in this period.⁵⁰ Pindar's poems contain several references to Hermes Enagonios, and these were most probably known to Athenians, even in periods later than their original performance through repetitions in new performative contexts.⁵¹ The earliest certain evidence for the capacity of Hermes as Enagonios in Attica dates to the early fifth century BCE and comes from Eleusis. It is an inscription that regulated the allotment of bloody offerings to several gods and heroes, including Hermes Enagonios, possibly during the Eleusinia, a renowned festival with a *patrios agon*, and musical, athletic, and equestrian events.⁵² An Aeschylan fragment also refers to *enagonios*.⁵³

The relationship of Hermes with sports in Attica may have been even earlier. A series of vases from the late sixth to around the mid-fifth century BCE depicting herms, have been associated to the cult of Hermes in palaestrai and Hermes as patron of athletic and musical contests.⁵⁴ The cult of Hermes in an agonistic context is significantly enhanced after the end of the fifth century BCE, when evidence for dedications of herms in gymnasia and palaistra increases,⁵⁵ and a special agonistic festival in honor of this god is attested, the Hermaia, probably celebrated, at least in the fourth century BCE, in gymnasia.⁵⁶ The offering of a sheep to Hermes in the Lyceum, mentioned in the Athenian Law Code may be an early attestation of this festival, close in date to our vase.⁵⁷

48 St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B 2680: LIMC V (1990) 61 no. 2311, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.).

49 Pella, Archaeological Museum 80514: Tiverios 2005, 299–319, esp. 306 fig. 6 for the role of Hermes in the scene.

50 For Hermes Agonios or Enagonios in general and his association with coming-of-age procedures, see Brown 1947, 3, 42, 96–97; Wrede 1986, 34; Rückert 1998, 112–139; Johnston 2002, 116–117, 128–130.

51 For these references, see Wrede 1986, 34; Rückert 1998, 113; Jaillard 2007, 58 n. 279. For performances of poetry and epinicians, see Athanassaki 2009, 31–39.

52 *IG I³* 5; *LSCG* 4; Rückert 1998, 114; Parker 2005, 328–329. The reference to Hermes Enagonios in the Nikomachos Law Code of the later fifth century BCE has been associated to the same agonistic festival: Lambert 2002, 364, Face A, Group A, fig. 3, l. 82–83, 393 (403/2–400/399? BCE); Parker 2005, 328–329 n. 7.

53 Aeschylus fr. 384 (ed. Sommerstein).

54 Rückert 1998, 127–132, 185–189, 219. Some scholars have associated the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* with the god's relationship to competition, and have dated the hymn to the sixth century BCE, composed on the occasion of the establishment and dedication of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora. This interpretation remains speculative: Brown 1947, 102–132; Johnston 2002; Johnston/Mulroy 2009. Cf. Vergados 2013, 130–153.

55 Rückert 1998, 112–139. Hermes as Enagonios is mentioned in Aristophanes, *Plut.* 1161 (388 BCE).

56 Deubner 1932, 217; Mikalson 1998, 64–65, 195 n. 78, 202; Rückert 1998, 272.

57 For this suggestion and for the text, see Lambert 2002, 364, Face A, Group A, fig. 6, l. 82–83, 380, 393 (403/2–400/399? BCE).

The first reference of Hermes Enagonios associated with the Acropolis (but not specifically with the Panathenaia) comes from a dedicatory base that dates earlier than the date of our vase, just before the mid-fifth century BCE.⁵⁸ Hermes Enagonios is first connected with the Panathenaia in 338/7 BCE in a dedication of a herm to him on the occasion of the Great Panathenaia by the gymnasiarch Autosthenides.⁵⁹ The association of the Charites with, at least, the classical Hermes Propylaios may be suggestive of his relationship with sports, since two more documents of possible agonistic character, name these divinities together.⁶⁰

If the hypothesis presented in this paper holds true, then our vase constitutes the first piece of evidence that Hermes can be associated with Panathenaic contests. The fact that the majority of red-figure Panathenaics after ca. 480 BCE feature subject matters related to the Panathenaia⁶¹ makes an association of our vase with the same festival more plausible. Furthermore, the trees surrounding Hermes, allude specifically to the olive oil given as prize to the victor in athletic and equestrian Panathenaic events.⁶²

Perhaps the interpretation of Hermes as a divinity associated with contests applies to some of his earlier representations related to the Acropolis, as well.⁶³ The frequent presence of Hermes in scenes depicting deeds, fights, or musical performances of gods or heroes, especially of Herakles, both on Panathenaics and votive pinakes, may be explained if the god oversees their endeavors as the patron of the *agon*. Gods and heroes were seen as models for human actions, whether in ritual or

⁵⁸ *IG* I³ 840; Raubitschek 1949, 180–181 no. 163; Shapiro 1989, 130; Rückert 1998, 80, 114–115.

⁵⁹ *IG* II² 3023; Rückert 1998, 81, 115; Shear 2001, 335, 569.

⁶⁰ See above n. 52. For the “Charites” relief (Acropolis Museum 702) and its association to Hermes, see Raubitschek 1949, 316–318 no. 295; Brouskari 1974, 58–59 pl. 104; Shapiro 1989, 127; LIMC V (1990) 321 no. 321, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert). For another common reference, see Aristophanes, *Pax* 456–457. For the Charites’ ties with ephebes, see Mikalson 1998, 174; with the Acropolis and the Panathenaia, see Palagia 2008, 34–35 and in this volume. For the problem of associating the Acropolis’ references to Hermes Enagonios with one of the existing cults of this god on the Acropolis, see Willers 1967, 87 n. 123. Hermes is also connected with competitions as a patron of heralds, who played a significant role in games: Brown 1947, 3, 21, 25–31; Vocke 1970, 84, 264–265, 267. For the role of heralds in athletic events, see Crowther 1994, 135–155; Valavanis 1990 and 1999, 298, 301; Kephaliidou 1996, 60; Oakley 2007, 87–88.

⁶¹ Shapiro 2001, 123–124.

⁶² According to Julia Shear, these trees allude to the *morai* of the Academy and the iconography of this vase refers to Halirrhothios’ myth, the youth sent by his father, Poseidon, to cut the *morai* as revenge for Athena’s victory over the possession of Attica. Furthermore, Shear explains Hermes on the reverse as the god who led the deceased to Hades, and Athena and Poseidon on the obverse as a reference to the origin of the olive tree in Attica and the event that led to Halirrhothios’ action, i.e., their contest (Shear 2001, 434). This is an attractive suggestion, since Hermes had an altar in the Academy (Pausanias 1.30.1–2; Mikalson 1998, 64; Kyle 1987, 72); however, in the absence of Halirrhothios it is difficult to accept it.

⁶³ Valavanis 2009, 301.

performance. This is perhaps one of the reasons why heroes and gods are represented as accomplishing deeds on the architectural sculpture of sanctuaries connected with renowned contests and on vase paintings associated with sports.⁶⁴

A similar function is perhaps implied on our vase. If the obverse scene is an abbreviated version of the contest of Poseidon and Athena on the Acropolis, then Hermes Enagonios of the reverse, perhaps the same figure as Hermes Propylaios, oversees their struggle. All gods are used as indirect references to the Panathenaic contests, because they represent the sanctuary, i.e. the place where the celebrations are addressed, and because they are reminiscent of, or function as, prototypes and divine supporters for real contests.⁶⁵ A similar, and contemporary to our vase, attitude of linking mythical figures and their actions with contemporary events is the emphasis given to the honors paid to the Tyrannicides and the addition of honors to the Heroes from Phyle, both of which groups were seen as liberators, in the Panathenaic games of 402/1 BCE after the restoration of democracy following the fall of the Thirty.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ For the architectural program of Olympia, see Barringer 2005, 211–241 and esp. 221–237. The same may be the case for the Archaic building decoration on the Acropolis, on which Herakles plays a significant role. For the vases, see LIMC I V (1988) 811–812, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman et al.); Schauburg 1979, 68–73; Kokkinou 2011, 250–257. For divinities as models for attitudes and acts of mortals, e.g., in expressions of faith, manhood, and weddings, see Shapiro 1989, 159–160; Patton 2009. Cf. Bundrick 2005, 160–161.

⁶⁵ If a mask covered the face of the god originally, perhaps it is a reference to him as patron of all kinds of *agones*, including dramatic ones: Rückert 1998, 124–126, 160–167.

⁶⁶ Shear 2001, 208–223, 818–826. For changes in the Panathenaic festival in the late fifth century BCE, see Valavanis 1987.

Nassi Malagardis

Ἀναθήματα on the Athenian Acropolis and in the Sanctuary of the Nymph (600–560 BCE): The Case of the Skyphoi*

For Alan

ἥθος ἀνθρώπων δαίμων
(Herakleitos fr. 119)

In his description of the Athenian constitution under Solon, Aristotle calls the votive offerings on the Acropolis τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων and cites an example of an archaic dedication as historical evidence ([*Ath. Pol.*] 7.4).

Studies of the Athenian Acropolis are considered more complex, extensive, and sometimes confusing than studies of any other site in Greece.¹ This is true especially for the period before 566 BCE – “shrouded in relative darkness”² – but thanks to the efforts of several scholars, mostly Greeks, in recent years,³ our knowledge has expanded significantly. Because of their contemporaneity, immediacy, and reliability, the importance of archaeological finds from the Acropolis is rarely surpassed by that of other sources. Votives contribute most significantly to our knowledge by revealing the daily reality of cult practices, with their concrete instruments and astuteness, their practical problems, and the solutions adopted.⁴ By shedding light on the personal religiosity of the Athenians and by virtue of this religious reality, the act of dedicating on the Acropolis reveals diverse facets of the process of the political and social evolution of the polis.

In an important article on the *Akropolisvotive*,⁵ Andreas Scholl has shown the importance of archaeological material for our understanding of the evolution of votive practices during the early Archaic period. Scholl has tried to connect his observations with the scarce historical facts known about Athens of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. The radical change that occurred at the beginning of the sixth century inspired me to focus my research on the first third of the sixth century examining the oldest archaic Attic skyphoi as a case study.

Likewise, it seemed useful to follow the same approach with another sanctuary situated on the southern slope of the Acropolis and dedicated to the Nymph. This is a

* Translated by Cadenza Academic Translations Ltd. and modified by the author.

1 Mark 1995, 383, calls them “the most extensive, intricate and potentially confusing.”

2 Ridgway 1992, 120; Glowacki 1998, 79–88.

3 Korres 1997; Hurwit 1999, 98; Holtzmann 2003, 75–81.

4 Hägg 1992, figs. 1–5.

5 Scholl 2006, with all previous bibliography on the subject.

divinity closely associated with marriage, who received votives during an uninterrupted period from the third quarter of the seventh, down to the beginning of the fourth century BCE.⁶ By comparing the skyphoi of the Nymph sanctuary, presented here for the first time, with other skyphoi dedicated on the Acropolis, it is possible to observe differences and similarities in the *Votivpraxis* of both sanctuaries during the same period, in order to illuminate better the realities of Athenian people at that precise moment.

Any investigation or discussion of the Athenian Acropolis must take into account its unique character and role throughout the history of the city. Most of the fragile early Archaic remains have probably not survived in any truly quantifiable state. Nevertheless, the evidence that is preserved does allow us to make some positive statements. Obviously, it should be kept in mind that statistical analysis of the Acropolis finds is also hampered by methods of recovery and, above all, state of publication and the usual difficulties in accessing the material.

Among the vases dedicated on the Acropolis, a number of skyphoi have been found, mostly fragmentary, belonging to the Corinthian type, the oldest of the four types of archaic Attic skyphoi. This type is distinguished by a deep bowl with fine, straight walls, a straight rim curved slightly inward at the top, fine round handles placed horizontally very close to the rim, and a fine, flaring foot.⁷ Virtually all the skyphoi from the first half of the sixth century belong to this type, allowing for some “old-fashioned” exceptions.⁸ The Proto-Attic skyphoi from the Agora and especially from the Kerameikos prove the immense popularity that this type of skyphos enjoyed, undoubtedly due to the influence – and the success – of Proto-Corinthian kotylai and also to the special character of Proto-Attic style, which had attained a degree of refinement at the height of potters/painters’ ambition.

Following the decline of Black and White style, Attic vase painting settled into a more disciplined style, a prelude to the Attic black-figure style that was about to appear. The earlier grandeur and freedom of design were replaced by correctness, precision in execution, and monumentality, resulting in a more powerful expression. The Nessos Painter marks the high point of this process. Like other leading painters of his day – i.e., his followers: the Gorgon Painter or painters close to him – he straddles

6 On this sanctuary, discovered in 1957, see Meliades 1957a and 1957b; Travlos 1971, 361–363; LIMC VIII (1997) 902, s.v. Nymphe I (M. Kyrkou); Brouskari 2004, 35–36; Parker 2005, 442–443. All inventory numbers from the sanctuary of the Nymph are preceded by NA, 1957, which signifies “South of the Acropolis, year 1957.”

7 On the typology of Attic black-figure skyphoi, see Malagardis 1986.

8 Agora P 7014 and P 12587 perpetuate the shape of the Attic geometric skyphos; cf. Brann 1971, 147 nos. 132–133 pl. 8; cf. Agora P 4663, the “Tharion” skyphos. Two fragments from the Acropolis, Acropolis 357a and b, found in the fill of the foundation of the Parthenon, might belong to the bowl of a skyphos that is Proto-Attic in style but still Geometric in shape with rounded walls, decorated with animals facing right and a swastika, rosettes made of connected dots, and pointed triangles in the field: Graef/Langlotz 1925, 36 pl. 13 (fragment a).

the uncertain boundary between Proto-Attic and the accomplished Attic black-figure styles. The skyphoi from the Acropolis and the sanctuary of the Nymph do not seem to preserve any reminiscence of this early style.

Afterward, we can observe two general trends in the painting of skyphoi, despite the fact that we sometimes cannot trace clear stylistic and chronological boundaries between them. The first trend, although standing in the shadow of Corinth, is of Attic spirit, rich in the legacy of the Gorgon Painter and of the painters of his manner; this attests to greater attachment to the essential qualities of Attic style as manifested during the Late Geometric period. This stylistic trend is represented by vases of outstanding quality and refinement, such as the skyphoi by the Painters KX, KY, and the Komast Group. However, although these painters are represented in the Acropolis and the Nymph's sanctuary finds, no skyphoi by them have been identified until now. The last of this generation and the first to sign his work is Sophilos,⁹ the best representative of another facet of the same trend.¹⁰ His style, bursting forth from the grand styles of the preceding period, is ambitious but rarely precise; he is not a fine draughtsman. Yet, apart from his still unpublished skyphos in Athens,¹¹ we currently know of no other skyphoi by him.

Nonetheless, it is in his milieu that an artistic movement emerged and produced certain Attic vases concentrated in the first quarter of the sixth century, which exhibit a character often ascribed to provincial or rural workshops by virtue of their careless and rough drawing. The localization of the workshops, in my opinion, is not important. It is rather a question of style, which in this instance is marked by a distinct lack of interest in drawing and a kind of resistance to the order established by the great virtuosos of the earlier period, without, however, completely shedding away their influence. The painters' interest lies in the human figure and in related scenes. It is clear that we are dealing with a mass production widely exported to the Tyrrhenian shores, especially Etruria. It was on the soil of the so-called Vourva style that Tyrrhenian amphoras later plunged their roots. That is why this style is so difficult to identify among the lesser-known painters of the period. The Ragusa group¹² shares this trend and thus represents an intermediary position, even though the earliest of its vases stand in the tradition of the Gorgon Painter's workshop.

The second trend in Attic pottery is represented by vases in a style influenced more by Corinthian fashion, among which we find a good number of skyphoi. These have their walls completely covered – *horror vacui* – with Corinthian motifs, in which human figures and conventional animals jostle for space. This trend peaked in the

⁹ Bakır 1981; Add² 10–11.

¹⁰ Beazley 1944, 38.

¹¹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19044; elegant but in bad condition. Side A depicts a draped man with spear between two sphinxes; side B has two Sirens facing each other. Beside each handle, two lions are almost upright.

¹² See Di Vita 1959; Boardman 1998b, 59–65.

second quarter of the sixth century, represented above all by the Polos Painter – a mass producer of animal-frieze vases in a degenerate style – and his companions.

As for the origins of the “Corinthianizing” fashion, one should recall that it is inaugurated by the lekane “formerly in the possession of Payne,” considered as proof of the presence of a Corinthian painter who emigrated to Athens around 620 BCE,¹³ anticipating the wave of emigration in Solon’s time by a generation. The way was paved by skyphoi, such as Kerameikos 66,¹⁴ dated 600–590 BC, a forerunner to the oeuvre of the Polos Painter.

Very close in style and date to Kerameikos 66 is the small skyphos Aa 1870a (color fig. 19)¹⁵ from the Nymph sanctuary, which preserves above its foot the same well-drawn rays of Proto-Attic skyphoi, surmounted by a band of a net pattern framed by two red lines, but the bowl is now squat. On the main zone (side A), among incised rosettes are two seated facing sphinxes (of the left one only the hindquarter remains) with red faces and prominent headgear over their foreheads;¹⁶ on side B, one panther strides to the left (complete except for forepaw and foreleg), facing a large incised rosette (most remains).

Two fragments of small skyphoi (*Näpfe*) from the Acropolis are in what Botho Graef calls the “altes Stil” or the “Vourva Stil,” on account of finds from Vourva. Fragment Acr 551a (color fig. 20)¹⁷ preserves the remains of an animal decoration and a retrograde inscription: JN AΓAAMA painted on it before firing. This is a frequent dedicatory formula, with which the painter declares that he ANEΘHKEN AΓAAMA, the *agalma* being the vase itself. The decoration is arranged in two registers separated by two black lines: above, there remains the forepart of a quadruped galloping right, following another animal of which only the tail is preserved. A tiny piece of a rosette and the inscription appear below the animal’s belly. In the lower register, nothing but the curved wing of a sphinx or siren remains. The inscription painted before firing suggests

13 Dunbabin 1950.

14 Kübler 1970, no. 66 pl. 77, 489–490 no. 91. Attributed to the Polos Painter, ABV 46.95, but it is doubtless more ancient, his *Vorstufe*. The prominent headgear has nothing to do with the cross-hatched “polos” crowns of the Polos Painter.

15 Aa 1870a; height 7 cm; diameter 10.3 cm; foot diameter 6.5 cm; reassembled from several fragments; restored; orange appearance. Interior, reddish. Underside, red band in inner face of the foot and central large point surrounded by two red concentric circles. Outer edge of the rim reserved, followed below by two red lines. Red matt paint; incisions; added violet purple on hair, breast, wing bow, marks on hindquarter and alternate wing feathers of the sphinx, belly strip and hindquarter of the panther, and on alternate leaves of the rosette.

16 Similar to that of a siren on a hydria, Aa 329, from the sanctuary of the Nymph: Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, 111 no. 242.

17 Acropolis 551a–b, dimensions of fragment a: length 7 cm; thickness 0.4–0.5 cm. Graef/Langlotz 1925, 59 pl. 19; fragment b is missing, according to Graef and Langlotz’s description (remains of a panther, quadruped, and tail); incisions and traces of purple enhancements are visible. Alexandridou 2011a, 136 Akr. 409; Pala 2012, 258.

that the potter/painter of the skyphos might also have been, as indicated above, the dedicator. The second fragment, Acr 552 (color fig. 21),¹⁸ comes from the rim of a miniature skyphos and preserves part of a sphinx (head, hair, part of wing) facing left toward a large, black, solid circle surrounded by small black dots. The sphinx's face is black.

The influence of this second trend, or Animal style, was long-lasting, as it appears in some further fragments, such as on a wall with rim from a large skyphos Acr 556 (color fig. 22).¹⁹ It features an animal and floral decoration arranged in three registers: above, the front of a lion with open mouth²⁰ and a siren face one another; below, a siren followed by another (front half remains) facing left (row of sirens?); at the bottom is a lotus-and-palmette chain. The sirens' faces are enhanced with white, but the place where the eye would have been engraved has been left black. John Boardman has attributed this fragment to the Ragusa Group.²¹ This type of animal decoration, facing or in a row, is characteristic of painters and groups of lower artistic quality. It is interesting to note that the majority of vases from the Ragusa Group have been found in eastern Attica, the region where Boardman locates the workshop that produced the group. Also belonging to the Ragusa Group are the fragmentary skyphoi Acr 557, Acr 558, and Acr 559,²² decorated with zones incorporating black-faced sirens and sphinxes among rosettes and dots as filling ornaments.

Fragment Acr 555 (color fig. 23)²³ also falls in the category of small, almost miniature, vases decorated with images that sometimes resemble crudely drawn caricatures. This fragment is from a miniature skyphos dated in the first quarter of the sixth century and shows distinct iconographical originality. At the right side remains the torso of a nude, bearded man holding a fish, stretching toward the left, facing a siren. Lines below his chest suggest the beginning of the body of a fish or serpent, perhaps Nereus or a river god.

Examples of vases that follow the same trend and exhibit the same rapid style have also been found in the sanctuary of the Nymph. Fragment Aa 1979 (color fig. 24)²⁴

¹⁸ Acropolis 552, preserved height 0.3 cm; length 0.5 cm; thickness 0.025 cm; Graef/Langlotz 1925, 59 pl. 20. Alexandridou 2011a, 136 Akr. 411; Pala 2012, 258.

¹⁹ Acropolis 556, made from two reassembled fragments; length 8.4; preserved height 11.5; the surface is seriously damaged; Graef/Langlotz 1925, 60 pl. 20; Alexandridou 2011a, 139 Akr. 410; Pala 2012, 258.

²⁰ On the lion's open mouth, see van Gelder 1982, 132–133; on ancient representations of lions, see Gabelmann 1965.

²¹ Boardman 1998b, 63 no. 46, but erroneously set among the miniatures.

²² Graef/Langlotz 1925, 60. These fragments are not illustrated and are not currently identified in the inventory. Alexandridou 2011a, 136 Akr. 414 and 415; Arachne <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/137704> and <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/137705>; Pala 2012, 258–259.

²³ Acropolis 555; height 2.8 cm; length 3.5 cm; thickness 0.2 cm. Graef/Langlotz 1925, 60 pl. 18: fragment of rimmed wall; matt paint, clumsy incisions, added purple, black band on the rim; Pala 2012, 258. For the subject, see Brijder 1983, 194 fig. 64 pl. 22b (Adelph Painter).

²⁴ Aa 1979, preserved height 7.5 cm; only a small part of the bowl survives; traces of white and red.

is very close in character to fragment Acr 555 from the Acropolis. Its decoration consists of two friezes separated by a red line: above, foreparts of two sirens facing one another and an indeterminate object on the left remain; below, three nude figures – only the forepart of the third is preserved along with a stretched-out arm and leg – run left gesticulating dramatically behind the body of an enormous bird flying horizontally. The scene is followed by a band of dots and the usual rays above the foot. The painter's painstaking insistence on rendering the female sexual characteristics of the figures (buttocks and breasts) with a plethora of details in rapid, clumsy incisions is remarkable. If the body of the bird, of which the head is not preserved, belongs to a siren rather than an eagle, the depiction would be the first of a flying siren. The extreme vivacity of the figures, both on fragment Acr 555 and on that from the Nymph sanctuary, evokes a joyful mood emphasized by their poses and the abundance of sloppy incisions evidently made on purpose. Three similar little figures – nude men – appear on the loutrophoros hydria Aa 181²⁵ from the same sanctuary. The peculiar way they hold hands recalls that of three dancing satyrs on an amphora in Rome²⁶ and supports their interpretation as performers of a ritual dance rather than running men.

A naïve style is also apparent in the representations on fragment Aa 1882a (color fig. 25),²⁷ with the remains of two friezes of animal decoration separated by a red line. In the frieze above are a lion and two sphinxes facing one another; below appears the front half of a ram and a wild boar at right. The abundance of enhancements in heavy white and scarlet for the animal details creates a lively polychrome image. The faces and chests of the sphinxes are in thick white, but the spot for the eye was left black, highlighted with red. A row of white spots decorates their wings and the lion's front.

According to Graef, other fragments of small skyphoi have been found on the Acropolis, occasionally miniatures, some certainly later in date, decorated with swans or other birds. Two small incomplete skyphoi, Acr 581 and Acr 582,²⁸ known only from photographs of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens, also belong to the early Swan Group.

Two other skyphoi from the Acropolis date to the first quarter of the sixth century. The first, a miniature skyphos, Acr 554 (color fig. 26),²⁹ is decorated with a band of vertical strokes around the rim and a frieze of pecking birds facing right below, rendered

²⁵ Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, 77 no. 142.

²⁶ Malagardis 2011.

²⁷ Aa 1882a; preserved height 6.5 cm; diameter 10.2 cm; only a small part of the bowl and a handle survive; a red band is below the second frieze and there is a line around the rim.

²⁸ Graef/Langlotz 1925, 63; ABV 655; Pala 2012, 259.

²⁹ Acropolis 554; height 3.5; part of the bowl and the handles are missing. Underside, reserved. Reconstructed diameter 7 cm; Graef/Langlotz 1925, 60 pl. 21; small *apophysis* on the rim between the handles; no red; Alexandridou 2011a, 136 Akr. 413; Pala 2012, 258. Very similar to the miniature skyphos Samos 445: Kreuzer 1998, 214–215 no. 7.

with crude incisions. It recalls some early vases of the Anagyrous Painter³⁰ or the Ragusa Group. The second is a fragment of the wall with the rim of a large skyphos, Acr 553 (color fig. 27),³¹ attesting that, at the moment when original pictorial trends were emerging in Athens, other painters were still paying homage to Corinthian fashions. It preserves parts of three friezes separated by bands of dots: above, a row of warriors (helmet, two spears, shield, flying eagle as an *episema*) riding to the right, accompanied by flying birds; then, a frieze of animals (forepart of a panther facing right), and below, a row of sirens (remains of two sirens facing right). At the bottom of the bowl can be seen part of sacked rays (i.e., two rows of rays, stacked on top of one another).

We have seen how already during the seventh and at the beginning of the sixth century some painters adopted the “Corinthianizing” trend, whether they were Athenians or Corinthians established in Athens. They painted very fine, small skyphoi, which, despite visible Corinthian influence, adopted the Attic manner of the early black-figure period and abandoned the use of multiple friezes, even though they retain animals that now occupy a single frieze. This is the case with some skyphoi from the sanctuary of the Nymph that merit special attention. Despite their small size and thin walls, their images maintain a kind of small-scale monumentality. The richness of powerfully traced incisions, the abundant use of violet for details, the fabulous creatures – sirens, sphinxes – and the majestic animals filling the entire wall recall the earliest Attic black-figure vases, despite their Corinthian pedigree, as illustrated by the way in which the images are displayed over the space. With time, Corinthian influence affected details more than the composition and narration of the images, which now feel purely Attic and even influence Corinthian ceramists in turn.

The first of these vases, skyphos Aa 661 (color fig. 28a–b),³² is decorated on one side with two imposing panthers gazing outward, depicted back to back on either side of a large, sophisticated, incised rosette, and on the other side, by a superb goat grazing facing left. Both pictures are placed without regard to the handles or axis of the image’s symmetry. The abundance of red – marked on the hindquarters, belly stripe, ribs, and neck of the animals – and the power of the drawing are striking, as is the harmonious movement of the panthers’ raised tails above their body. The animals stretch out excessively lengthwise among different-sized incised rosettes of Corinthian inspiration and are taken straight from the Corinthian repertoire but drawn in the Attic style: note, for example, the arched double line describing the shoulder, a

³⁰ Alexandridou 2011a, fig. 12: Tankard, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19050 [Vári 397].

³¹ Acropolis 553; preserved height 19 cm; Graef/Langlotz 1925, 60 pl. 25; orange surface, added red, incisions; Alexandridou 2011a, 136 Akr. 412; Pala 2012, 258. Some doubts have been expressed regarding its Attic authenticity, without attributions to another place of production.

³² Aa 661; height 6.6 cm; diameter 9.8 cm; foot diameter 5.5 cm; restored, reassembled; around the rim a row of parallel, vertical strokes framed above and below by two red lines; the representation is limited in the bottom by two red bands; degenerated rays above the flaring foot, red in the outer face, black in the inner; underside reserved, decorated by a thick black circle around a central point.

feature of early Athenian representations of animals, especially felines, not seen in Corinth.³³ Aside from the originality of the asymmetry, something else seizes one's attention: an oblong motif placed above the panthers' backs. It could represent some kind of a gondola with a prow consisting of two vertical rolls, decorated with spreading outer leaves (?) in red and black and with incisions. Is it reminiscent of some rosettes or strange motifs known from the Early, Middle, or Late Corinthian styles,³⁴ or is it a leaf ornamentation seen wandering into the territory of Proto-Attic images? Whatever this ornament that looks like a small vessel sailing on a sea of rosettes may be,³⁵ it remains an isolated example until now, an *hapax*, and a deliberate Attic creation for it is consciously repeated twice. Was the painter perhaps a Corinthian who emigrated to Athens to practice his craft, taking advantage of Solon's legislation, *πανεστίους Ἀθήναζε μετοικιζομένοις ἐπὶ τέχνῃ* (Plutarch, *Solon* 24.4), seeking to introduce innovations that could please the Athenian public? Is it an imitation or an independent parallel production?³⁶

The fragment of skyphos Aa 1860a³⁷ (color fig. 29) preserves most of the bowl's one side and belongs to the same category. It is a more elaborate work with two large facing sirens (both intact except for the wings and of the tails tips) and the paw of a feline, all standing on a red line, among incised detailed rosettes of Attic inspiration. The eye without a pupil is an unusual feature, characteristic of sirens and sphinxes by the Gorgon Painter that have additional red covering their faces.³⁸ The drawing of the purple-faced sirens, the treatment of their hair, the red neck, breast and wing bow, the oval-shaped tails – the preferred shape for Early Archaic Attic sirens, never used for Corinthian – and, lastly, the emphatic polychromic impression, all recall Early Attic black-figure painting and support an early date for this skyphos.³⁹ The absence of white on all of these last examples could also suggest an early date.

The skyphos Aa 1934a (color fig. 30a–b)⁴⁰ is of the same stamp, decorated with a strutting siren viewed in profile facing right, occupying the entire surface of the one

³³ Boardman 1974, 204.

³⁴ The adoption by Athenian painters of Corinthian decorative elements in different periods, EC, MC, or LC, is often attested on vases.

³⁵ See the "Phoenician" palmette on a late seventh-century Italocorinthian vase: Cambridge GR.12.52; Cook 1960, 148 fig. 25.

³⁶ Callipolitis-Feytmans 1976, 139. Cf. also n. 13 above.

³⁷ Aa 1860a; preserved height 7.5 cm; length 10 cm; vivid purple for the faces, parts of the wings and the sirens' tails, as well as on a band above the reddish rays; rich, careful incisions. On facing sirens, cf. Hofstetter 1990, 81–87.

³⁸ Agora P 13113; Moore/Philippides 1986, cat. N 139 pl. 17.

³⁹ Prior to that, skyphos, Athens 18645 (E 633) is decorated with the same subject; this skyphos, along with 18702 and 18707 (CVA Athens 4, pls. 8.5–6, 9, and 10.4–5), are similar to the ones Beazley (in ABV 617) considered to be close to the Oxford Lid Group, albeit with "a somewhat earlier look."

⁴⁰ Aa 1934a; height 5.6 cm; diameter 8.8 cm; foot diameter 5 cm; intact, except for its handles and small fragments of the rim and foot. Added red: face and breast, bar on siren's hair, tail, and wing bow;

side with her outspread wings, and on the other, a panther and an owl facing each other,⁴¹ and staring at the observer, all standing on a black line. Incised rosettes and blobs are in the field. One easily sees some reminiscence of the Nessos Painter's style in the way the owl's nose is rendered and in the fierce air of the siren, who has the red face typical of the early Archaic period.⁴²

One should also place another skyphos from the same sanctuary in the category of small skyphoi, potentially precursors of the Oxford Lid Group.⁴³ The skyphos Aa 1871a (color fig. 31a–b)⁴⁴ depicts two sirens with elongated chins,⁴⁵ indicating they might be bearded, and two facing swans, while a third swan follows the movement toward the right below one of the handles, perhaps to give variety to the composition. In the field are some simplified rosettes, with elementary cross-hatched incisions. This skyphos, as well as Aa 1934a, has two red-black bands instead of rays above the foot and the same display on the foot and underside.

Another example, the miniature skyphos Aa 2068 (color fig. 32),⁴⁶ is decorated on both sides only with a chain of opposed palmettes, framed by thin red bands and a single row of upright ivy leaves set around the rim. No filling ornaments. A chain of double palmettes without lotuses is an odd motif, seen rarely in this period.⁴⁷ Similarly, the skyphos Aa 2069,⁴⁸ more recent in date, has the walls covered only with two rows of pear-shaped, up-facing lotus buds linked by a dotted interlacing arc above and below and separated by a red line. The decoration is framed below and around the rim by a black line. Above the black foot, the rays have been replaced by a violet band, and there are traces of white on the buds.

bar on the wing bow of the owl, chest, belly stripe, and hindquarter of the panther. Foot reserved; underside, black band in the inner part and three thin red circles around large point. Two thin red lines around the rim and two red bands above the red foot. On the solitary siren, cf. Hofstetter 1990, 87–90.

41 An identical representation appears on skyphos 18707 (Athens), cited in n. 39 above.

42 Karusu 1963.

43 Close to the Oxford Lid Group, “early in the series,” CVA Athens 4, 19. On this group, cf. ABV 616–617, 711; Add² 143; Moore/Philippides 1986, 92.

44 Aa 1871a; height 5.7 cm; diameter 8.7 cm; foot diameter 4.6 cm; reassembled; the handles and small fragments from the rim and foot are missing. For male sirens, cf. Agora P 25392, P 4677, and P 17858; Moore/Philippides 1986, nos. 133, 1303, and 1357. The type is rare in Attic black figure but more common among the Boeotian painters imitating Painter KX: ABV 29–30. Cf. Hofstetter 1990, 70–73, 115 n. 507.

45 The black brushstroke at the end of the pointed chin could indicate a beard, but a pointed chin does not always do so, according to Semni Karusu in CVA Athens 2, 1–3 (cup 17984) pl. 15.

46 Aa 2069; height 8 cm; diameter 11.7 cm; foot diameter 5.6 cm; restored: the handles and parts of the body are missing; added red; incisions; red line on outer edge of rim and rays above the foot. Added red-violet color on the core and alternate petals of the palmettes and on ivy leaves. Cf. similar ivy leaves on a fragment of the mouth of amphora P 23158 in Moore/Philippides 1986, no. 119 pl. 15.

47 Agora P 3703; Moore/Philippides 1986, 103 no. 30 pl. 4. Boardman 1974, 203.

48 Aa 2068; height 5.6 cm; foot diameter 4.5 cm. Parts of the walls and the handles are missing. Underside, same as that of the preceding vase.

Finally, Aa 2195 (color fig. 33),⁴⁹ the last but not least example from the sanctuary of the Nymph, represents a highly refined specimen of the Swan Group. A single row of six swans facing left, drawn upside down, elegantly painted in silhouette with red on the plumage, covers the main frieze of the bowl, framed above and below by a black-reddish band. In the field, there are groups of short strokes; a zone with vertical parallel short lines and a black band are around the rim; above the black foot are rays; on the handles is a row of strokes. The exceptional quality of the painting and the unusual dimensions of this skyphos suggest an early date within the group.

Having briefly surveyed the oldest skyphoi found on the Acropolis and in the sanctuary of the Nymph, I would like to make the following observations:

- In general, skyphoi of the same type were dedicated in both sanctuaries. The shape is indicative only to some degree of the painters' specialization within the contemporary pottery workshops.
- It seems, in the case of the skyphoi, that no distinctions of material or artistic value were made in the dedicating praxis. We are far from the Daedalic Era when precious materials distinguished an *anathēma*, a practice later criticized by wise Solon. In the early sixth century, the value of an artwork existed independently of the material of which it was made and the excellence of the images that adorned it. It mattered little if the drawing of an image was clumsy, so long as the illustrated story was interesting and amusing enough to give pleasure, as is also confirmed by the skyphoi of the first quarter of the century, with their naïve-style decoration coming straight from the heart.
- As for the motives that inspired the dedicators, whether Athenian citizens or foreigners,⁵⁰ the preserved inscriptions offer us some clues. No one has described the feelings of the dedicators better than Christos Karusos in his *Περικαλλές ἄγαλμα*,⁵¹ as the dedicators themselves expressed these feelings in the inscriptions accompanying their offerings. The expressions they use, including the word ἄγαλμα on fragment Acr 551, are still raw, pure, and fresh in the Archaic period and fit better than at any other time a precise intellectual and psychological act. They show that the votive offering was simultaneously an expression of piety and the desire to bear witness to the dedicators' devotion by offering the god an object they considered extraordinarily beautiful, an ἄγαλμα, a delight to the eyes, at the

⁴⁹ Aa 2195; height 6.3 cm; diameter 9 cm; foot diameter 4.7 cm. A small triangular fragment of the wall with rim has been lost; no incisions; band reserved on the rim. Above the foot in black glaze, rays. Underside, edge of the foot reserved, large black band with a vivid thin red line and two concentric red bands around a central bud in relief. On the date, see Beazley 1944, 55 and ABV 655.

⁵⁰ Archaeological objects bearing inscriptions show that even foreigners on business or staying for a time in Athens could make offerings in its sanctuaries; cf. the dedication of an Etruscan in the sanctuary of Athena on Aegina: Malagardis 1997, 48 n. 125, and 2008, 25 n. 64. For earlier periods, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 216.

⁵¹ Karusos 1982.

same time as expressing the pride of the creator about his work. Archaic man is neither mistaken nor flatters himself because he is sure, without needing anyone else's opinion, of the real beauty of his offering. The god, moreover, cannot regard such an expression as hubris because the source of the beauty is the god himself. In the Archaic period, every act was communal, *συνεργία*; the gods point the way, but the decision belongs to man, in contrast to oriental deities who give commands. The votive offering is the tangible proof of the relationship created between men and the gods and it also lasts for an extended period, as long as it stays visible in the sanctuary, long after the sacrifice has been finished.

- The occasions for giving offerings are virtually unlimited. The *do-ut-des* concept was already associated with dedications in the Early Archaic period. One motivation could be the wish to fulfill a vow made in the past, *εὐχσάμενος δεκάτην ἀνέθηκε τ' Ἀθηναίᾳ*.⁵² Later, Aristotle reveals another, more prosaic motivation in the case of the *ἀρχαίων ἀναθήματα* he cites ([*Ath. Pol.*] 7.4). According to him, Anthemion, son of Diphilos, dedicated an image on the occasion of his transition from the class of *thetes* to that of *hippeis*. Thus, offerings could signify, *σημείον φέρουσι*, an important event for which it was necessary to pay a tax, *ἀντὶ τέλους*, such as that of *θητικοῦ*, as in Anthemion's case. We may therefore conclude that the oldest Attic black-figure skyphoi, the majority of which was recovered from the two sanctuaries in question, followed the general trend observed for this period in Attic sanctuaries.⁵³ Specimens are scarce in the first quarter of the sixth century and become more numerous as we gradually move into the second. For the Acropolis, for instance, there is a total of six skyphoi from the first quarter of the sixth century and fourteen from the second.⁵⁴
- Turning now to the iconographic and stylistic analysis of the Acropolis skyphoi, it is clear that plant and animal friezes dominate and human figures burst from within (Vourva style); the “Corinthianizing” fashion was more in vogue on the skyphoi from the sanctuary of the Nymph. In terms of iconography, our study reveals that the deity and her cult practices played a part in the choice of themes. Thus, the presence of a plethora of panthers, goats, swans, sirens, and other creatures belonging to Aphrodite's realm on the skyphoi from the sanctuary of the Nymph is justified, but these themes make no such appearance on skyphoi from the Acropolis, where the human figure quickly made its appearance.

⁵² Van Straten 1981, 74; Raubitschek 1949, 44.

⁵³ For the Acropolis, cf. Pala 2012, 184; for Attica, Alexandridou 2011a, 83–86.

⁵⁴ Pala 2012, 57–59 figs. 15–16, 184 fig. 82.

- Two further differences may be noted between the two sanctuaries: first, during the first third of the sixth century, almost all of the skyphoi from the Nymph sanctuary are small, if not miniatures, but there is greater variety on the Acropolis; second, in the same period, the craftsmanship of certain skyphoi from the sanctuary of the Nymph is not seen on the examples from the Acropolis, the preeminent sanctuary of the city. Should we think that women – the dedicators *par excellence* at the former sanctuary – preferred to offer more carefully made skyphoi? If that is the case, can one conclude that craftsmanship can reveal the sex of dedicators? It is generally known that, aside from the dedication, nothing allows us to determine the sex of the dedicator.
- Let us now consider the skyphoi in terms of ritual practice. The dimensions of the skyphoi, generally speaking, will have depended on the way they were used in the sanctuary of the Nymph, which was associated with women and infants. With respect to the use of skyphoi in both sanctuaries, their dimensions, whether too small (the majority) or too large (the minority), seem to exclude their use in symposia and instead suggest cult activity of a purely ritual nature.⁵⁵
- Most importantly, the study of the skyphoi from the two sanctuaries at the beginning of the sixth century has confirmed the radical change in dedicatory practice that coincides with the crisis and impoverishment of the rural population during Solon's time. The scarcity of *anathemata* in the late seventh and the early sixth centuries stands in sharp contrast to the explosion of votives as the sixth century progressed. This shows that Solon's policy, as expressed in his poems, had beneficial consequences both in art and in people's lives. Because the religious life of Athens in Solon's time cannot be reconstructed except through late literary sources,⁵⁶ every contemporary document is a precious witness.

There is no doubt that sanctuaries in the ancient Greek world were sites of intense and effective transmission of ideological messages.⁵⁷ Thus, the development of sanctuaries and the progressively increasing volume of offerings over the first third of the sixth century could be seen as archaeological symptoms of the rise of the polis.⁵⁸ Through the development of the cult in the sanctuary of the Acropolis – the most public of the city – and that of the Nymph – the most intimate – we witness the emergence and the rise, the *Staatswerdung*, of the polis system of Athens.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Alexandridou 2011a, 32–33; Pala 2012, 53–80.

⁵⁶ Shapiro 1996, 128.

⁵⁷ Torelli 2009, 773–780.

⁵⁸ Manville 1990; Frost 1994, 50–51; Stahl 1987 and 2003.

⁵⁹ Glowacki 1998, 85 and Scholl 2006, 132.

Guy Hedreen

The Artificial Sculptural Image of Dionysos in Athenian Vase Painting and the Mythological Discourse of Early Greek Life

I well remember my first conversation with Alan Shapiro concerning the fragmentary black-figure representation of the return of Hephaistos, acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1997, because he is the only scholar who has ever asked me if a vase “blew my mind.” The appearance of an important new vase elicits no quicker grasp of the implications, and no greater enthusiasm, than it does from Alan. This paper, which is a tortoise-speed response to the appearance of the Peiraios Street chous, I offer to Alan in thanks for his friendship, professional support, and, above all, imaginative scholarship.

On a mid-fifth-century Athenian red-figure stamnos in Boston (fig. 1), women mix wine and dance in the presence of a lightly constructed sculptural image of the god Dionysos. The image consists of a (seemingly wooden) pillar, which is draped with a chiton and himation, festooned with vines, adorned with cakes, and completed by a mask.¹ Lightly constructed sculptural images of Dionysos like this one are represented on several dozen mid-fifth-century red-figure vases. Most of the vase paintings occur on stamnoi and depict women handling wine. Somewhat earlier than the red-figure vases is a series of early-fifth-century black-figure lekythoi depicting a column or pillar dressed as Dionysos. Unlike most red-figure representations of the image, the black-figure vase paintings depict the idol of Dionysos in profile view, and often with two faces. On the black-figure lekythoi, women dance around the idol, but the women do not prepare or drink wine.

The extensive scholarly literature on this series of vase paintings has been dominated by historicizing approaches.² August Frickenhaus argued that the vase paintings document an ecstatic rite involving women that occurred during the Athenian festival of Dionysos known as the Lenaia.³ Martin Nilsson advanced the alternative thesis that the vase paintings reflect a wine ritual occurring during the Athenian Dionysiac festival of Anthesteria.⁴ There are numerous difficulties with these particular interpretations as well as the general idea that the imagery corresponds directly to ritual

1 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 90.155; ARV² 621.34, Villa Giulia Painter; BAPD 207187.

2 The vase paintings have been the subject of two monographs: Frickenhaus 1912; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991. See also the shorter studies of Nilsson 1916, 309–339; Deubner 1932, 127–132; Coche de La Ferté 1951; Halm-Tisserant 1991; Carpenter 1997, 79–82, 93–97; Peirce 1998; Hamilton 2003; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 214–229.

3 Frickenhaus 1912, 17 and *passim*.

4 Nilsson 1916, 328–332.



Fig. 1: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 90.155. Attic red-figure stamnos, ARV² 621.34, Villa Giulia Painter, ca. 450 BCE, BAPD 207187. Gift of Edward Perry Warren. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

practices familiar to the vase painters.⁵ There remains, however, a pervasive tendency to see in the imagery some specific contemporary ritual.⁶

In this paper, I explore several representations of the artificial image of Dionysos, or representations closely related to the series, that are not easy to interpret as representations of contemporary ritual. The alternative interpretive approach that I offer is itself a kind of historicism. I argue that the vase paintings make sense within a framework of ancient Greek speculation on primitive life.

⁵ See especially Frontisi-Ducroux 1991; Peirce 1998.

⁶ E.g., Frontisi-Ducroux 1997, marking a shift from Frontisi-Ducroux 1991; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 214–235; Parker 2005, 306–312.

A baby satyr at the festival, and the disappearance of myth as a category of thought

Who are the women who ladle wine, carry drinking vessels, and dance in the presence of the idol of Dionysos? An indication of their identity is afforded by a mid-fifth-century red-figure stamnos in Warsaw (fig. 2). Although the vase painting lacks the artificial image of Dionysos, it includes several accessory features (three-legged table, stamnoi, skyphoi) that occur, in this combination, only in representations of the idol.⁷ The stamnos in Warsaw depicts an interruption of the ritual. The female figure holding a lyre has turned away from the mixing bowl and toward a girl. The girl carries a baby. The baby reaches out to the lyre player, like a child to his mother. But this is no mortal infant; its pointed ears, which are similar to those of a horse, show that it is a baby satyr.

About the significance of the baby satyr in this image, J. D. Beazley offered a memorable account:

a scene from ordinary life has been transposed into a higher key. The priestess and her companions making preparations for the festival of Dionysos The priestess is the mother of a little boy. A shame to leave him at home all day: her sister will bring him and look after him. She has brought him; he sees his mother, she turns to him in the midst of the stir and the splendour, and he will remember that moment his whole life through. That is the foundation of the picture: but here as elsewhere the mortal worshipers of the god have been assimilated to the half-divine nymphs who were the god's companions; and together with them the little boy has been changed, and has become a little satyr.⁸

This *ekphrasis*, evocative as it is, raises a seemingly fundamental question about the subject matter of this vase painting, and does not offer even the beginnings of an answer. If the rhetorical effectiveness of the image is rooted in its detailed references to contemporary social life, what is the motivation for transposing the scene to a “higher key”? What does an image of contemporary life gain by the addition of a patently mythological element? Beazley speaks of the assimilation of mortal worshipers to semi-divine nymphs – “here as elsewhere” – as if it were routine, as if no conscious artistic choice were entailed. That impression is belied, compositionally, by the gazes and gestures of the two principal women: they are focused intently, visually, on this baby satyr; their visual attention indicates that the satyr is of considerable importance within the image. The preoccupation of the represented figures directs our attention to the baby as well. This diminutive figure, with his tiny telltale horse-tipped ear, is arguably the most important element of this visual proposition.

⁷ Warsaw, National Museum 142465, Phiale Painter: ARV² 1019.82; BAPD 214262. For the pertinence of the vase within the corpus, see Frickenhaus 1912, 16, 39 no. 28; Peirce 1998, 66–67, 89. *Contra*, Hamilton 2003, 50 and *passim*.

⁸ Beazley 1928, 52.

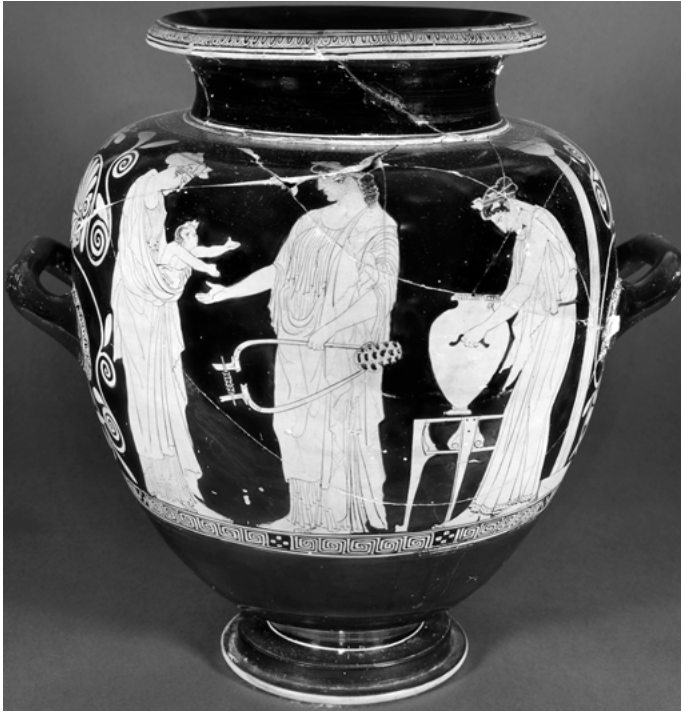


Fig. 2: Warsaw, National Museum 142465. Attic red-figure stamnos, Phiale Painter, ca. 450 BCE, ARV² 1019.82, BAPD 214262. Photo courtesy Teresa Żółtowska-Huszcza/Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie.

The difficulty with Beazley's *ekphrasis* does not lie in the implication that the female devotees on this vase represent the nymph companions of Dionysos. Numerous literary accounts describe the mountain nymphs who raised Dionysos from infancy and then became his first female followers.⁹ Fifth-century vase paintings of nymph nurses attending baby Dionysos are plentiful, and the pictorial characterization of those nymphs differs hardly at all from the characterization of the female figures who celebrate in the presence of the idol of Dionysos.¹⁰

The difficulty with Beazley's *ekphrasis* lies, instead, in the idea that the subject matter of the image is a contemporary Athenian event, and its mythical content of no real significance. The difficulty was highlighted in an important study of vase paintings of the artificial image of Dionysos by Sarah Peirce. Peirce argued that representations of women celebrating in the presence of the idol appear to have been constructed on the basis of preexisting imagery in Athenian vase painting. Her findings

⁹ E.g., Sophocles, *OC* 678–680; *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 7.

¹⁰ E.g., London, British Museum E492: ARV² 619.16, Villa Giulia Painter; BAPD 207166. The argument that the female figures in depictions of the artificial image of Dionysos are nymphs was advanced by Hedreen 1994 and Carpenter 1997, 52–61, 79–81.

call into question an assumption fundamental to Beazley's *ekphrasis*, namely, that the scene on the vase in Warsaw is based on direct experience: "The demonstration that the scenes are constructed out of conventional elements of preexisting scene-types makes impossible the empiricist view that images so circumstantial and detailed, so real in feeling, must be grounded in direct sensory experience of the things depicted."¹¹ Peirce accepted the idea that the baby satyr on the vase in Warsaw incontrovertibly shows that his mother is a nymph, "because it is nymphs who have sex with satyrs and thus bear baby satyrs." But she resisted – and this is the significant point – the further inference that the presence of the infant satyr specified the spatial, temporal, or ontological setting of the scene as mythical. She suggested that "[i]dentifying the [female figures] as nymphs does not provide the grounds for determining that the viewer is to read the scene in which they appear as mythical and imaginary rather than as conveying a reference to the social world of the polis. Rather, this typology points to a lack of conceptual opposition between a nymph and a human bacchic worshiper, and between real and unreal frames of reference in a Dionysiac context."¹² A similar claim occurs in other important recent writing about Dionysiac pictorial imagery by Robin Osborne and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood.¹³

The idea that the painted figures or depicted actions are grounded in aspects of visually recognizable reality, such as religious ritual, is not in dispute. What matters is the manner in which the various pictorial elements are combined, and the proposition that the combinations make. Is a vase painting's visual proposition essentially a documentary one, like an anatomical drawing in a surgeon's handbook? Or is the visual proposition fictional, like the description of an assembly of the gods in Homer? All the bits that make up the figures identified as "*silēnoi*" on the François Vase have their counterparts in the visible world, but the remarkable creature formed from those elements had no such counterpart.¹⁴ Men may have dressed up and performed as *silēnoi* on certain ritual occasions, but they never had their legs surgically replaced with horses' legs, which is what it would take to approximate the level of verisimilitude achieved in this vase painting. The manner in which Kleitias' satyrs are constructed is the opposite of the pictorial model envisioned by Beazley. Like James Cameron's *Avatar*, it takes a patently unreal or mythical concept – a cross-species being – and makes a strikingly plausible image out of it.

Mythological narrative and imagery was understood to relate to the lives of historical Greeks in more than one way. In some situations, paradigmatic value was perceived in the lives of mythological figures. The distinction between nymph and mortal female recedes in significance in the brief moment in a girl's life when she is

¹¹ Peirce 1998, 85.

¹² Peirce 1998, 66–67.

¹³ Osborne 1997, 197 and *passim*; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 215.

¹⁴ Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos: ABV 76.1; BAPD 300000.

entitled to be called “Nymph,” at her wedding.¹⁵ In other contexts, however, the differences between human female and nymph are the very thing that motivates the representation of the mythological figures. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, it is the relative permanence of the lives of the mythical nymphs, their proximity to the immortals, compared to that of mortal women, that is at issue (257–272). The differences between nymphs and gods, on the one hand, nymphs and mortals, on the other, play a key role in this poem in the exposition of how and why our lives differ from those of the gods.¹⁶ The nymph owes her existence to human conceptualizing, and many of her features are derived from a collective memory or imagining of the experiences of mortal, adolescent girls. But the differences between nymph and girl are arguably the most useful thing about the nymph as a cultural construct.

Is there a significant distinction being made in Athenian vase painting, between the mythical nymphs who raised Dionysos, and the women who worshiped the god in the historical period? Between the manner in which the nymphs worship Dionysos, and the manner in which contemporary Athenians honor him? The answer depends on whether the representations were understood as paradigmatic or anti-paradigmatic.¹⁷ One of the accomplishments of Peirce’s study of red-figure vase paintings of the artificial image of Dionysos is to have demonstrated, effectively, that there is a point of view inherent in the imagery. Part of the imagery is modeled on scenes of male figures engaging in the informal, postprandial procession through the streets of the polis, known as the komos.¹⁸ The manner in which the female devotees hold their skyphoi is part of the traditional iconography of wine drinking in Athenian vase painting. In contradiction to stereotypes disseminated in literature about proper female behavior, the female devotees of Dionysos, in the vase paintings, are drinking the wine. Peirce identified the actions of the female figures engaging directly with the artificial image as deriving from traditional vase painting vocabularies of the symposium and of animal sacrifice. She interpreted the imagery as a whole as a *theoxenia*, or ritual meal, which the god Dionysos attends in the form of his artificial image.

The most arresting thing about the imagery, in Peirce’s analysis, is the gender of the participants. Unlike virtually all other representations of sacrifice, symposia, wine-drinking, and komos, which are dominated by men, the imagery of the artificial image of Dionysos consists almost exclusively of female figures. The vase painters have articulated an all-female world of Dionysiac votaries by inverting familiar types of male-dominated imagery. Peirce seems to understand this inversion of expectations, or inversion of norms, to be part of a more or less unconscious process of message making within the discourse of vase painting. How does one articulate a message about women, in a discourse dominated by messages about men, without

¹⁵ Oakley/Sinos 1993, 10; Larson 2001, 100–101.

¹⁶ Clay 1989, 193–201.

¹⁷ The importance of this point is underscored in Ferrari 2003, 40–43.

¹⁸ E.g., Munich, Antikensammlungen 2422, hydria: ARV² 24.8; BAPD 200127.

using signifiers regularly associated with masculine signifieds? Inversion itself, as a sign that the message refers to an alternative reality, different from the here and now of Athenian men-centered ritual and sympotic culture, has not, she implies, been thematized. There is no obvious reason, however, why the inversion of norms is not an explicit part of the message itself. The activities of the female figures surrounding the artificial image of Dionysos, precisely through their emphatic masculinity, signal that they belong not to the everyday lives of the Athenians but to some alternate world.

Inversion, primitive life, and Dionysiac ritual

One context in which occurs the sort of inversion of gender roles structuring the Athenian vase painting of the worship of the artificial image of Dionysos is ancient speculation about early Greek life.¹⁹ A particularly suggestive thread of ancient speculation envisions a period in early Athenian history when women lived freer lives than they did in Classical Athens. As Froma Zeitlin has persuasively argued, the revolution led by Praxagora in Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai* resembles one ancient hypothesis about the character of early life at Athens. Several seemingly independent late sources describe the era of the first Athenian king, Kekrops, as one in which women, like men, could vote in assembly, and women engaged freely and without restrictions in sexual relations with men.²⁰ The autonomy of the women worshipping the idol of Dionysos in vase painting, the authority and liberty of the nymphs in poetry and art, and the political power of primitive Athenian women in political theory, all seem analogous in significant ways.²¹

The worship of Dionysos is explicitly set in the distant past in three Athenian vase paintings. A cup by Makron depicts Zeus delivering the infant Dionysos to the mountain nymphs. The identity of the babysitters is established not only by the underlying narrative but also by a wall of rock covered with evergreen trees.²² When Zeus arrives, the nymphs are preoccupied with making libation and sacrifice at an altar. Who is the recipient of the offering if not the newly arrived god? The image visualizes ritual customs familiar to Makron and his clients from life, being celebrated by mythological figures in the distant past, when the god known to Makron and company as a mature, adult figure was a baby. Makron's vase painting offers a cautionary message. It is not safe to assume that religious rituals depicted in vase painting are to be understood as occurring in the here and now, even if it is reasonable to assume that the rituals themselves – the actions performed – were familiar to the artists from life.

¹⁹ The best study of this ancient discourse remains Lovejoy/Boas 1935.

²⁰ Zeitlin 1999.

²¹ See further in Hedreen 2009.

²² Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis 325: ARV² 460.20; BAPD 204701.

On a hydria in Athens attributed to Hermonax, Hermes delivers the child Dionysos to his caregivers. Hermes approaches a standing female figure and a seated figure of uncertain gender. The seemingly mortal figures occupy the colonnade of a fine house, a palace to judge from the traces of a scepter. The foster parents – perhaps the mythological figures Ino and Athamas – have already prepared a table of offerings for the baby.²³ The offerings consist of a cake and two kantharoi, resting on a three-legged side table. What is striking about the gifts is that they are not generic offerings but specifically Dionysiac forms. The entire tableau of kantharoi, cake, and side table is characteristic of the offerings made to the artificial image of Dionysos in many red-figure vase paintings (e.g., fig. 1).²⁴ The significance of Hermonax's vase painting is that here, the offering tableau familiar from the idol scenes is unambiguously contextualized temporally as occurring in the mythical past, when the infant is acknowledged by his first mortal associates to be a god.

The most important of the three vases to historicize Dionysiac ritual in primitive times is a recent discovery, a late-fifth-century red-figure chous attributed to the Eretria Painter, found in Peiraios Street, Athens (fig. 3).²⁵ The vase depicts three male figures engaged in drinking and religious ritual. There is a basket on a three-legged table and a mask of Dionysos affixed to a wall or pillar. The image calls to mind the contemporary vase painting attributed to the same artist on a chous in the Vlastos collection at Athens. On the Vlastos vase, two women present offerings to a mask of Dionysos. The mask rests in a basket on a three-legged table, like the head of John the Baptist on a platter. The basket is of the same form (known as a *liknon*) as the basket on the Peiraios Street vase.²⁶ The action unfolding on the Vlastos vase has been plausibly interpreted as a preliminary stage in the erection of the artificial image of Dionysos. Supporting that interpretation are several mid-fifth-century vases, which depict a *liknon* resting at the base of the idol.²⁷ The image on the Peiraios Street vase includes three of the unusual features on the Vlastos vase: the *liknon*, three-legged table, and disembodied mask of Dionysos. On the Peiraios Street vase, the protagonists are male, and the branches used in the ritual are laurel and not ivy. Those differences have empowered some scholars to disassociate, unconvincingly, the scene on the Peiraios Street vase from the vase paintings of the artificial image of Dionysos.²⁸ For my purposes, the pair of inscriptions identifying two

²³ Athens, Kyrrou 71: BAPD 5703; published by Oakley 1982. See also Carpenter 1997, 56–57 pl. 22b. In literature, the role of Ino and Athamas in the raising of Dionysos was known already in the fifth century BCE (Pherekydes FGrH 3 F 90).

²⁴ For further examples of the kantharos, see the following items in Frontisi-Ducroux 1991: L19, L32, L34, L60, and L63 (where it rests on the table). On L60 and L63, the kantharos is being offered to the statue god.

²⁵ Athens, Ephorate 3500: BAPD 28128; Tzachou-Alexandri 1997.

²⁶ Athens, National Archaeological Museum VS 318, Eretria Painter: ARV² 1249.13; BAPD 216949.

²⁷ See Bérard/Bron 1990.

²⁸ Tzachou-Alexandri 1997, 483; Hamilton 2003, 51; Schmidt 2005, 185.

of the male figures on the Peiraios Street vase is of the greatest importance for identifying the cultural context of the imagery of the temporary image of Dionysos. The man with the branches is Prometheus, the youth with the skyphos, Epimetheus. Prometheus and Epimetheus are associated with cultural innovations occurring at the very beginning of human civilization, such as the discovery of fire and invention of women. In Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, Prometheus describes his numerous contributions to the civilization of the human race, which, prior to his interventions, "dwelt underground, like tiny ants, in the sunless recesses of caves" (452–453). Prometheus taught humans astronomy, mathematics, writing, domestication of animals, seafaring, medicine, and, most importantly, animal sacrifice. The image on the Peiraios Street vase appears to depict the making, and perhaps invention, of a bloodless offering of wine to Dionysos.²⁹



Fig. 3: Athens, Ephorate 3500. Attic red-figure chous, Eretria Painter, ca. 425 BCE, BAPD 28128, Tzachou-Alexandri 1997. After Tzachou-Alexandri 1997, 474 figs. 2–3, reproduced with permission of Oxbow Books and Tzachou-Alexandri.

If the depicted ritual actions and the names of the protagonists were meaningfully related to each other, then the bloodless offering of wine is envisioned as a practice going back to the primeval period of Prometheus, when so much of human culture was reorganized into its more or less modern form. The pictorial proposition can be compared to the ritual program of the Athenian Dionysiac festival of Anthesteria. As Christoph Auffarth has demonstrated, the myths and rituals associated with that

²⁹ Paleothodoros 2009, 58.

festival – the primeval flood, the absence of slavery, a tolerance of anarchy, the closing of the temples of the Olympian gods, the eschewal of animal sacrifice, and the consecration of new wine – evoke a moment in time prior to the settled order of Zeus.³⁰ That cultural moment corresponds to the *floruit* of Zeus's titanic antagonist Prometheus. Further suggestive of a link between the story unfolding on the Peiraios Street vase and the ideology of the Anthesteria is the presence, within the image, of a chous, evoking the drinking contest on the second day of the festival.

On the Peiraios Street vase, the inscribed names provide a cultural-historical frame of reference within which the depiction of a ritual involving the mask of Dionysos, a *liknon*, and wine tasting made intellectual sense. That frame of reference is the early history of culture as the Greeks imagined it. It is more difficult to read this image along the lines of Beazley's *ekphrasis* of the stamnos in Warsaw (fig. 2), namely, that the artist had an image of contemporary Dionysiac ritual in mind, and assimilated the participants, without serious thought, to mythological figures usually associated with Dionysos. Prometheus and Epimetheus are not your typical Dionysiac devotees. And, they are far from being stock figures within Athenian vase painting. Applying the names of those esoteric mythological characters to figures engaged with the mask, the *liknon*, and wine vessels entailed conscious reflection on the proper spheres of action of those culture heroes as well as this sort of Dionysiac ritual.

The idol of Dionysos and the prehistory of Greek sculpture

The vase paintings of the lightly constructed sculptural image of Dionysos are generally understood to document the worship at Athens in the fifth century BCE of an idol of Dionysos, constructed out of a pole or pillar, adorned by a mask, clothing, and branches.³¹ The column- or pillar-idol of Dionysos has, in turn, been interpreted as a developmental descendent of an earlier type of divine monument, the purely aniconic or non-figural:

One can, in fact, trace the development of portrayals of Dionysos from a simple aniconic monument to a complete anthropomorphization. Particularly instructive for the intermediate stage in this evolutionary process are the many instances in vase painting where a pillar, or a

³⁰ Auffarth 1991, 202–276.

³¹ E.g., most recently, see Osborne 1997, 195; Carpenter 1997, 95; Hamilton 2003, 55. This in spite of the persuasive argument of Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, 113–115, that the doubling of the mask of Dionysos on the idol on black-figure lekythoi is a pictorial invention designed to emphasize the importance of eye contact between idol and worshiper, and does not correspond to a real cult artifact.

column, or even a tree trunk, has a mask of Dionysos affixed to it and wrapped in clothing below. The aniconic image is transformed into a quasi-anthropomorphic statue by the addition of a human head.³²

Aniconic representations of the gods are well attested both archaeologically and textually.³³ The theory that aniconic monuments preceded figural statues in the development of Greek sculpture was also articulated in antiquity. In the sanctuary of Hermes in Achaean Pharai, Pausanias (7.22.4) claims, there were approximately thirty square stones. The people of Pharai revered these stones, each one by the name of a god. Pausanias generalizes that, in still more ancient times, throughout Greece, rough stones, instead of *agalmata*, commemorated the gods.³⁴ Testimonia such as that have been taken at face value by many scholars, as evidence of a genuine developmental history of Greek sculpture, from aboriginal aniconic images to fully iconic, with the vase paintings of the idol of Dionysos, it is suggested, documenting archaeologically the intermediate development from aniconic to semi-iconic.³⁵ It is the great achievement of Alice Donohue's 1988 study to have demonstrated that ancient writing on the origins of Greek sculpture cannot be taken at face value.³⁶ The testimonia grow out of two larger intellectual-historical traditions with particular ideological objectives. One, the iconoclastic tradition, is unreliable because it is tendentious. Iconoclastic writers hoped to stamp out idolatry by arguing that the sophisticated and attractive Classical Greek statues of the gods originated in nothing more than crude, unworked rocks and planks. The other, the antiquarian tradition, is unreliable because it was created much later than the events it claims to describe or explain, and is largely theoretical in method. In his analysis of the thirty-odd square stones of Pharai, Pausanias draws the logical, not archaeological, inference that they represent an earlier form of sculpture than figural art. The speculative and counterfactual nature of Pausanias' claim is suggested by modern archaeological research: aniconic works were created in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. Archaeologically speaking, such monuments, as a class, are no earlier than fully figural sculpture.

The vase paintings of the lightly constructed artificial sculptural image of Dionysos themselves, upon closer inspection, do not support the claim that they document the evolution of aniconic into semi-iconic. None of the vase paintings depicts the

³² Miller 1974, 248. See also Kroll 1982, 74: "[in] Attic vase-paintings aniconic columns or tree-trunk fetishes of Dionysos were regularly anthropomorphized by the addition of a mask and ... garment."

³³ See now Gaifman 2012.

³⁴ Pausanias 7.22.4. Compare Pausanias 3.20.9 and 9.24.3.

³⁵ The theory goes all the way back to J. J. Winckelmann. For the history of the idea, see Donohue 1988, 183–194.

³⁶ See also Gordon 1979, 12: "it is 'pseudohistory' not 'history.'"



Fig. 4: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2290. Attic red-figure cup, ca. 480 BCE, ARV² 462.48, Makron, BAPD 204730. Photo: bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Ingrid Geske/Art Resource, NY.

worship of an aniconic column or pillar, which is the first step according to the theory. All the vase paintings depict the worship of a vertical element *transformed* by the addition of a mask and, most often, drapery, into a figural image. The aim of building such a pillar image seems to be the creation of a more or less anthropomorphic representation of the god, not the embellishment of a preexisting, sacred, non-anthropomorphic aniconic form. Consider the two images of Dionysos on a beautiful cup by Makron (fig. 4). On the exterior, women dance around an image of Dionysos. At first sight, the figure of Dionysos appears to represent the god himself. It has a full beard, ivy crown, and rich clothing, and is depicted in profile view, like the representation of the god himself, listening intently to the music of his mythical friend, the satyr, in the tondo of the very same cup. The image of Dionysos on the outside of the cup, however, has no arms or feet. In place of the feet, there is a pillar; where the arms and shoulders should be, there are cakes on twigs and grape vines.³⁷ The comparison between the two images of Dionysos, invited by the structure of the cup's decoration, shows that the aim of building the artificial image is to create a replica of a fully anthropomorphic god, to effect a veritable epiphany of the god himself.

Ancient literary testimonia on the prehistory of Greek sculpture offer another, alternative means of understanding the significance of the image of the lightly constructed idol of Dionysos. Several testimonia suggest that the earliest Greek

³⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2290: ARV² 462.48, Makron; BAPD 204730.

sculpture was imagined as having been made without the knowledge or tools of carving stone or wood. A fragment of Kallimachos claims that the earliest image of Hera on Samos was “not yet the well-carved work [of the sculptor Smilis], but according to the old custom [it was] a *sanis*, a ‘plank,’ not carved by chisels; for thus did they then set up the gods.”³⁸ A commentary of uncertain date on the text of Kallimachos draws an important inference: the monument was unworked, because at that early date, the art of carving statues did not yet exist.³⁹ It is possible that the ideas go back to the fifth century, the very period of the vase paintings of the idol of Dionysos, in the writings of the local fifth-century Samian historian Aethlios, who, Clement reports, described the *agalma* of Hera as, originally, a *sanis*, or “plank.”⁴⁰ The ancient literary speculations about the absence of tools or skills necessary to carve stone or wood in primitive times correspond to what the vase paintings depict. The scene on the exterior of Makron’s cup (fig. 4) represents not the worship of an aniconic image of Dionysos, but the creation of an iconic, figural representation of the god, without resorting to stone or wood carving. The artificial image of the god is comparable in its lifelikeness to roughly contemporary carved stone sculptural monuments, such as the seated Dionysos from Icaria.⁴¹ But it is not comparable in technology. In virtually all of the vase paintings, the idol of Dionysos appears to be constructed out of wood, cloth, masks, vines, and cakes but not out of carved stone. In this theory of primitive religious sculpture, cloth is envisioned as compensating for the inability to carve drapery in wood or stone sculpture. The idea that the art of weaving was earlier than the art of sculpture goes back as far it seems as Demokritos in the fifth century BCE, who speculated that humans learned the art of weaving by imitating spiders.⁴²

To summarize, in the vase paintings of the artificial image of Dionysos, the very technique in which the idol is constructed operates like the identity and behavior of the female worshipers, or the occasional presence of satyrs, the infant Dionysos, or the culture hero Prometheus. Those pictorial elements characterize a Dionysian ritual taking place at some place and time in the past, and not the immediate here and now of fifth-century Athens. Two factors have militated against acceptance of the basic proposition that the vase paintings of the artificial sculpture image of Dionysos articulate a mythical scenario. One is the overvaluation of the seemingly realistic detail within the images as evidence that the scenes belong to the genre of representations of daily life. The other is an overly narrow definition of “myth,” which excludes narratives concerning gender authority, the foundation of religious ritual, or the creation of

³⁸ Kallimachos, *Aet.* 4 fr. 100, preserved in a quotation of Plutarch, which, in turn, is preserved by Eusebios, *Praep. evang.* 3.7.98d–3.8.99d. Text and translation after Donohue 1988, 314–315 no. 108.

³⁹ Text in Donohue 1988, 265 no. 42.

⁴⁰ Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* 4.40P, text after Donohue 1988, 266–270 no. 44.

⁴¹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3072–74 and 3897: LIMC III (1986) 424 no. 6, 437–438 no. 135 pls. 296 and 310, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri).

⁴² Lovejoy/Boas 1935, 207.

sculptural techniques. The ritual depicted in these vase paintings arguably belongs to the here and now of the artists, if indeed it belongs there at all, only as a relic of an earlier way of life. In fact, the idea that the vase paintings did *not* correspond to contemporary ritual practice, because they emphasize the authority of women in Dionysiac ritual and the participation of women in the traditionally masculine activity of wine drinking, may be one of the propositions advanced by the imagery.

Allison Surtees

Satyrs as Women and Maenads as Men: Transvestites and Transgression in Dionysian Worship

The question of transvestism in ancient Greece has been a topic of scholarly interest for some time. With respect to the visual evidence, much of this attention has focused on a series of vases depicting komasts known as “Anakreontic” or, more recently, “Booners.”¹ This series dates to ca. 510–470 BCE and features bearded men in costume. They wear the long chiton, himation, *mitra*, and boots; they carry lyres, drinking vessels, and sometimes parasols, and wear earrings. The interpretation of these vases has been controversial, with much of the discussion centering on whether or not these men are cross-dressing, and what association, if any, they have with Dionysos.² Margaret Miller has convincingly argued that these men are, in fact, wearing women’s clothing, that there is a cultic connection between Dionysos and the “Anakreontic” vases, and offered a possible socio-political context for the series.³ The “Anakreontic” vases are not alone in depicting cross-dressing. I would like to focus on a group of images depicting other Dionysian cross-dressers; that is, maenads dressing as satyrs and satyrs dressing as maenads. Christiane Caruso collected these images and has convincingly argued that the costumed figures represent cross-dressing as part of cultic activity, and that the costumes are not indicative of theatrical scenes.⁴ Reading this Dionysian group of images together with the “Anakreontic” vases strengthens the cultic interpretation of both groups. Miller’s socio-political analysis of the vases also supports my own reading of Athenian satyr iconography more generally as reflective of the changing social anxieties of Athenian citizens through the sixth and fifth centuries.

Crucial to this discussion is the character of Dionysos himself. Dionysos is a complex, liminal deity. He is thoroughly Greek, but is seen as a foreigner, newly introduced to Greek cities. He is the wild god of the *chora* who unleashes madness through the vine, but he is also a civic deity, with cult activity in the heart of the city, particularly – but not exclusively – at Athens. As one of the Olympian gods he is divine, yet the myth of his birth has him born twice, first from a mortal and then from a god. He is a god strongly associated with the phallus, and yet he has a special connection to female worshipers not shared by any other male deity. He is sexually

1 The most complete catalogue of the “Anakreontic” vases is in Kurtz/Boardman 1986, 47–50. Miller 1999, 230 n. 27 adds four more vases to this collection.

2 Miller 1999.

3 Miller 1999; Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague 1990.

4 Caruso 1987.

ambiguous, surrounded by a world of rampant sexuality, yet somehow remains removed from it, both through his ambiguous appearance and his monogamous relationship with Ariadne.⁵

That images of Dionysos present sexual ambiguity is not new. Perhaps the best known literary reference to this is found in Euripides' *Bacchae*, where Dionysos is described as womanish, with long hair and white skin.⁶ The visual evidence further reflects this ambiguity. Unlike other male deities, Dionysos is rarely depicted nude until the late fifth century. Instead, he often appears dressed in a long chiton, covered with a himation or animal skin. The long chiton, especially after the archaic period, is generally interpreted as a feminine garment, which contrasts with the full beard he wears until well into the fifth century.⁷ Towards the end of the fifth century, Dionysos does lose his beard along with much of his clothing.⁸ But even when presented nude, he still often maintains an air of effeminacy not found in depictions of other gods.⁹ He is nevertheless still clearly male and, in his beardless incarnation, often appears in company with Ariadne. The marriage between Dionysos and Ariadne is one of the few divine matches that seems to end well, particularly when compared with other matches between gods and mortals.¹⁰ Perhaps it is in part his sensitivity to the feminine that allows this seemingly peaceful coexistence.

All of this underscores the unique relationship between Dionysos and women in myth and cult, a relationship that is not found with other male deities. Nevertheless, women are not closely associated with the god at the start of the visual tradition. Early Archaic thiasos scenes focus on Dionysos and satyrs, with the nymphs/maenads taking a secondary role. By the middle of the sixth century, however, and particularly in the images of the Amasis Painter, the close relationship between Dionysos and his female followers becomes more pronounced.¹¹ Satyrs are most prominent in wine-making scenes, but, beginning ca. 550 BCE, the general thiasos features women in a key role. Not only are women leading actors in the scene, but their behavior is not the typically accepted behavior of women. Most notable of these transgressions are

5 For a recent examination of the varied aspects of Dionysos, see Schlesier 2011. Detienne 1986 explores the numerous sides of Dionysos and his paradoxical nature. Seaford 2006 analyzes the many aspects of the god, particularly with an eye to his role in the theatre. Jameson 1993 focuses on the sexual ambiguity of Dionysos and his unique relationship with women.

6 Euripides, *Bacch.* 353, 453–458.

7 On the sexual ambiguity of Dionysos, see Jameson 1993. Csapo 1997 provides a discussion of the feminine appearance of Dionysos with detailed references (260–262), and also explores the gender and species ambivalence of both Dionysos and his followers (264).

8 Carpenter 1997, 85, 98 n. 77. Carpenter 1993 discusses two images, ca. 470 BCE, of a beardless Dionysos.

9 Jameson 1993, 50.

10 Jameson 1993, 54 stresses both the uniquely monogamous nature of this relationship, which by its nature contrasts with the sexual abandon that surrounds Dionysos. See also Keuls 1982.

11 Isler-Kerenyi 2004, 35; Carpenter 1986, 82. On the Amasis Painter, see Bothmer 1985.

violence and sexual promiscuity. The violence stems primarily from the act of *sparagmos* and omophagy. Through the rending and eating of raw flesh, maenads (or women in a maenadic state) transgress social norms both by undermining the nurturing, protective roles expected of women, and by subverting the normal process of the civic sacrifice.¹² Their freedom to reject sexual advances or to consensually engage in promiscuous sexual behavior is also subversive in two ways. On the one hand, it transgresses the expected modesty and controlled behavior of a proper Athenian woman. On the other hand, it subverts the sanctioned sexual power roles, as the maenads are the ones determining when and how sexual activity will occur, while the satyrs are forced to submit to their will and accept their conditions.¹³

It is against this backdrop that I would like to examine the series of Dionysian cross-dressing vases. The first is a krater in Berlin, on which a nude woman stands to the left of a seated Dionysos (fig. 1).¹⁴ His body faces to the right, but his head is turned up towards the woman to his left, who looks back at him. In her right hand, she holds up a satyr mask. A winged Eros hovers to the right of Dionysos, while a satyr on the far left and a maenad on the far right bookend the scene. The second is a well-known kylix in Corinth.¹⁵ On the left is a woman dressed only in satyr shorts, complete with a tail and erect phallus. She dances in front of a seated Dionysos, who holds a thyrsos and watches attentively. The third is a fragment in Frankfurt depicting a similar scene.¹⁶ On the left, Dionysos sits holding his thyrsos and watches the woman to his right. While only her top half is complete, it is clear that she is dancing. Her left hand sits on her hip and her right hand is raised. Her left foot is raised behind her as she dances for the deity in front of her. Like her counterpart on the Corinth kylix, she wears satyr shorts with a long tail flowing behind her.

All three of these images depict a woman dressed in an aspect of male costume. The figures clearly maintain their feminine nature, while trying on part of the masculine character.¹⁷ These vases appear to echo or derive from earlier scenes, which depict satyrs dancing before a seated Dionysos, holding his thyrsos. There is nothing to indicate a mythical reading to these scenes; instead, the figure dancing before the seated deity suggests a cultic reading. As Caruso notes, however, this is not the

12 Detienne 1989a, 4–5.

13 Two of the earliest Athenian images of satyrs date to ca. 580 BCE and depict satyrs chasing or violently attacking nymphs (Athens, Agora Museum P 334: ABV 23; BAPD 300278. Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery, G600: ABV 12.22; BAPD 300105). On the François Vase, ca. 570 BCE (Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209: ABV 76.1, 682; BAPD 300000) satyrs and nymphs are cavorting together with no suggestion of violence. Through the sixth and fifth centuries, vases depict both consensual sexual activity between satyrs and maenads and thwarted attempts to seduce maenads. I am not aware of any scene that depicts a non-consensual sexual act in progress between satyrs and maenads.

14 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2932: ARV² 1458.31; BAPD 218304.

15 Corinth, Archaeological Museum CP885: Paul-Zinserling 1994, pl. 6.1; BAPD 231072.

16 Frankfurt, Goethe-Universität, Antikensammlung 56918a: Caruso 1987, 105 fig. 6; BAPD 3998.

17 Miller 1999, 247.



Fig. 1: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2932.

Photo: bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen/
Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY.

ecstatic group dance which induces the transformation from woman to maenad. Rather, this is a solitary performance for the god, or a priest dressed as a god.¹⁸

These female satyrs are paralleled by two contemporary images of men, or more properly satyrs, dressed as maenads. A chous in Athens depicts a satyr and a maenad dancing facing one another (fig. 2).¹⁹ The maenad is in profile on the right and wears a

¹⁸ Caruso 1987, 106.

¹⁹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1220: Caruso 1987, 108 fig. 15; BAPD 7664.



Fig. 2: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1220. Photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

chiton and himation. Her left hand is on her hip, and her right hand holds out a thyrsos. On the left, the satyr, also in profile, wears a long chiton and himation, just as the maenad. Nevertheless, his long beard makes clear his masculine identity. The satyr is dressed much in the same way as the archaic Dionysos. A fragment from the Athenian Pnyx offers a more curious image (fig. 3).²⁰ Despite having only the head and upper body intact, the shaggy hair and beard and the pointed ear make clear the identification of the figure as a satyr. His left arm is raised in the same gesture as the woman on the Frankfurt fragment, suggesting that he too is dancing. While only a portion of his costume can be seen, the satyr wears a sort of brassiere-like garment, or “falsies.”²¹

²⁰ Athens, Agora Museum PNP 169: Caruso 1987, 109 fig. 17; BAPD 45022.

²¹ Miller 1999, 245.



Fig. 3: Athens, Agora Museum, PNP 169.

Photo: The American School of Classical Studies
at Athens: Agora Excavations.

These two images of satyrs dressed as women, or more properly maenads since we are clearly within the Dionysian sphere, again depict the satyrs in the act of dancing. If we are to interpret the images of the dancing female satyrs as having a cultic context, it follows that we can interpret these depictions of cross-dressed dancing satyrs in the same way.²² These representations suggest, then, that by at least the late-fifth century, Dionysian cult included elements of cross-dressing. This should not be overly surprising given the subversion of normal gender roles within the Dionysian sphere. The Dionysian mysteries offered the opportunity to connect with the god through ecstatic dance and the consumption of wine. Part of this connection was a transformation from man to satyr or woman to maenad.²³ If we have humans transforming through ritual into semi-divine creatures, is it so far a stretch to think that they could also transform, at least in part, into the other gender?

It is important to note that there are images of satyrs portraying women which do not have a cultic context. A lekythos in Tübingen shows a satyr working wool, a task that is clearly women's work.²⁴ The satyr stands in profile, facing right. In front of him is a kalathos, from which he pulls wool. He is nude, as most satyrs are, and

²² That these images are religious in nature was firmly stated by Metzger 1951, 129 and reaffirmed by Paul-Zinserling 1994, 45.

²³ Isler-Kerenyi 2004, 33 identifies a number of scenes which she reads as male worshipers undergoing a transformation into satyrs. Moore 2010, 27–28 disagrees with this reading, primarily based on the link Isler-Kerenyi makes between the male dancer and padded dancers. However, if we do not equate the male dancers of the thiasos with earlier padded dancers, and I believe we should not, then Moore's objections no longer apply.

²⁴ Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Z158: ARV² 734.83 and 1668; BAPD 209075; cf. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1343: ARV² 681.81; BAPD 208029, ca. 480–470 BCE, which depicts a woman performing the same task.

has a long tail. Not only is he performing a woman's task, as François Lissarrague notes, he is also a particularly elegant satyr. His hair is carefully coiffed and contained by a wreath, and his genitals are neatly tied, indicated by the spiral ligature. The wildness and sexuality associated with the Dionysian context are controlled and constrained in the feminine domestic space.²⁵ A lekythos formerly in Florida depicts another satyr in a domestic space.²⁶ He stands in profile facing right behind an empty chair and looks into a mirror that he holds up to his face. This is a satyr at a woman's toilette, grooming himself.²⁷ While the satyr working wool has neatly tied his genitals, this satyr has tucked his backwards between his thighs in a complete inversion of the hugely ithyphallic satyrs of the thiasos. He leans forward, so that his genitals are clearly visible behind him. This action undermines his sexuality, negating his masculinity not only through his presence in feminine space but also through his posture.

A third lekythos, in Basel, depicts another satyr at a woman's toilette.²⁸ This time, however, the satyr is helping a woman with her grooming rather than grooming himself. He is crouched before a woman who stands facing him, resting a hand on his head for balance. The satyr reaches towards her genitals, presumably aiding her in the act of depilation. The mirror hanging on the wall removes any doubt about the feminine setting. With the exception of Eros in later depictions, this grooming role is never played by men.²⁹ Rather, it is usually played by another woman, presumably a prostitute, as on a kylix in Tarquinia.³⁰ In the tondo of the cup are two women, in poses that parallel those of the woman and the satyr on the Basel lekythos. A stool on the left sets the scene as an interior. The woman standing holds a pyxis in her left hand, confirming the setting as a woman's space. Another kylix, this one in Moscow, depicts a similar scene in its tondo, except with two satyrs.³¹ Unlike the previous scenes, there is no furniture or other indication of an indoor setting. Nonetheless, the satyrs pose as do the figures in the other scenes; one stands facing the other, who crouches in front of him. The crouching satyr gazes towards the genitals of the standing satyr; his right hand is raised, and his left reaches out towards the thigh of the standing satyr. These actions suggest that he is aiding the

²⁵ Lissarrague 1998, 182. Lissarrague 1993, 210 discusses other images of infibulated satyrs.

²⁶ Ex-collection Thetis, no. 108; Sotheby's (London) sale 23.5.1991, no. 73; Lowe Museum, University of Miami: Lissarrague 1998, 183 fig. 30.

²⁷ As Lissarrague 1998, 306 n. 51 notes, the mirror is an exclusively feminine object, thus making the context clear.

²⁸ Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 423; CVA Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig 1, 128, pl. (202)56.8.10; BAPD 7672. Lissarrague 1998, 306 n. 53 notes an analogous scene in New York.

²⁹ Lissarrague 1998, 184.

³⁰ Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale no inventory number; Para 333.9bis; Keuls 1985, 173 fig. 151.

³¹ Moscow, Pushkin Museum II1b512: ARV² 801.16; BAPD 209896; Caruso 1987, 106 fig. 8.

standing satyr in his grooming, thereby mirroring actions associated specifically with women.³²

It seems clear, then, that these images depict satyrs in feminine roles. There is not, however, anything in these specific images to relate them to the Dionysian world. And, in fact, I do not read these images as reflective of cult at all. Rather, they form part of a larger group of “secular” satyrs who reflect social anxieties within Athens and subvert the socio-political norms.³³ The point for the topic at hand is that not every satyr crossing gender boundaries is doing so as part of ritual activity. And, it is worth noting that while these satyrs are taking on female activities, they do not assume female dress. The costuming appears to be an important part of the cultic transgression, which is consistent with the importance of costume in cultic transformation.³⁴

I believe that the vases of female satyrs and satyr maenads lend support to the Dionysian interpretation of the “Anakreontic” vases. Miller provides a detailed summary of the scholarship to date and the various interpretations of this series.³⁵ She notes that the interpretation “that these komasts are elegantly dressed *à la mode lydienne*, which could itself seem effeminate to most Athenians, is now dominant in the English-speaking world.”³⁶ This interpretation suggests that this is not transvestism at all, but merely men dressed in the eastern fashion. On the other hand, the Dionysian context for these scenes is stressed by Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague. They note that “Dionysos, then, must lie behind the ‘Anakreontic’ *kōmos*, the symposion, and every social and religious activity involving wine.”³⁷ They identify the scenes as presenting an organized and regulated alterity, and a “reasonable recipe for being simultaneously self and other, for becoming other without losing one’s identity, one’s beard and citizen status.”³⁸ After an examination of the various readings, Miller concludes that “in balance, the arguments for private komastic transvestism with Dionysian overtone best suit the evidence.”³⁹

I find Miller’s arguments compelling and follow her in supporting the Dionysian interpretation of the “Anakreontic” series. This reading suggests two important things. First, these scenes do, in fact, depict transvestism. Second, these scenes, and the transvestism, are associated with Dionysos. Miller also makes another important ob-

³² Caruso 1987, 106 suggests that the satyrs are performing a dance, primarily because of the position of the arms. The similarity of the pose to the grooming scenes described above, however, clearly argues against this interpretation.

³³ Surtees 2011.

³⁴ Caruso 1987, 105 stresses that the costuming in these scenes need not be theatrical but is more likely ritual. See also Hedreen 1992.

³⁵ Miller 1999, 232–236.

³⁶ Miller 1999, 235. For bibliography of the proponents of the “Lydian” interpretation, see Miller 1999, 235 nn. 35–36.

³⁷ Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague 1990, 230.

³⁸ Frontisi-Ducroux/Lissarrague 1990, 232.

³⁹ Miller 1999, 236.

servation. While these scenes do depict men dressing as women, these are not men attempting to pass as women. Quite the opposite, in fact. Miller notes that not only do these men have beards, but that the beards are depicted rather emphatically, exaggerating their presence. This exaggeration served “to emphasize the internal contradiction between the masculinity of the wearers and the femininity of the clothes worn, and the external separation of the komasts from the rest of humanity and the mundane.”⁴⁰

This same phenomenon, namely, that of not attempting to “pass,” is also seen on the vases of female satyrs and satyr maenads discussed above. Both the Corinth kylix and the Frankfurt fragment depict a woman wearing satyr shorts. There is, however, no attempt to make these women look like men. Both wear their hair in a feminine chignon and have their breasts exposed. The woman on the Berlin krater holds the satyr mask but does not wear it, and her nudity exhibits her female gender. The Athenian chous shows a dancing satyr dressed as a maenad, but he still wears a long shaggy beard, as does the satyr on the fragment from the Pnyx. These vases appear, therefore, to belong to the same general category of Dionysian transvestism, adding to the body of evidence regarding the use of cross-dressing in Dionysian worship.⁴¹

Having convincingly established this reading, Miller proceeds to place the vases within their historical context to determine why these “Anakreontic” komasts cross-dressed. After all, there are a variety of reasons for cross-dressing in Greek cult.⁴² She notes that all the various accoutrement of these scenes, as well as the mere participation in komoi, point to an elite identity of the komasts.⁴³ The series dates 510–470 BCE, a time of social anxiety in Athens, particularly with respect to relations between the elite and the non-elite as the polis moved from tyranny towards radical democracy. In this light, these vases may reflect a Late Archaic social practice designed to alleviate political and social anxiety among the elite at a perceived loss in status: “Perhaps the distinction that is being sought in the act of komastic transvestism is distinction not just from their ordinary selves but from the lower orders of society.”⁴⁴ Miller concludes by stating that the “Anakreontic” vases are “a series of depictions of komoi revealing the emphatic crossing of the gender boundary that functioned as a strategy for coping with elite anxieties even while the komos’ participants thought that what they were doing was showing how collectively distinctive they were.”⁴⁵

Miller’s interpretation of the “Anakreontic” vases provides the best backdrop against which to read the vases of cross-dressing satyrs. The satyr is a complex figure, who can be understood on several levels. He is a companion of Dionysos; he is a

⁴⁰ Miller 1999, 247.

⁴¹ For literary sources on cultic transvestism, see Csapo 1997, 262–264 and Miller 1999, 242–244.

⁴² Miller 1999, 246.

⁴³ Miller 1999, 247–249.

⁴⁴ Miller 1999, 250.

⁴⁵ Miller 1999, 253.

comic figure; he represents alterity and all the appetites a good citizen should not have.⁴⁶ I believe, however, that the connection between satyr and citizen goes beyond a simple cautionary tale. I suggest that the satyr also represents connection and identification with the citizen, not merely opposition. I have argued elsewhere that from his inception in the visual tradition, the satyr is used as an expression of change within the socio-political landscape of Athens, and that the iconography of the satyr changes in response to changing political concerns.⁴⁷ This is seen most forcefully in the period from the end of the tyranny to the end of the fifth century. While this period marked a time of anxiety and social tension between the elite and non-elite, it was also a time of tension between the citizen and non-citizen.

The first half of the fifth century saw a mass influx of foreigners into Athens, largely drawn by the prosperity of the city, particularly after the Persian invasions.⁴⁸ Following the Kleisthenic reforms, a number of recent immigrants had been granted citizenship by inclusion into demes and tribes, and it is likely that subsequent arrivals were privy to the same privilege, or at least felt they should be.⁴⁹ This is especially true with the increased importance of the Athenian navy. Ships required a great deal of manpower, which was largely supplied by *thetes*, mercenaries, and metics.⁵⁰ Thus, as the new democracy was developing, even the poorest citizens and foreign residents played a part in the protection of the city. In fact, as Athens became more and more of a naval presence in Greece, those manning the fleet played a greater role in the city's military expansion: "By rowing the fleet, the lower class citizens *permanently* assumed a military role that was crucial for the security and power of the city."⁵¹ More and more metics must have felt that through their naval service, they had earned a claim to Athenian political participation. And there must have been at least some prestige or benefits attached to the job, as it paid no better than that of a day laborer in the city and was far more dangerous.⁵² During the Peloponnesian war, a similar situation likely occurred. As the military manpower grew scarce, citizenship requirements were relaxed and a number of foreigners again gained entry into the franchise through military service.

Thus, from the second quarter of the fifth century a number of non-Athenians were likely playing the part of citizen, so to speak. For while Kleisthenes had instituted regulations regarding citizenship, there was no systematic examination thereof.⁵³ The immediate post-Persian War period was probably a particularly fluid

⁴⁶ Lissarrague 1990d, 235; Padgett 2003, 28.

⁴⁷ Surtees 2011.

⁴⁸ Raaflaub 1998, 28 notes that anxiety over newcomers is a prominent issue in Aeschylus, *Supp.* 609, 963–964.

⁴⁹ Manville/Ober 2003, 61.

⁵⁰ Thucydides 1.143.1.

⁵¹ Raaflaub 1998, 19.

⁵² Aristophanes, *Ach.* 502–506; Isocrates 8.82; *IG* I³ 34.

⁵³ Demosthenes 57.

time in terms of access to citizenship. It is entirely possible that during the first half of the fifth century, as long as one could appear Athenian enough, there would be no challenge. Robert Connor notes that the boundary between citizens and non-citizens was permeable, with no real means of policing. The best course of action was to look and act as Athenian as possible.⁵⁴ In this way one could earn one's citizenship, which could then be passed on to one's children. The need to appear Athenian became greater in 451/450 BCE, when Perikles introduced a new law restricting citizenship to those with two Athenian parents, not simply an Athenian father, as had previously been the case.⁵⁵

The changing image of the satyr on Athenian pottery through the fifth century reflects this anxiety that non-citizens were attempting to, or were successfully, passing as citizens. Satyrs on vases play the citizen both through their physicality and through their actions. A small group of these scenes depict satyrs not just playing the citizen, but engaging specifically in activities of the elite. In the early fifth century, the satyr begins to appear as a participant at the symposion.⁵⁶ Certainly there are many earlier images of the satyr participating in the thiasos and engaging in his own brand of drinking party. His participation in those scenes, however, is as a licentious, insatiable animal, unable to control either his drinking or his sexual desire. As he plays the citizen, however, these actions are controlled by social expectations. A kylix in Germany of ca. 480 BCE shows two contrasting images of the satyr.⁵⁷ On one side, an ithyphallic satyr steals upon a naked sleeping maenad, apparently preparing to assault her. This behavior fits with our expectations of the satyr. On the other side of the cup, however, a satyr reclines with a nude woman. While the satyr holds a drinking horn rather than a kylix, the two figures recline on cushions, and the items hanging on the wall designate an indoor scene. It seems clear that a symposion is indicated. The satyr is not overly animated, either by drink or arousal. Instead, the satyr and the woman seem to be enjoying a relatively restrained evening. While the true nature of the satyr is revealed on the obverse as he approaches the sleeping maenad, the trappings of civilized society have controlled his behavior on the reverse as he participates in an activity associated not just with the citizen but with the citizen elite. A roughly contemporary mug in Brunswick takes this even further.⁵⁸ A satyr reclines on a cushion as at a symposion. Here, however, he is alone and cloaked in a himation. His clothing, actions, and demeanor all show him to be a member of the civilized elite, participating in appropriate citizen beha-

⁵⁴ Connor 1994, 41. Cf. Ober 1989, 267.

⁵⁵ Aristotle, [*Ath. Pol.*] 26.4.

⁵⁶ Shapiro 2004, 9–10 notes the emergence of the satyr-symposiasts in the Late Archaic period.

⁵⁷ Germany, Zimmerman Collection: Neils 2000, 204–205 figs. 8.1–8.2. For similar scenes, see Williams in this volume.

⁵⁸ Brunswick, Bowdoin College 30.2: ARV² 779.9; BAPD 209607.

vior. Only his small pointed ear reveals that he is not, in fact, a citizen but a satyr, an “other” passing as a citizen.

The symposium is not the only elite citizen activity in which the satyr engages. The satyr also appears in courtship scenes. Scenes of an older *erastes* courting a younger *eromenos* are common in the sixth century, with a floruit ca. 550–500 BCE. These scenes appear infrequently on red-figure vases and rarely after ca. 500 BCE.⁵⁹ It is interesting, then, that a small number of scenes with satyrs playing the role of *erastes* appear on fifth-century red-figure vases. The earliest of these, a pelike in St. Petersburg, dates to the first half of the fifth century.⁶⁰ A cloaked satyr leaning on a walking stick offers a hare as a gift to a seated youth. Although the *eromenos* is covered with a cloak, his approval of the gift being offered is apparent. A satyr on a chous in Athens is less successful.⁶¹ He approaches a cloaked youth, holding out a cock to him, a common cocks homoerotic love gifts as “4,0,4>love giftlove gift like the hare.”⁶² The youth, however, is not receptive to the gift; he raises his fist at the approaching satyr and appears to prepare to flee the scene.

While the St. Petersburg pelike is roughly contemporary with the end of the courtship series, the chous in Athens dates to ca. 430–420 BCE, long after the courtship scenes have fallen out of favor. This fact lends support to my thesis that images of satyrs behaving like citizens are not all meant merely as humorous representations of otherness. Were this the sole intention of the vase painter, it stands to reason that he would depict his satyr performing a human activity illustrated often on contemporary vases. In this way, the viewer could see a satyr and human performing the same activity side by side, which would underscore the humor of the satyr’s actions. Instead, he evokes a type of scene, which, though once popular, had not been depicted with any regularity for at least half a century. This suggests that there is more behind the painter’s choice of subject than simply humor, although that aspect of satyr imagery is not to be discounted. This image, I believe, is a particularly poignant example of the question at hand. The satyr stands in for the metic, and the portrayal of a satyr/metic participating in an activity associated with the citizen elite reflects the anxiety over the increasing presence and influence of the non-citizen male element in Athens. If we wish to push the argument a step further, the reaction of the *eromenos* could be read as the negative reaction on the part of the citizen body to the intrusion of the “other” into activities meant to be for Athenians only.

⁵⁹ Shapiro 1981b, 134. For pederastic courtship scenes both in red and black figure, see here Neils and Sutton.

⁶⁰ St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum B 1625: ARV² 531.33; BAPD 206009.

⁶¹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1552: LIMC VIII (1999) no. 87 pl. 760, s.v. Silenoi, [E. Simon]; BAPD 19893.

⁶² Shapiro 1981b, 134.

To this group of images, then, we can add the satyrs dressed as maenads. Much like the satyr courtship scenes, the satyr cross-dressing scenes appear well after the floruit of the “Anakreontic” series, and for the same reason. Miller’s elite reading of this series supports my interpretation of the satyr. In addition, these images reinforce the notion that citizens cross-dressed in a Dionysian context, lending further support to the Dionysian reading of the “Anakreontic” series.

Courtship Scenes

Dyfri Williams

“To Dream the Impossible Dream”*

In Alan Shapiro’s honor, I offer a few thoughts on a fragmentary Athenian red-figure cup (figs. 1–3). It is one of the gems of an important collection of ancient Greek pottery at The Johns Hopkins University (JHU), a piece that was, however, sadly unavailable for the exciting new display in the university’s Archaeological Museum, opened in 2010.¹

The cup is first recorded in 1887 in the hands of the scholar and dealer, Paul Hartwig, in Rome, one of a group of ten red-figure cups that he had recently acquired, many from Cerveteri, and probably out of the disgraced Giampetro Campana’s store at the Monte di Pietà.² Although these pieces were intended for the Berlin Museum, delays in the payment enabled Arthur L. Frothingham (1859–1923) and Alfred Emerson (1859–1943) to step in and purchase them for the Baltimore Archaeological Society, the local branch of the Archaeological Institute of America, which they had founded in 1884. Frothingham and Emerson were both teaching fellows at Johns Hopkins University in the early 1880s and had, in 1887, planned an archaeological expedition together to Eretria, funded by the Society. The expedition, however, foundered and the pair decided to use the funds for the purchase of objects for the Society. In Rome, Frothingham’s friendship with Hartwig (they had taken their doctorates together in Leipzig in 1883)³ secured the fine group of cups, which were soon to come to Johns Hopkins.⁴ In 1885 Frothingham, who was by then teaching at Princeton, created the *American Journal of Archaeology*, but was later to become Associate Director of the American School of Classical Studies (currently American

* I am very grateful to Sanchita Balachandran at JHU for her help in trying to locate the cup. I should also like to thank Mario Iozzo and Natacha Massar for images of the vases in their care and Kate Morton for manipulating the images of the various fragments for me. Susan Woodford and Natacha Massar very kindly read a draft of this paper, while François Lissarrague gave me a copy of his wonderful new book in time to take account of it in the footnotes. Much of the research for this article was carried out during my tenure of a Gerda Henkel Marie Curie Senior Research Fellowship in Brussels. Finally, I am particularly grateful to the editors of this volume for their patience and support.

¹ Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University 1781; CVA Robinson 2, pls. 8–9. For the history of the JHU collection, see Williams 1984, 3–12. The registration card suggests that the cup was at JHU in 1963, when the reference to Beazley’s ARV² was added, but since the cup was not included in Williams 1984 one must suppose that by then it could no longer be found. The Beazley Archive mistakenly records the cup as being in the Walters Art Gallery; it is not to be found in the collections of the Baltimore Museum of Art, the University of Mississippi, or Harvard University, where some of Robinson’s own pieces ended up.

² Hartwig 1887, 168 no. iv (no. xi was not for sale, now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1133). Campana collection: Sarti 2001; Williams 2004; and, for Hartwig’s acquisitions, see Eschbach 2007, 83–92.

³ Cf. Eschbach 2007, 90 n. 12.

⁴ On loan from the Society; Frothingham made other purchases for Baltimore.

Academy) in Rome, when he acted as an agent for various American museums in Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York, becoming deeply involved in the dispersal of the material from Vulci, Orvieto, and Narce.⁵

Hartwig had attributed the Baltimore cup to Euphronios, but J. D. Beazley gave it to the Panaitios Painter in his survey of red-figure vases then in American museums, where he described it as “that masterpiece of droll humour and speaking line.”⁶ He subsequently followed Adolf Furtwängler’s view that the Panaitios Painter was simply the early phase of Onesimos.⁷ The Baltimore cup is, then, an early work of Onesimos. Its tondo shows a heavy-bodied satyr staggering along, panting it would seem, for his mouth is open, a wineskin over his left shoulder (inscribed *kalos*), a vine branch laden with large bunches of grapes and a drinking horn in his right hand (fig. 1). His somewhat ponderous pose is accentuated by the downward tilt of his head and his large but flaccid penis. Around the figure are the remains of a *kalos* inscription naming Panaitios; the tondo border is of simple stopt meanders. Onesimos has left us many tondo studies of satyrs, vivacious and introverted, but this one seems full of a “morning after” feel. He is like some weary komast dragging his belongings home after a night of debauchery.

Outside, all is lightness and energy. In both scenes, a pair of satyrs creeps stealthily forward towards a senseless naked woman. On the better-preserved side, the forward satyr is seen in three-quarter back view (fig. 2). His left arm is back, his hand holding a wineskin; his right hand is outstretched towards the woman. The rearmost satyr is also shown in three-quarter back view, but he is doubled up, his right arm and shoulder dipping between his legs, his left arm back. His right knee is raised and he balances only on the toes of his left foot, coiled like a spring, as he tiptoes forward. His head, wrapped in an ivy wreath, juts forward, his snub nose up, his mouth open, the fingers of his right hand spread. He is a remarkable study in anxious anticipation. Little remains of the woman, save her lower legs and her outspread, limp arms, as she rests against a cushion up near the handle root. Here, however, we may add a fragment in the Louvre that fortunately provides much of her head and shoulders.⁸ She is awake, though drowsy, heavy with wine. Her hair is tied up with a red band and a simple disc earring decorates her earlobe. In front of her head is part of a curved object, no doubt part of a drinking horn, once held by the satyr in his outstretched right hand. This Louvre fragment also gives, inside, parts of three units of the meander border.

The theme is repeated on the other side (fig. 3). The satyr at the far left creeps forward in similar fashion, though he is not so stooped, and his right hand hovers over his right knee, somehow echoing his cautious approach. Little is left of the forward satyr

5 Brownlee 2003, 217–219; Eschbach 2007, 84–85. Emerson later excavated in Greece and North Africa, and was an advisor to Phoebe Hearst.

6 Hartwig 1893, 450–452 pl. 45. Beazley 1918, 84–85.

7 ARV² 320.10; cf. comments on pp. 313 and 318. On Onesimos’ chronology, CVA British Museum 9, 15.

8 Paris, Musée du Louvre C 11340: ARV² 326.90.



Fig. 1: Baltimore cup, interior. After CVA Robinson 2.



Fig. 2: Baltimore cup, side A; with Louvre fragment. After CVA Robinson 2. Photo of Louvre fragment: author.



Fig. 3: Baltimore cup, side B. After CVA Robinson 2.

but his tail, a touch of his buttocks, and his trailing left leg, as well as his left hand with outspread fingers, thrust behind him as he moves forward. Included in the restoration of the cup, to the right, is a small fragment of a left hand holding a drinking horn. This piece, however, does not belong to the cup – the central satyr cannot have had two left hands⁹ – but we shall soon find a place for it. Of the woman, even less remains than on the other side. Near the handle are the curls of her loose hair, a breast and a lifeless hand, as she leans against a cushion; her left arm, similarly limp, is stretched out under the handle. Here, a second Louvre fragment belongs, but it only adds part of one handle (restored on the cup in Baltimore) with the outline of her hair against it (and part of a meander inside).¹⁰

Satyrs, their desires almost always explicit, but almost never satisfied, clearly could not cease “to dream the impossible dream.” Here, their hopes were raised by the tranquil state of their objects of desire, but the outcomes remain obscure. Similar scenes are to be found on several other cups attributed to Onesimos – indeed, he seems to have been particularly fond of the theme. First, let us look at a fragmentary cup in Florence, also from Cerveteri (figs. 4–5).¹¹ The tondo with its piping komast and *kalos* inscription naming Panaitios need not detain us, but on either side of the exterior we find a lone satyr creeping up on a naked woman, relaxing or sleeping against the handle, propped up by a cushion. On the left of one side (fig. 4), a fine

⁹ Cf. Hartwig 1893, 452.

¹⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre C 11341: ARV² 326.90, suggesting it might belong with C 11340.

¹¹ Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3917: ARV² 320.12; CVA Florence 3, pl. 87.

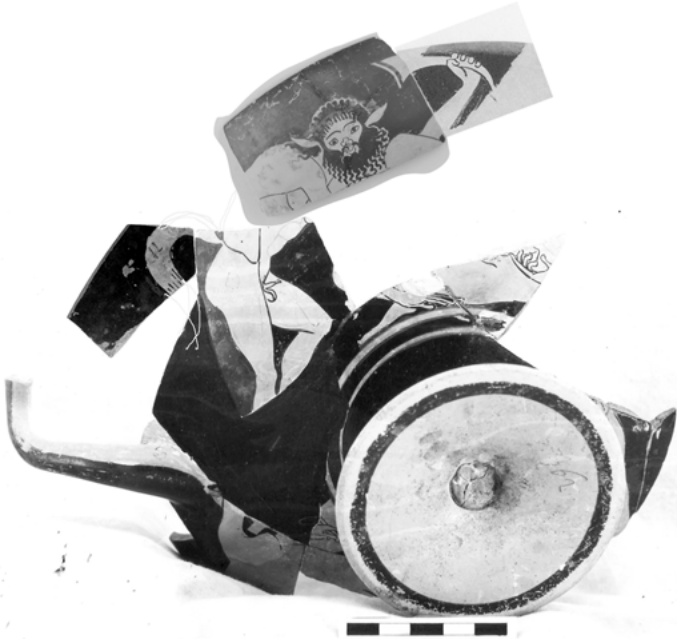


Fig. 4: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3917, side A; with Atlanta, Baltimore, and Florence fragments. Photo: Museums.

fragment preserves the trunk, hips, and upper legs of the satyr moving stealthily to the right, his right hand on the ground in front of him. To this we can add a fragment in the Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University, Atlanta, which gives more of the upper torso and shoulders of the satyr and his touchingly innocent looking face with floppy ears sticking out and full beard.¹² It also provides a touch of his outstretched left forearm and the right knee of the naked woman in front of him. Furthermore, the section of his left forearm offers a home to the loose fragment in Baltimore: it joins, giving the left hand and drinking horn of the satyr.¹³ Finally, we may add to this complex a further unattributed scrap in Florence with the satyr's curving tail.¹⁴ Little, however, is left of the woman – her right foot flat on the ground, part of her left thigh and a touch of her knee, foreshortened and frontal, part of one hip and a glimpse of her pubic hair, a line up to the navel, and a wonderfully relaxed hand with gently flexed fingers. A loose fragment in Florence, as suggested by Beazley, probably gives the top and back of the *sakkos* that she wore on her head.¹⁵

¹² Atlanta, Carlos Museum 2005.81.2: ARV² 1651 middle (Philadelphia market, Hecht; "recalls the Foundry Painter"); Jean-David Cahn AG, Auktion 5 (23 September 2005) lot 43.

¹³ CVA Robinson 2, pl. 9.1b centre.

¹⁴ Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 12.B.53: CVA Florence 1, pl. 12.

¹⁵ CVA Florence 3, pl. 87.4 (6 B 42).

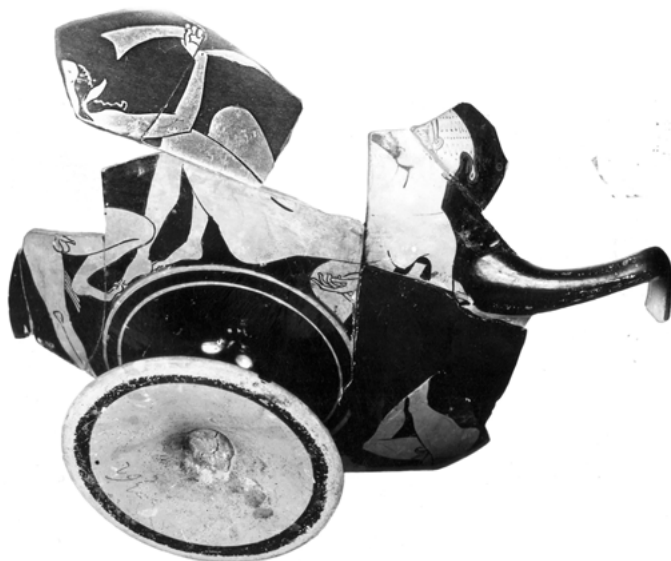


Fig. 5: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3917, side B; with New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art fragment. Photo: Museum. Xerox of New York fragment: Bothmer.

The other side is equally fragmentary (fig. 5). Part of the satyr's groin and legs remain, while of the woman much of her legs and back are preserved, together with her shoulders and much of her head. She wears a *sakkos* and has a simple cord necklace with a pendant between her breasts. To this side we may also add two joining fragments that are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹⁶ This pair of fragments gives the knees of the woman and the left arm of the satyr holding up a drinking horn, as well as part of the left side of his frontal face and receding hairline, together with a rather floppy ear just like those on the other side of the cup.¹⁷

After these two sadly fragmentary pieces from Cerveteri, we may turn to a complete cup from one of the remarkable series of tombs at Aléria on Corsica.¹⁸ On either side of the exterior, we meet again a satyr approaching a naked woman who reclines against a cushion. On one side, she is playing with a pair of *krotala* (and wears a necklace), as the acrobatic satyr before her (one foot is up on top of the handle root!) reaches a hand up in between her thighs. He is almost overcome with the moment, and his right hand and

¹⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art TR.572.2011, gift of Dietrich von Bothmer, Distinguished Research Curator, Greek and Roman Art, 2011; the fragment was purchased from R. E. Hecht in 1967.

¹⁷ Neither the published Florence fragment (CVA Florence 3, pl. 87, 5–6 B 45) nor that mentioned by Beazley 1933, 13 (on 6 B 42 and 45) would seem to belong to either cup.

¹⁸ Aléria, Musée Départemental Jérôme Carcopino 61.35 (Tomb 9): ARV² 1645, add as 320.9bis; Jehasse/Jehasse 1973, 144 no. 107 pls. 23–24; Para 359.

wrist seem to have turned to jelly, too weak even to reach his fevered brow. In the field is written ΛΟΔΑ ΛΟΔΑ, probably for the name Louda – presumably a popular *hetaira* of the moment (on the other side of the cup is *Loda kale*).¹⁹ The naked woman on the other side seems similarly unconcerned at the satyr's approach: her hand is behind her head as she opens her mouth, the frequent pose for singing at the symposium.²⁰ The satyr's mouth is open too, whether breathing heavily or singing we cannot know. He holds a drinking horn and, hung up above her, we see a large, curled drinking horn.²¹ In the tondo of the cup a satyr crouches, a large bunch of grapes in his left hand, while his right plays with his erect penis. His mouth is open and his teeth showing – has he realized that his dream will only ever end with self-indulgence?²²

There is a group of small fragments from a similar cup in the Louvre.²³ Traces of a satyr with a bunch of grapes remain on the interior, while, from outside, one fine fragment shows a satyr cautiously approaching a naked, reclining woman. His arms are outstretched, fingers urgent; she had one arm curved up around her head as she sleeps, a fawn skin tied round her neck. The worn fragments from the other side preserve a variation on the lively exterior of the Aléria cup: two satyrs here approach from either side a naked woman who leans against a folded cushion as she plays with her *krotala*. A further fragment from the Kabeirion at Thebes, preserves on the exterior a particularly fine head of a satyr with wrinkled brow, similarly stooping and reaching his arms forward.²⁴ He is most probably from a fifth example of the scene by Onesimos. Part of a word (two letters, EX and part of a third, A, M, or N) is preserved as it issues from his open mouth – perhaps the beginning of a name, as on the Aléria cup, or a cry of some sort.

One final Onesiman dream scene should be mentioned, the astonishing tondo of a cup in the J. Paul Getty Museum.²⁵ Here the painter has, exceptionally, concentrated the subject in a circular field, an idea which produced compositional difficulties that were, however, dramatically overcome. A powerful satyr inches his way down a large, overhanging rock to reach a sleeping woman, his brow wrinkled with concentration. She wears a chiton and a *sakkos* and reclines on a striped mattress in the shade of the rock's overhang. His lips are about to find hers; she is still deeply asleep. In the field the inscription reads *he pais kale* – his thought; a wineskin that hangs above her is

¹⁹ For Loda as Louda, see ARV² 1615.

²⁰ Cf. e.g., Munich, Antikensammlungen 8935 (*Euphronios*, 89–95 no. 5) and Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 546 fr. (Lissarrague 1990a, 130 fig. 100).

²¹ It looks like a nautilus shell but cf. example in the silhouette frieze seen in fig. 6.

²² For a satyr masturbating while a colleague attacks a sleeping maenad see Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.188: Lissarrague 2000, 190–197.

²³ Paris, Musée du Louvre G 258 (S 1339, 1328 et al.); ARV² 320.11; Beazley 1949, pl. 1.3 (largest fragment only). The much worn fragment described under C 11337, ARV² 326.87, in fact joins the central fragment from the other side.

²⁴ Thebes, Archaeological Museum K 400; Para 359, add as 320.9ter; Bruns 1964, 262 fig. 26.

²⁵ Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.607: Williams 1991, 43 fig. 2.

inscribed *kalos* – the cause of her vulnerability. On the outside of the cup are two excited, lone satyrs, more of the troop, perhaps waiting to see the outcome.

From these scenes, and others by various contemporary and later vase painters, we find that there were two basic schemes for the theme of a satyr approaching a sleeping woman. In the first, a satyr creeps up on a woman wearing a chiton, asleep in the wild, up against a rock, a thyrsos, snake, or animal skin nearby, all iconographic signals that she is a maenad. Indeed, on an important cup in St. Petersburg the scheme is given its full context, a thiasos that includes Dionysos himself.²⁶ Beazley listed many examples of this type, ranging from the end of the sixth century down into the fourth century.²⁷ We can now, of course, add not just the Getty cup described above, but the wonderful hydria fragments by the Kleophrades Painter, also in Malibu, with its “double sun-struck” satyr, busy masturbating as a colleague creeps up on his (their) dream, and a large fragmentary cup by the Pistoxenos Painter in the Cahn collection in Basel where, for the first time, maenads come to the aid of their sleeping sisters.²⁸

In the second scheme, a satyr approaches a naked woman reclining against a cushion, sometimes asleep, sometimes still awake and playing with her *krotala* or even singing. This scheme is much shorter lived (ca. 505–490 BCE). In addition to Onesimos’ three examples on his Baltimore, Florence, and Aléria cups, we should note that the Epidromos Painter followed the same scheme on a cup in Berlin (a pair of *krotala* is hung above the naked sleeping woman), as did the maker of the relief scenes on a remarkable pair of kantharoi in Malibu.²⁹ These fragments show a satyr creeping up on a naked sleeping woman, a small rounded kithara hung above her; the red-figure remains are meager but suggest a connection with the early companions of Onesimos.

On a cup in Florence by the Colmar Painter (an older companion of Onesimos) we find the second scheme has been set in its full context, a symposion (rather than the thiasos of the first scheme).³⁰ Here, satyrs recline with naked women: one woman holds a skyphos and wears a necklace, the other clacks her *krotala*, while one of the satyrs holds a drinking horn (fig. 6). In addition, however, two other satyrs come up behind the women: one reaches out to touch the head of his object of desire, the other’s action is obscured but it was perhaps to reach around her – she turns to face him.³¹ The symposion context is reinforced by the addition of a frieze of silhouette

²⁶ St. Petersburg B 4508: CVA St. Petersburg 5, pl. 12.1–2 (the satyr has inched particularly far forward and seems about to perform cunnilingus).

²⁷ Caskey/Beazley 1954, 96–98. Cf. also Schöne 1987, 137–140; Hedreen 1994, 47–69; Moraw 1998, 118–120.

²⁸ Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.188, see above n. 22; Basel, Cahn 492 fr. Add also, San Simeon, Hearst SS 5618, rhyton (frontal faced satyr, sleeping maenad; Pistoxenos).

²⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 3232: CVA Berlin 2, pl. 63.2. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.216 D/E; Williams 2008, 166 fig. 7.

³⁰ Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 73749: ARV² 355.39; CVA Florence 3, pl. 84.

³¹ For a satyr’s hand on a maenad’s head cf. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8072: Kunisch 1997, pl. 2. Cf. Pan, who comes from behind a reclining woman to touch her breast, Schauenburg 1973, 9 fig. 8.



Fig. 6: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 73749, side A. Photo: Museum.

vessels below the figures.³² A cup skyphos in Naples by Epiktetos seems to reveal the inevitable outcome, the rude awakening from the dream. On one side, the naked woman, wearing only a *sakkos*, is seen running away from the satyr, and a skyphos stands abandoned on the ground.³³ The other side, however, has a fully animal version: a naked woman holding a large cup reclines against a wine amphora as a donkey (a substitute satyr) approaches, a thyrsos in the background suggesting a maenadic context. This piece thus appears to provide a juxtaposition of the two schemes, as did Onesimos' fragmentary cup in the Louvre, and suggests that there could be deliberate interplay between them.

Here we should also mention two related but slightly earlier cups. The first is in Karlsruhe, signed by the “Pioneer” Phintias as painter.³⁴ On one side of the exterior, a satyr rushes forward to interrupt a youth seated playing the *barbiton*; on the other, a naked woman, presumably a *hetaira* (wearing a *sakkos*), similarly rushes forward with fists clenched, ready to punch the satyr who seems already to reel back.³⁵ The symposion appears to be getting very wild and it is in this sort of context that we

³² Silhouette friezes of vessels, Williams 2011, 26–27; and Hosoi 2012.

³³ Naples: ARV² 77.85; Moraw 1998, no. 220 pl. 9 fig. 2a–b; Lissarrague 2013, fig. 66.

³⁴ Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 63/104: ARV² 1700, add as 241.12ter; CVA Karlsruhe 3, pls. 26–27.

³⁵ For another version of this conflict, cf. Milan, Museo Civico 265: CVA Milan 1, pl. 3 (manner of the Antiphon Painter).

might see the extraordinary tondo of a large cup in Boston.³⁶ A naked woman attempts to ride the erect phallus of a satyr: he makes a bridge with his hands behind his back; she uses a long *olisbos* as a riding stick. Penetration is not perhaps the aim here; rather, it is to showcase balancing skills and strength, just as satyrs are sometimes shown balancing drinking vessels atop their erect phalloi.³⁷ Nudity, short hair, and the *olisbos* mark this woman out as a *hetaira* rather than a maenad.

Now satyrs and dressed maenads with thyrsos are to be found reclining together at very sedate symposia, as on several Early Classical vases.³⁸ There are very occasionally all-female affairs, as on the necks of a pair of later oinochoai,³⁹ and even an abbreviated variation in which satyrs dance around a single reclining maenad.⁴⁰ The reclining women in our second scheme, however, have clearly taken on much of the visual imagery of *hetairai* – they are naked and have *sakkoi* and even simple necklaces (both often seen in representations of *hetairai*); they drink, they play *krotala* and sing as they recline, they fight, and they even take part in sex games.⁴¹ The contrast with the regular, draped maenads at symposia in the company of satyrs could hardly be stronger.

Recent studies of satyrs and maenads have revealed a progressive, always comic humanization of both satyrs and maenads, through their actions, dress, and narratives.⁴² When they first appear on Athenian vases they are regularly seen in the thiasoi connected with Dionysos and especially as companions for the return of Hephaistos to Olympos. In these scenes maenads seem related to wild nymphs of the forests and mountains, while satyrs occasionally show their genetic connection with donkeys. In the last decade of the sixth century, however, the process of humanization takes on a new dynamic. Maenads become draped women distinguished by their accoutrements, animal skin, thyrsos, and snake. Satyrs' interest in donkeys, and other animals, increases while their interaction with maenads is given a new, almost balletic, quality with maenads seeming to use the thyrsos as an "ivy spear" (Euripides, *Bacchae* 25), while satyrs tug at their heels and hems in the hope of a kiss.⁴³ Much is now slapstick

³⁶ Lissarrague 2013, fig. 49.

³⁷ Satyrs balancing: Lissarrague 1990b, 77–79 and 1990c, 58.

³⁸ Schöne 1987, nos. 427–430; Lissarrague 2013, fig. 177. And, a cup by the Pistoxenos Painter, once London market. (I, komast; A-B, reclining satyr and maenad, satyrs hold kantharoi, maenads cup/skyphos). The Kropatschek cup (Hornbostel 1980, no. 72; now Bremen, private collection), first attributed to Onesimos, later to the Tarquinia Painter, with its stylistic mix and eclectic iconography (including hanging drapery taken from the Colmar Painter's Florence cup and nautilus-shaped drinking horn from Onesimos' Aléria cup) should be ignored entirely.

³⁹ Lezzi-Hafter 1983, 89–103 nos. 5–6.

⁴⁰ ARV² 863.1; Boulter/Bentz 1980, 302–303 no. 21 pl. 85.

⁴¹ *Hetairai* at symposia, Peschel 1987.

⁴² E.g., Brommer 1959; McNally 1978; Schöne 1987; Hedreen 1994; Moraw 1998; Falbusch 2004; Hedreen 2006; Lissarrague 2013. See also Surtees, in this volume, who discusses "citizenized" satyrs and their transgressions.

⁴³ Cf. e.g., Kunisch 1997, pl. 37 no. 98.

humor and comic failure, and it is into this context that our first scheme of satyrs attempting to surprise sleeping maenads fits. Satyrs, however, also begin to take on new comic roles, parodying citizens, for example as an athlete with all the usual equipment, as a *paidotribes* with a phallos-ended stick, as a draped symposiast, as a hoplite arming for battle before his maenad “wife,” as a solemn *kitharoidos* in judgement before Dionysos and Hermes, and as a solitary *thallophoros* at an altar.⁴⁴ Their relationships with gods (Dionysos, Hermes, Hephaistos, Prometheus, and, eventually, Aphrodite) and with heroes (especially Herakles, but also Jason and Perseus) are similarly explored, mostly for comic effect but also, occasionally, with possibly some cultic intent. To these we might add the remarkable scene on a pelike in Genoa, which seems to show a rural version of Odysseus and Ajax speechmaking to support their claim to the arms of Achilles.⁴⁵

During the second quarter of the fifth century maenads appear to marry and settle down with satyr husbands to produce families.⁴⁶ Their young also take their places in “society” and two are seen on a chous, for example, complete with their own choes.⁴⁷ The satyrs, however are not just “citizenized” but are also given a variety of more lowly roles, some in the city, such as stonemason, smith, and washer-up, others in the countryside, including hunting, fishing, and trapping, tending trees and treading grapes, playing with donkeys and herding goats.⁴⁸ An interesting lekythos by the Theseus Painter, has one satyr herdsman carry out an inspection of the goats, a *dokimasia* with writing tablets and stylus in hand, in the manner of a cavalry inspection.⁴⁹

In these expanding roles, satyrs and maenads usually interact with their own kind, as it were, and not directly with humans. There are, however, examples of interspecies crossovers that suggest that the satyr has not just become “citizenized” but has actually entered the city. Significantly perhaps, we only find such transgression in

⁴⁴ Athletes: Brommer 1959, nos. 109–113 with figs. 59–60. Symposiast: LIMC VIII (1997) 1115 no. 42 pl. 754, s.v. Silenoi (E. Simon). Hoplite: Krumeich/Pechsten/Seidensticker 1999, pl. 19b; Lissarrague 2013, fig. 154. Kitharode: Krumeich/Pechsten/Seidensticker 1999, pl. 15a; Lissarrague 2013, fig. 130. At altar or herm: Brommer 1959, nos. 131–136 with figs. 63–64; Steinhart 2004, pl. 42.2–3; Lissarrague 2013, figs. 166 and 170–171. Cf. also satyrs out for a walk: Oakley 1990, no. 22 pls. 14a–b and 33f; and group playing *morra*: Lissarrague 2013, 208 fig. 179.

⁴⁵ Lissarrague 2013 fig. 182 (Genoa, Museo di Archeologia 1150, Syriskos Painter). Odysseus and Ajax’s speeches, Williams 1980, 142–143, esp. pl. 36. 6.

⁴⁶ Satyr children, e.g., Brommer 1959, 40–45 figs. 34–36 and 38; LIMC VIII (1997) 1111–1112, 1115 nos. 1–5, 18 and 46, s.v. Silenoi (E. Simon); Lissarrague 2013, 63–66 with figs. 38–40; Hedreen in this volume.

⁴⁷ LIMC VIII (1997) 1111 no. 2 pl. 746, s.v. Silenoi (E. Simon).

⁴⁸ Lissarrague 2013, figs. 187 (carving pillar), 188 (smith), and 185 (washer-up); 99 (boar), 100 (fox); 12 and 109–110 (grapes) and 183 (trees); 60 and 79–87 (donkeys), 93–96 (goats). Fishing, Brommer 1959, fig. 58; liming birds, Böhr 1992, 574 (Brussels, Musées Royaux R 413; CVA Brussels 2, pl. 20 a–b).

⁴⁹ Lissarrague 2013, fig. 90 (Berlin, private collection). On *dokimasia*, see Cahn 1973.

the sphere of sexual interaction (not in athletic or martial contexts, nor in the countryside). It is first seen in the direct contact between satyrs and *hetairai* at the end of the sixth century and in the first decade of the fifth, our second scheme. From the second quarter of the fifth century there are also representations of a himation-clad satyr as an *erastes* ready with love gifts for a boy.⁵⁰ We even see a satyr inside the *oikos* offering a jewelry casket to what seems to be a citizen's wife standing before her *klismos*, a wool basket at her side (or is she a *hetaira* too?).⁵¹ In the third quarter, the complexity of such transgressive comic images is further deepened. On a cup by the Codrus Painter a troop or komos of six satyrs dressed as fashionable, if disreputable citizens, attempts to waylay a *paidagogos* and his young charge: two carry suitable love gifts.⁵² While in a scene on a large chous a satyr leaves his own chous on the ground to creep up on a sleeping maenad slumped, almost naked, on a *klismos*, her thyrsos next to her: is the context the maenad's house or is there some ritual meaning?⁵³

We do not know what or who drove these developments from the last decade of the sixth century onwards, but the emphasis seems always to have been on the comic potential of transformation and transgression. It is only natural, therefore, to seek the answer in the simultaneous development and popularity of the *genre* of satyr drama (and comedy), which must have greatly enriched the potential iconography available to vase painters for their satyr scenes. Although there is no sign in any of the scenes we have examined in detail above of the *perizoma*, the special shorts with attached phallos worn in the satyr drama, to provide us with a "copper-bottomed" indication that the vase painters were indeed attempting to show us some aspect or idea of a play, we should note an early fifth-century example of a satyr in *perizoma* dancing before a large column krater on a cup in the Louvre by Makron, for it tends to suggest the impact of a satyr play that included action at a symposion.⁵⁴ This cup belongs to the earliest group of representations of *perizomata*, all dating around ca. 490 BCE, which together suggest that from the beginning of the fifth century satyr plays involving satyrs as warriors, satyrs at symposia and the arrival of Pandora were current.⁵⁵

It is very likely that several early satyr dramas not only set satyrs beside heroes and gods, giving them occasionally human-like roles and suitable costumes, but also

50 Lissarrague 2013, fig. 70. Cf. also LIMC VIII (1997) 1118 no. 87 pl. 760, s.v. Silenoi (E. Simon).

51 Olmos 1993, 182–183 no. 83. For a discussion on the ambiguity of the scene, see Williams 1983b.

52 Burn 1988; Steinhart 2004, 111 pl. 41.2–3; Avramidou 2011, 55–56; Lissarrague 2013, fig. 178.

53 Moscow, Pushkin Museum M-1360: Lezzi-Hafter 1988 offers a ritual interpretation (see her n. 5 for an extreme example of the approach).

54 Kunisch 1998, pl. 163 no. 507; Lissarrague 2013, fig. 5. For satyr drama on vases, see Krumeich/Pechsten/Seidensticker 1999, 41–73; Steinhart 2004, 101–104 (with 135–139); Griffith 2005; and, note Storey 2005. In general, most recently, Voelke 2001 and Gibert 2002.

55 Lost cup, armed satyr (ARV² 121.23; Krumeich/Pechsten/Seidensticker 1999, pl. 3a); Paris, Musée du Louvre C 10754 plus, satyrs wielding mallets causing an *anodos*, ARV² 228.32; Krumeich/Pechsten/Seidensticker 1999, pl. 1b–c); Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.190, armed satyr (Eucharides Painter; Krumeich/Pechsten/Seidensticker 1999, pl. 3b). On Pandora, see Williams forthcoming.

introduced their direct but limited interaction with mortals. That satyr drama did on occasion set satyrs and *hetairai* together in comic, even riotous business at the symposion and komos, we may conclude from the plot of Euripides' satyr play, *Skiron*, which included satyrs capturing a group of *hetairai*.⁵⁶ Indeed, we might go on from this to envisage the scenes on Phintias' earlier cup in Karlsruhe as a depiction of satyrs bursting in upon a symposion or subsequent komos, to abuse or even steal the *hetairai*, but meeting determined resistance.⁵⁷ C. H. E. Haspels, indeed, suggested that the subject of the violent scene on a large lekythos in Athens, the name piece of the Beldam Painter, which shows satyrs torturing a plump, naked *hetaira* tied to a tree might be connected with a satyr play – note the satyr on the far right who acts like a citizen spectator leaning on his stick, and turns his head frontal to involve the viewer.⁵⁸ Perhaps we might construct this disturbing and enigmatic scene as a "madam" being forced to provide her "girls."

Similarly, the troop of six "humanized" satyrs on the Codrus Painter's cup, noted above, may not wear *perizomata* but they surely were once a dramatic chorus of komast satyrs, their garments rendering *perizomata* unnecessary or invisible, and the context, most probably, a play about the youth of some hero, perhaps Achilles or Herakles.

As we have seen, the iconography of the satyr (and the maenad) was not static: it developed. This was the work of the vase painter, reinvigorating his "received" tradition of images and extending the vocabulary of their visual language, as it were. Ideas may have come from a host of different sources, personal and societal, but the popular new medium of satyr play could hardly have been ignored, if consumers were to be caught by their images. Vase painters will have admitted various elements at their own pace and in ways to suit their own medium. There was no requirement, for example, that vase painters reveal their sources by depicting dramatic costume, since it did, after all, rupture the dramatic illusion, and, as a result, they clearly only showed it rarely.⁵⁹ Vase painters continued to present a socially and artistically conditioned construct of both myth and reality.

Instead of a conclusion, I wish to end with one last related satyr scene, that on an Early Classical skyphos in Brussels (color figs. 34–35).⁶⁰ On one side, a satyr with a broad fillet round his head, displays himself on a rock, stretched out on his back, his erection proudly paraded. On the other side, a naked woman sits on a similar rock, her garment under her, her head turned frontally, her hair loose. There are no additional accoutrements to help us understand her nature, only the word *kale* written above her, to match the *kalos* above him. Such appreciative labeling is perhaps more

⁵⁶ Krumeich/Pechsten/Seidensticker 1999, 455–456; cf. Sutton 1980, 62–63.

⁵⁷ Cf. the later cup in Milan, n. 35 above.

⁵⁸ Haspels 1936, 170, with pl. 49. For other interpretations, see LIMC VI (1992) 189 no. 2 pl. 90, s.v. Lamia (J. Boardman); and Steinhart 2004, 123.

⁵⁹ Dramatic illusion in satyr plays, Green 1991, 47–48 (with bibliography).

⁶⁰ Brussels, Musées Royaux R 258: ARV² 973.18; CVA Brussels 2, 19.2.

at home in a sympotic context, as, indeed, is the satyr's broad fillet. But more intriguing than her complex identity is the way she turns to the viewer in order to involve us in the scene. Is she asking us – "Shall I make his dream come true?" If so, it is too late – closer inspection reveals that the satyr is already ejaculating!

Jenifer Neils

Hare and the Dog: Eros Tamed

One of my most enjoyable experiences during graduate school at Princeton was the weekly trek with Alan Shapiro to New York, where we attended the famous but intimidating vase painting seminar conducted by Dietrich von Bothmer in his office at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It was there that we learned, among other things, how to pronounce the name of the Tyszkiewicz (*tish-key-ay-vitch*) Painter. In gratitude to Alan Shapiro for four decades of close friendship and scholarly collaboration, I here publish a little known but unique vase by this painter whose subject is subtly homoerotic.

Now in the Wilcox Museum at the University of Kansas, the vase was attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter by J. D. Beazley when it first appeared on the Basel market.¹ It is a pelike, a shape which entered the Athenian repertoire at the end of the sixth century and whose banausic qualities Shapiro has convincingly elucidated.² The obverse (color fig. 36) shows a winged Eros poised in mid-air as he swoops to the ground to capture a hare. With his left hand he grabs the long ears of the animal, while with his right he reaches for its hind legs. Eros' left foot just grazes the ground-line. On the reverse (color fig. 37) an older man stands frontally supported by a walking stick in his right hand. Behind him is an attentive dog of the spitz variety, his bushy tail raised and his nose up in the air as if sniffing. Both are facing left and seem to be observing the capture of the hare on the other side of the pelike.

In looking at this vase, one is struck by the active interaction of man and animal on one side contrasting with the passive scene on the other. The young and lithe nude Eros in flight with legs splayed is the very opposite of the stolid, draped, and grounded older man. The wild and swift hare attempting to flee differs markedly from the obedient dog attentively watching his master. Clearly the painter was deliberately contrasting these pairs of figures, but what was his intent? This essay will examine the nexus of the hare and dog with Eros and male courtship, as well as their possible associations with the pelike in the second quarter of the fifth century.³

At the time that this vase was produced, ca. 470, the combination of Eros with a hare is a somewhat rare subject. The best known example of this pairing appears on the

1 Lawrence, KS, Wilcox Classical Museum N.510. Attic red-figure pelike attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter, ca. 470 BCE. Height 26.7 cm. ARV² 1643.58bis [1963]; Para 356; BAPD 275164. The vase was partially donated and purchased in memory of and from funds donated by Friends of Paul Rehak and by the Department of Classics. It was first published in the sale catalogue *Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting*, André Emmerich Gallery, New York (1964) no. 27. See also Becker 1977, 44 no. 125; LIMC III (1986) no. 285 (with incorrect publication citation), s.v. Eros (A. Hermay et al.)

2 Shapiro 1997. See also Becker 1977.

3 All dates are BCE and all vases Attic red-figure unless otherwise specified.

reverse of the Siren Painter's name vase of ca. 480.⁴ Here three adolescent *erotes* flit across the sea, each carrying an attribute (fillet, wreath, hare). That holding the fillet is labeled Himeros (Desire), and so we can assume that the winged youth holding a hare by its ears is either Pothos (Longing) or Eros.⁵ A similar image of Eros holding a hare in mid-flight appears on an Attic black-figure olpe by the Painter of the Half-Palmettes of ca. 480, formerly in the Castellani collection.⁶ In this instance Eros holds the hare firmly by its ears and rear feet just as that in the Tyszkiewicz Painter's version is about to do. He is shown flying over a laver, which might suggest that the context is the gymnasium.

Other red-figure vases that depict a flying Eros carrying a hare with both hands include a mule-head rhyton attributed to the Brygos Painter; the name vase, a lekythos, of the Charmides Painter; and a psykter by the Painter of the Yale Lekythos.⁷ In the first two cases Eros holds the hare in the vicinity of an altar. On the opposite side of the psykter one sees a Ganymede-like boy rolling a hoop and carrying a cock, one of the most common homoerotic love gifts. Eros' association with the hare is somewhat more distanced on three other vases where he is shown flying over the animal that sits on the ground below. One example is a Nolan amphora by the Charmides Painter of ca. 470.⁸ The other two are found on a Panathenaic-shaped amphora by the Berlin Painter in Naples and a lekythos by one of his followers.⁹ On the amphora Eros is carrying a flute case and a lyre and glancing back, perhaps to the draped man with walking stick on the other side. This combination of "divine figure with a mortal onlooker" echoes the pair on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's pelike.

It is noteworthy that all these examples cluster around the decades of ca. 480–460. As Beazley has noted in relation to the Berlin Painter's amphora, "Eros is one of the new elements in late archaic art."¹⁰ And, as Beth Cohen has shown, this is the era in which the better Attic red-figure painters for the first time convincingly depict winged figures such as Nike and Eros in mid-air or what she terms "supernatural levity."¹¹ The Tyszkiewicz Painter is heir to both of these developments in the Kerameikos as demon-

⁴ London, British Museum E 440: ARV² 289.1; BAPD 202628. For Himeros and Pothos, see Shapiro 1993b, 110–123.

⁵ Three *erotes* are not common in narrative scenes, but they do appear on the white-ground lekythos attributed to Douris in Cleveland (66.114, BAPD 275976). Here they pursue Atalante and are all labeled EROS.

⁶ Rome, Capitoline Museum 66: Para 288; BAPD 352095. See Stampolidis/Tassoulas 2009, 173 no. 140.

⁷ Rhyton: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82469: ARV² 381.195; BAPD 204094. Lekythos: London, British Museum E 571: ARV² 654.4; BAPD 207627. Psykter: Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3407: ARV² 658.21; BAPD 207679. A marble relief, said to be archaic in date, shows Eros holding a hare by its rear feet; see Bouvier 2000, 41–42 no. 164.

⁸ Nolan amphora: London, British Museum E 293: ARV² 653.3; BAPD 207613.

⁹ Amphora: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale RC 163: ARV² 198.18; BAPD 201826. Lekythos: Basel market: BAPD 14593.

¹⁰ Beazley 1974, 2.

¹¹ Cohen 1997.

strated by his representation of Eros in flight. At the end of the fifth century, Eros in pursuit of a hare becomes a popular subject on smaller vessels, such as the *lekanis*, *pyxis*, *chous*, and squat *lekythos*, shapes which were clearly intended for female consumers or a child's festival.¹² In this period the hare is associated primarily with children on both little *choes* and grave *stelai*.¹³ As a domestic pet the animal loses the strong homoerotic associations it had in the earlier fifth century.

The first quarter of the fifth century is also a period in which pederastic imagery becomes common on sympotic vases; Makron alone paints such encounters of older man or youth and young boy some thirty times on his cups.¹⁴ The hare is ubiquitous in these so-called courtship scenes on Attic red-figure vases of the first quarter of the fifth century.¹⁵ Many scholars have stated that this animal is the most common love gift after the cock, but a rough count in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database of Attic red-figure vases with hares comes to over 200, while cocks number just slightly over 100.¹⁶ In Keith DeVries' database of some 600 Attic courtship scenes on Attic vases dating between 575 and 400, there are 60 hares and 29 cocks (excluding Ganymede and the CHC Group).¹⁷ The live hare is shown either in the hands of the bestower, the *erastes*, or in those of the beloved boy, the *eromenos*. It can also hang in the background, be led by a leash, or be in a cage.¹⁸ It is not a hunted animal or food source, but an instrument of seduction. The hare evolves from being a wild creature in hunting scenes usually pursued by hounds and youths to a domesticated pet appearing in sanctuaries or the gymnasium.

This association of hares with pederasty begins already in the early sixth century with several black-figure Siana cups that feature a man embracing a youth flanked by a hare and dog or fox.¹⁹ An early example of a youth holding a hare in a classic courting scene occurs on a black-figure *olpe* by the Painter of the Nicosia *Olpe*; this vase is of

12 *Lekanis*: BAPD 14823, 44283. *Pyxis*: BAPD 216970. *Choes*: BAPD 15864, 16189, 16315. Squat *lekythoi*: BAPD 2610, 3297.

13 On *choes*, see van Hoorn 1951, 47 and figs. 340–344. On grave *stelai*, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, 61–64, 130–31.

14 On pederastic imagery in Greek art, see Dover 1978; Shapiro 1981b, 1992a, 2000; Kilmer 1993; Reinsberg 1993, 163–215; Reden 1995, 195–216; Percy 1996, esp. 118–121; DeVries 1997; Hubbard 1998; Laurin 2005; Davidson 2007, esp. 519–553; Lear/Cantarella 2008; Pellegrini 2009. For Makron see Kunisch 1997. For more recent views on Greek homosexuality, see DeVries 1997 and Hubbard 1998.

15 On the hare in general, see Bouvier 2000. On the hare as a love gift, see Koch-Harnack 1983, 64–79.

16 Not all of these representations are courting scenes but the majority is, so the 2:1 ratio is probably accurate.

17 This list can be found in Lear/Cantarella 2008, Appendix.

18 The interior of the Gotha cup (Gotha Schlossmuseum 48: BAPD 200100) shows a spitz-like dog sniffing at the caged hare as a youth embraces a boy. A cup by Douris (BAPD 7242) in the Hirschmann collection depicts a seated youth with a hare on his lap and an open cage in the background. See Barringer 2001, figs. 37 and 49.

19 Paris, Musée du Louvre Cp 55: BAPD 7479; Lear/Cantarella 2008, 76 fig. 2.5. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 20253; BAPD 300557; Schnapp 1997, 253 no. 187. For a similar scene on a black-figure lid, see Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.30d: BAPD 1406.

interest because it also includes a dog standing between the lovers.²⁰ The closest association of dog and hare in Attic black-figure occurs on the tripod pyxis attributed to the Amasis Painter, which was dedicated to Aphaia on Aegina.²¹ One leg of the vase depicts all three phases of pederastic courtship, and the *erastes* of the central pair clutches a hare while a dog sniffs at his feet. It is usually assumed that this is a hunting dog that has snared the hare, and this may well be the sense of the other black-figure vases with dog and hare mentioned earlier. But, as scholars have noted, the pederastic ritual, in which the older man aggressively hunts down the more timid boy, is analogous to the hunting dog chasing the hare. The hare hunt is thus a metaphor for pederastic courtship.²²

The canine in such scenes is the Laconian hound or typical Greek hunting dog, whereas the dog on the reverse of the Tyszkiewicz Painter's pelike is a diminutive non-predatory pet.²³ He is often identified as a Maltese and an Attic red-figure vase with an image of a boy walking this breed actually bears the inscription: MELITAIE.²⁴ This small dog with a feathery, curved tail has a similar trajectory in Athenian art to that of the hare, i.e. originating primarily in courtship scenes at the heels of men and youths in the first half of the fifth century and ending up as a pet of young children, both male and female, on small choes and grave stelai, at the end of the fifth century.²⁵

To those of us in Bothmer's seminar the best known Attic red-figure vase painting of an older man with his Maltese dog is the charming scene in the tondo of the cup in New York signed by Hegesiboulos as potter (fig. 1).²⁶ Dated to ca. 490, the cup is a special item with its coral red and offset lip both inside and out, and its unusual decoration. The bearded man with the knotty stick has a distinctly non-Greek profile and so has often been identified as a Phoenician or Jew. Scholars who did not notice the end of the dog's fluffy tail at the far right have misidentified the animal as a Laconian hound, a pig, or even a porcupine. The exterior of this cup features a lively symposion in which a young, blond male occupies the kline with an older, bearded man. This man, however, is more interested in the serving boy or slave standing at the head of the couch whose genitals he is fondling. There is no obvious connection between the man with a spitz on the interior and the pederastic scene on the exterior, but there are many other instances of dogs and hares in combination with male courtship.

²⁰ New York Market: BAPD 12281.

²¹ Aegina, Archaeological Museum: BAPD 14701; Lear/Cantarella 2008, 184 fig. 7.3.

²² See Schnapp 1989; Barringer 2001, 70–124.

²³ On Greek dogs, see Johnson 1919; Phillips 2001; Kitchell 2004 and 2014, 47–53, s.v. dog.

²⁴ Melita is the ancient term for Malta. On a thus far unattributed Attic red-figure amphora from Vulci, see Moore 2008, 19 fig. 11. For the Maltese, see Busuttill 1969.

²⁵ On choes, see van Hoorn 1951, 46–47 and figs. 91, 96, 97, 106, 114, 130, 147, 190, 235, 251, 288, 318–337. On grave stelai, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, 128–130 nos. 305–334.

²⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.47: BAPD 201603. See Moore 2008 for a detailed analysis.



Fig. 1: Foreign man walking his dog. Attic red-figure cup signed by Hegesiboulos as potter, ca. 490. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.47. Rogers Fund, 1907. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

A cup by the Brygos Painter that abounds with courtship imagery involving dogs and a hare clearly sets the scene in the palaestra with strigils and aryballoi hanging in the background (fig. 2).²⁷ The cup has five pairs of *erastes* and *eromenoi* with a hare being offered as a love gift in one instance, and little Maltese dogs on leashes in three others. In the tondo two dogs are facing off as they are being restrained by the older man and young boy. On a kylix by Onesimos, in an even more intimate encounter between two males (Beazley type γ), a Maltese is lying beyond the entwined legs of the lovers.²⁸ A pelike attributed to the Triptolemos Painter features a bearded man offering a hare to a youth; between them and just below the hare is a Laconian hound.²⁹ A fragmentary pelike by the same artist from Delos shows a more advanced stage of courtship: at this point the youth is clutching the hare in one hand and a dog by the leash in the other.³⁰

²⁷ Basseggio (lost), Villa Giulia and Florence: ARV² 374.62; BAPD 203960. See Reden, 1995, pl. 2a–c. Moore 2008, 32 n. 49 erroneously states that the cup is not in Beazley.

²⁸ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis 2.205: ARV² 329.133; BAPD 203388. Not in DeVries' list. For a catalogue and analysis of Attic black-figure Type γ scenes, see Sutton in this volume.

²⁹ Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.195: BAPD 275939. See Bouvier 2000, 102 no. 1051.

³⁰ Mykonos, Archaeological Museum 7: BAPD 203813. See Lear/Cantarella 2008, 46 fig. 1.6.



Fig. 2a–c: Courtship scene with dogs and hares. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca. 480. Rome, Villa Giulia 12B16. Illustration after Gerhard 1858, pl. 278.

The truncated column at the far left indicates that the scene takes place in the gymnasium, and the older man's walking stick rests nearby suggesting that he has just arrived here with his love gifts, which have clearly succeeded in conquering the boy.³¹ These vases, notably two of which are pelikai, illustrate all the components of courtship, the *erastes* and *eromenos*, the love gifts, appropriate attributes, and often elements of setting. The scenes are explicit and unambiguous.

What distinguishes the Tyszkiewicz Painter's pelike is its subtlety. To the best of my knowledge there is no other combination of Eros and hare on one side of an Attic vase with an older man and dog on the other. While the two sides of this vessel may have nothing to do with each other, the case has been made for pelikai that the scenes can be related and should be read together.³² We might be justified in this attempt by looking at other pelikai by the Tyszkiewicz Painter who decorated some two-dozen vases of this shape. One, now in Copenhagen, shows nearly identical male courtship scenes on both sides: on the obverse the *erastes* is offering a lyre to a boy and on the reverse a sack of money.³³ Given that the palaistra was a common pick-up location for male lovers, it is not surprising that these scenes often bear markers of athletic equipment.

I would like to propose that the man walking his dog is perhaps on his way to the palaistra and is thinking or fantasizing about a future erotic encounter with his young *eromenos*. Rather than depicting a potential boy lover on the other side, the Tyszkiewicz Painter subtly alludes to homoerotic activity via Eros and a hare wherein one could read Eros as the *erastes* and the hare as the *eromenos*. Support for this interpretation can be found in a more abbreviated version of this scenario. On the interior of an unattributed kylix of ca. 490 in Athens a bearded man is shown caressing a hare crouching below his couch as he sings of and recalls his beloved boyfriend (fig. 3).³⁴ Famous for its inscription issuing from the mouth of a reclining symposiast ("O paidon kalliste") the tondo image is also subtly homoerotic with the hare substituting for the *eromenos*. Thus, the beloved need not be present for the hare fulfills this role, alluding to the absent but not forgotten *eromenos*.

I have tried to demonstrate in this article how pederastic imagery on Attic vases evolved from fairly explicit scenes on elite sympotic vessels to more subtle representations that allude to homoerotic relations rather than depicting them as such. These are often found on late archaic pelikai, which were no doubt used in symposia but, as Shapiro has demonstrated, their imagery tends to be less aristocratic in nature. In this period of transition to full democracy, the explicit homoerotic imagery disappears and is replaced by subtler iconography. Perhaps as the less elite Athenians take up the powers and mores of the aristocracy, they attempt to project even more *sophrosyne* than

31 For pederastic scenes set in the palaistra or gymnasium, see Schauenburg 1965.

32 See, for instance, Lynch's discussion of a pelike found in the Agora (2011, 128–130).

33 Copenhagen, National Museum 3634: ARV² 293.51 [not in BAPD]. See Lear/Cantarella 2008, 80–81 fig. 2.10a–b.

34 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1357: BAPD 9534. See Topper 2012, 138 fig. 56.



Fig. 3: Symposiast singing a verse of Theognis. Attic red-figure cup, ca. 480. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1357. Drawing after Köhler 1884, pl. 1.

their wealthier compatriots.³⁵ In addition to taking up more modest, sturdy vessels like the pelike, they also opt for more romanticized scenes involving flying Eros, warm and fuzzy hares, and charming and loyal canines rather than entwined lovers. By the end of the fifth century, Eros and these tame animals ironically become so associated with romantic love and domesticity that their sole domain becomes that of women and children.

This evolutionary model may help to explain the cessation of explicit pederastic imagery ca. 470; it does not disappear entirely, but becomes more coded, allusive, and implicit as we have attempted to demonstrate.³⁶ The Tyszkiewicz Painter's pelike thus proves to be a classic example of this transition to the appropriated ideals of the demos. The painter was obviously in tune with his times and created a romanticized, tamed version of a practice involving the *kaloikagathoi*. The paintings exude a plebian charm (*charis*) appropriate to the shape of the vessel and expectation of good things to come.

³⁵ For two diverse discussions regarding the development of these pederastic vases, see Kilmer 1997 and Shapiro 2000.

³⁶ See Shapiro 1981b and 2012b. Hubbard (2003, 15) writes: "This movement away from a libertine and hedonistic artistic style toward more prudish and 'family-oriented' modalities seems to parallel the sexual conservatism and enforcement of moral norms evident in comedy and oratory of the late fifth and early fourth centuries, which, as we have seen, appeal emphatically to popular tastes and democratic values."

Robert F. Sutton

A Type γ Courting Scene for Alan: The Spitzer Amphora at Bryn Mawr College

I met Alan Shapiro in 1974 in Athens and quickly discovered a common interest in iconography and vase painting. I am delighted to present here an amphora reflecting our shared enthusiasm for the social interpretation of Attic vase paintings, one of the finer pieces in the small collection of antiquities the late Doreen Spitzer assembled in her youth and bequeathed to her alma mater Bryn Mawr College (color figs. 38, 39; figs. 1, 2).¹ One side depicts a procession of gods, the other presents pederastic sexual congress among nude male dancers.

Description

The vase is complete except for chips and surface spalls that had been hidden by restoration; it was accidentally broken and was recently disassembled and cleaned pending full restoration. The shape is a small, well-proportioned standard black-figure neck amphora,² and the painter has made extensive use of added white and red to create an attractive four-color pattern that enhances the form's elegant play of positive and negative space. The echinus mouth is black with reserve upper surface. An attenuated lotus and palmette band decorates the neck, and a slight raised molding marks the transition to the shoulder. The body is decorated in black figure, and a red ring marks the transition to the black disk foot. Black handles in three rolls connect the neck to the shoulder. Like other standard neck amphoras, the lower body is decorated with three increasingly shorter bands that spread organically up from the solid base and run completely around the body: long, slender rays below, tighter, more compact lotus-bud chain above, and crowned by a low, simple running meander that supports thin groundlines for the figures. The body above and the neck are divided into two sides by the handles and long looping palmette tendrils with buds. These florals, conceived as the landscape or architecture of the vase, are overlapped by the figures at either end of side B. The figures extend over the full height of the upper body, their heads

¹ Bryn Mawr College Art and Artifact Collections, 2011.17.2, gift of Doreen Canaday Spitzer, Class of 1936. Height: 32 cm; diameters: mouth 14.5 cm, base: 11 cm. <http://Triarte.brynmawr.edu> and <http://emuseum.net>; rotating color image at http://triarte.brynmawr.edu/media/images/2011.17.2_BMC_spin.mov (accessed 6/12/2013). Thanks to Marianne Weldon, Joelle Collins, and Camilla McKay at Bryn Mawr; in Athens, to Christina Avronidaki at the National Archaeological Museum and Angelos Zarkadas at the Canellopoulos Museum; to Lucilla Burn and Timothy McNiven; and to the editors.

² Moore/Philippides 1986, 7–12, esp. 11–12.



Fig. 1: Cat. No. 25, detail, Side A. Artemis and Apollo. Poseidon on left. As color fig. 38. Photo: author.

curving back onto the slightly sloping shoulder. A short band of alternating black and white tongues crowns the shoulder on each side. The division into two sides is marked emphatically at the neck by the intervening handles, while the lip spreading above balances the base in reasserting the unity of the vessel. Both sides are decorated with axial compositions in which the central subject appears between framing figures.

Side A (color fig. 38) illustrates a procession of gods whose otherworldly music resonates on side B. In the center (fig. 1) Apollo stands or slowly advances right playing the kithara, his usual instrument in black figure.³ He is partly covered by a woman holding a sprig who is surely his sister Artemis.⁴ The siblings are framed by

³ Bundrick 2005, 18–21; cf. LIMC II (1984) 199–213 pls. 190–203, s.v. Apollon (W. Lambrinoudakis).

⁴ Cf. the overlapping pair on BAPD 301798, with Artemis identified by a deer.



Fig. 2: Cat. No. 25, detail, Side B. As color fig. 39. Photo: author.

two bearded gods who move away, but turn their heads back toward the central group. Hermes, with a slender caduceus, leads the procession, while Poseidon, with a similarly attenuated trident, almost a staff with trident finial, seems to head off in the other direction, or possibly dances, waving a salutation. Their clothing is lavishly decorated with white dots and incised embroidery in addition to red and black folds. Apollo and Artemis are formally arrayed in long chitons and himatia, while Poseidon wears a shorter cloak over a tunic, of which only the upper border at the neck is indicated. Hermes' cloak is even shorter, covering both shoulders, without a tunic, and he wears his usual winged shoes and Robin Hood cap. All gods are longhaired, with Hermes' looped up behind in a *krobylos*. Artemis is crowned with a red headband, and Apollo with a black leafy laurel wreath emerging over his brow. The framing gods are bearded, while Apollo is a full-grown, beardless youth, a bit shorter than his sister. She has mature breasts and incised muscles on her white right forearm. Apollo strums the kithara with a plectrum in his right hand and mutes the strings with his left. The instrument has a rectangular base decorated with incised loops, like those on his hem, and circles with a line of white dots, and long arms with white (ivory?) tips and snake volute supports inside.

Side B (color fig. 39) shows a pederastic courting scene of Beazley's Type γ .⁵ In the center a youthful *eromenos* and bearded *erastes* perform sexual intercourse in the *dia merion* mode (fig. 2) framed by pairs of naked men dancing in from either side. The adult *erastes* hunches over with bent knees and stares downward intently, holding the youth tightly between his thighs and embracing him with hands clenched on the boy's hips. He is slightly wilder than his dancing companions, with a large eye, an odd, almost satyric ear, and a slightly longer beard made a bit shaggy by short incisions, like the hair above his neck. The *eromenos* stands upright, looking ahead over his lover's shoulder, and reaches back awkwardly across his lover's upper right arm with clenched fist, his other, bent arm only partly shown. Like Apollo, he sports the long hair of youth and rises slightly above the older men. He wears a short cloak that must be open in front but hangs behind him to cover his buttocks and pass between his body and arms on either side, its ends hanging free on either side. It has red folds like those on the other side, and is decorated with a few white dot clusters; an incised fold shows that it covers his back and sides down to the knees.

The naked dancers appear in profile, with partly incised red beards, red circles around their nipples, and a range of hairstyle. The two on left have short hair with red crests in front, with traces of a red hairband on the leftmost figure, and small flaccid genitals. The leftmost dancer stands or prances on one leg, raising the other behind, and appears to slap his companion on the buttocks, although a slight bit of reserve may indicate that his hand is closed and passes behind. His companion stands with slightly flexed knees, raising his hands up and down, recalling Type β courting; he may be a bit younger, less muscular than his companion, slightly paunchy, with sagging horizontal abdominals, vague musculature on his left arm, but well defined leg muscles. On right, the leading dancer moves in vigorously with flexed, widely spaced knees, his left hand lowered in front, the other raised and bent oddly behind, its hand emerging behind his shoulder, vaguely echoing the dancer on left; his long hair flows behind onto his shoulders, his red beard is fringed, and an incised pompadour rises over his forehead. The remaining dancer stands in place twisting his torso to a frontal view, raising his left arm behind and over his head, the other arm lower, crossing his waist. He lacks a defined mouth and also sports an elaborate pompadour with very short *krobylos*.

Attribution and Date

This amphora can be attributed to the Medea Group, a small group of standard neck amphoras and a few Type B amphoras that have been dated around 530–520 BCE. In 1945 H. R. W. Smith attributed four small neck amphoras to the Medea Painter.⁶ Sir

⁵ Lear/Cantarella 2008, 206 no. 3.49.

⁶ Smith 1945, 473.

John D. Beazley retained the name but recognized instead a Group that others have subsequently expanded.⁷ The Spitzer amphora has the small shape and proportions of the Group's standard neck amphoras with low spreading mouth, and shares details of ornament with most, especially the slender rays above the base, disposition of buds, and shape of the five-petaled handle palmettes.⁸ The form of Apollo's lyre is virtually identical to that on a neck amphora in London; they share the idiosyncratic drawing of Apollo's right forearm, hand, wrist, and intersecting incised muscle, and must be by the same painter.⁹

Iconography

Side B belongs to a group of pederastic courting scenes that Beazley presented orally in 1947 and published the following year.¹⁰ In Type α the male wooer (*erastes*) reaches for the chin and genitals of a courted boy or youth (*eromenos*) in the "up and down" position. In Type β one or both of them holds a cock or other love gift (see Neils in this volume). In Type γ , as Beazley writes, "The moment depicted is later than in Types α and β , and the two figures are interlocked." He carefully details and analyzes the visual and archaeological data with polite discretion, leaving much unspoken. Thirty years later Sir Kenneth Dover said it all.¹¹ Although literary texts regularly describe pederastic anal intercourse, it was highly stigmatized (as in the common insult *katapugon*).¹² Dover recognized that the preference of vase painters to portray pederastic lovemaking in the Type γ *dia merion* mode (which he termed "intercrural"), served to idealize pederasty. He argued that this mode of intercourse preserved the manly reputation of the *eromenos* by avoiding penetration and assimilation into a woman; one might also suggest that, since the anus is the organ of defecation, anal intercourse may also have been regarded as inherently unclean and polluting. Yet, pederasty was often idealized in antiquity (and later), invested with a pedagogical role in contributing to male *Bildung*, reflected in vase paintings through reference to hunting, cockfighting, and other character-building manly activities.¹³

7 ABV 321.1–4 and another near; Para 141; Add² 87; additions in CVA Getty 1, 28; BAPD 4, 7037, 7142, 10152, 28120, 43275, 301682–301686, 351042–351044, 9024502.

8 E.g., in Smith's list BAPD 301362; Buitron-Oliver 1972, 50–51 no. 20, <http://museums.fivecolleges.edu/detail.php?museum=ac&t=objects&type=all&f=&s=1950.59&record=0> (accessed 6/15/13) and BAPD 301683–301684; the Medea vase BAPD 301685 (A with wrong image) has fuller seven-petal palmettes.

9 BAPD 301684 (on Smith's list), with unusual neck pattern.

10 Beazley 1989b, 3–25, 40; n. 10 lists earlier work.

11 Dover 1978, on vases esp. 4–9, 91–100, 205–225.

12 Dover 1978, 142.

13 Koch-Harnack 1983; Schnapp 1997, esp. Chapter 4, 123–127; critically Lear/Cantarella, 2008, esp. 72–105; cf. Dover 1978, 185–203.

The flood following Dover has provided nuance and challenged various points, even rejecting “homosexuality” as a valid concept in pre-modern settings.¹⁴ Alan Shapiro’s work remains among the best, remarkable for its sensitive mastery of visual, verbal, and historical evidence.¹⁵ Andrew Lear’s recent book with Eva Cantarella represents the most nuanced treatment of the iconography including a corpus assembled by the late Keith DeVries that extends far beyond courting.¹⁶

To set the Spitzer amphora in context, I present a catalog below arranged by vase shape of thirty-six black-figure Attic vases illustrating Type γ courting. This corpus confirms that vase paintings showing the *dia merion* mode idealize pederasty and invest the *eromenos* with dignity. Many include manly pedagogic and other elements shared with Types α and β while confirming Lear’s observation that Type γ scenes are somewhat removed from the courting Types α and β ; yet, like heterosexual love-making scenes, they are more closely connected to the dance and komos,¹⁷ sometimes linked specifically to Dionysos (11, 26, 29, 9?). I retain a vexing scene by the Gela Painter requiring discussion elsewhere (32), in which the *eromenos* lacks genitals and may be female, as Angelos Zarkadas believes.¹⁸

Discussion is synchronic by compositional type, not evolutionary. The group is largely restricted to the second half of the sixth century, with few securely dated before ca. 550 and perhaps some after ca. 500 BCE (29, 31, 32, 36). The couples show little variation apart from placing the *erastes* on right or left, apparently without significance. When it can be determined, the *erastes* is bearded, except on 36 and 29; the *eromenos* is never bearded. The scenes cannot be regarded at face value as objective depictions of social reality. Like heterosexual lovemaking,¹⁹ Type γ is set in the company of others. Black-figure lovemaking is ritualized as a public display or performance; in life, sexual intercourse was private.²⁰

Beazley inserts a damaged Siana cup tondo, dated ca. 570–545 BCE, between courting Types β and γ that he must have regarded as a proto- γ scene: an isolated couple with fighting cock (as in Type β) embraces but probably did not achieve consummation.²¹ Type γ appears around the middle of the sixth century. In tondos, the couple is framed by single dancers, and the figures are often festooned with

14 Impossible to cover here; see Halperin 2002, with partial palinode.

15 Shapiro 1981b, 1992a, 2000, and 2012b.

16 Lear/Cantarella 2008, Appendix, poorly integrated with the text. DeVries 1997 is his only publication using the corpus.

17 See Smith 2010, Chapters 3 and 4, esp. 108–117.

18 The *eromenoi* look nothing like the courted woman on the painter’s lekythos Moore/Philippides 1986, no. 871 pl. 79. In several other scenes genitals of either *eromenos* or *erastes* were omitted or have worn off. I am grateful to Dr. Angelos Zarkadas for permitting close examination pending his forthcoming publication in CVA.

19 Sutton 2009.

20 Sutton 2000, 182–184.

21 Copenhagen 5180; Beazley 1989b, 18; Lear/Cantarella 2008, 196 no 1.5; BAPD 300624.

wreaths or garlands, indicating festivity (1, 2, probably 3, and 4). In two other tondos, the dancers are replaced by a pair of hunting dogs (5) and hare and dog (6) that run up the frame emulating the bipedal dancers. Twice inscriptions name the lovers (4, 5). In the tondo of a Dionysian eye cup (11), the dancers become a man pursuing a boy, with vines of Dionysos and a hunting dog.

In non-circular formats nude male dancers and other figures frame the couple; a preference for two dancers per side is not determined by available space, since they may be spread out (14) or compacted (16, 17, 29). On the Hermogenean skyphos (14) one dancing youth displays an erection, but this is exceptional, and these dancers are restrained, especially in contrast to Tyrrhenian komasts or the masturbators who sometimes frame heterosexual lovers.²² On a patch band cup from Chiusi (10) a bearded man holding two wreaths dances away. Single dancing youths frame the couple on a lekythos (30) and one side of a type A cup (12), and dancing men appear on an amphora (19). The cup's other side (12) is asymmetrical, with two wreathed youths to the right of the lovers, and a single youth on left; the converse also appears, two dancing men to left of the lovers, and a single man on right (22). Most often two dancers frame each side: nude youths (14, 15, 27); nude youth and woman in dress (8); nude men (20, 25 [Spitzer amphora]). On an amphora (17) two nude dancing youths are framed by draped figures, a man on left and youth on right, the latter initiating courting. Two lekythoi have more dancers, including clothed, ivy-wreathed women draped in animal pelt (*nebris*) of the Dionysian realm, with elements of the other courting types. The Taleides Painter (26) shows three dancers on left, including a man, a woman in *nebris*, and a youth holding out an aryballos to the *eromenos*, probably offering lubricant, and on right, a youth with a lyre leads the way and another holds a game cock. The second (29) is more unusual, crowded with nine framing figures, including at least three women in *nebris* and a nude Type α *erastes* with an extremely pointed chin, surely indicating a short beard, who initiates courting as if another Type γ *erastes* – beardless and long-haired – were not already in place, and caresses the face of the short haired *eromenos*, reaching towards his hidden genitals. If he were initiating a threesome and hoping to perform simultaneous anal intercourse with the *erastes* already *in situ*, one might expect attention directed to the latter's buttocks. So, unless the artist has simply made a mistake (a desperate conclusion), he is either simply in line, eagerly anticipating his turn with the *eromenos*, or actively seeks to displace the younger *erastes*. An unknown number of dancers appears on the band cup 23.

We have already noted traditional courting gifts, particularly cocks (26), and allusions to the hunt (5, 6, 11); these elements are prominent in the remaining scenes that mostly lack dancers. Hunting dogs and javelins appear on the fragmentary tripod pyxis by the Amasis Painter (35), where the *erastes* uniquely fondles or masturbates his *eromenos* as an onlooker stands by with an aryballos for lubrication (cf. 26 above).

²² Sutton 2009, nos. 1–13, 30–33.



Fig. 3: Cat. No. 21, Side A. Youth probably holding hare, dog; courting Type γ ; courting, Type β (?) Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 19297. Photo: author. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The Botkin Class neck amphora (24) sets the scene in a hunt with dogs and lively hunters who beckon across the florals. The lovers appear on both sides of the well-known amphora by the Painter of Berlin 1686 (16) amid a wealth of courting gifts and game (live deer, dead hare, dead fox, and three game cocks), couples in various stages of courting, and a lone bearded dancer. This artist presents the couple (17) framed by varied three-figure groups in which two adult *erastai* pursue youths with wreaths, a cock, and hunting dogs. A tripod pyxis (36) paratactically disposes two Type γ pairs with young *erastai* beside a less advanced courting pair, framed between a dancing man and a hopeful *erastes* with a cock. On the amphora from Pharsala (21, fig. 3) a youth probably proffered a hare that at least attracts the attention of his hound. Most unusual is the hydria (34), where a youth with a live hare moves between a Type γ couple and pederastic anal lovers who are uniquely presented without denigration. Hounds are also reported (30) and with a dancer (23, 33). The Gela Painter twice sets the scene amid Doric columns, perhaps indicating a gymnasium or a public stoa. On one (31) the couple is centered between pederastic courting pairs, one successful, the other not. On the Canellopoulos lekythos (32) with an androgynous *eromenos*, a man with dog regards the couple from left, with an earlier stage of courting of equally dubious gender to right.

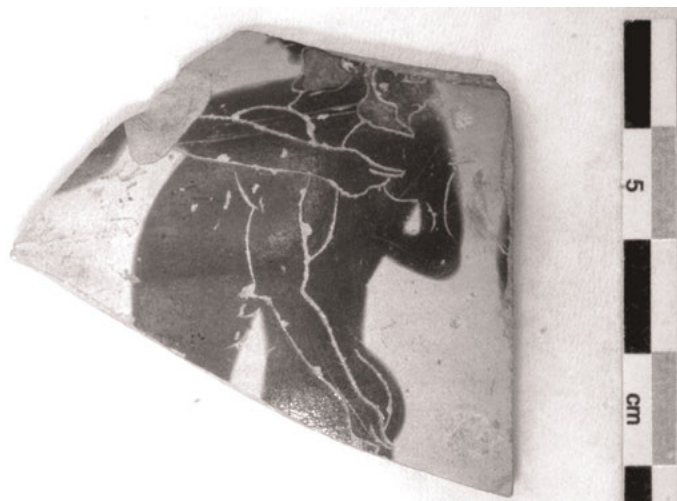


Fig. 4: Cat. No. 28 (fragment). Courting Type γ framed by male figures; large chip on left drawn as female arm in Graef/Langlotz 1925, pl. 95.2242. Photo: author. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Pederastic and heterosexual lovemaking appear together only twice. The witty Hermogenes, on a fragmentary cup (7), places the vertical, monochromatic pederastic group in the center, probably framed by crouching black and white heterosexual pairs, of which only the couple on right survives.²³ On a later band cup (9), a pederastic couple stands off to the side of multiple crouching heterosexual couples making love in a vineyard.²⁴ The white arm in the published drawing of the Acropolis fragment (28; fig. 4) is a chip that was misunderstood by the artist apparently working from a photograph.

In all these scenes, the standing young *eromenos* possesses dignity that contrasts with the few black-figure scenes of homosexual anal intercourse, usually ridiculed or shown as degradation (except 34), and heterosexual lovemaking, where the women are lascivious and often degraded.²⁵ He displays little or no emotion, reflecting the ideal of male self-control that Shapiro has discovered in funeral scenes, in striking contrast to some enthusiastic female lovers, as on Hermogenes' band cup (7).²⁶

The variety of vase shapes that carry a theme indicate the social context for which it was appropriate. Type γ appears on a wider range of black-figure shapes than heterosexual lovemaking (see Catalog) and is distributed more evenly among

²³ Cf. the ridiculous Hermogenean juxtaposition: Sutton 2000, 188–189 figs. 7.3–4 and 2009, no. 39.

²⁴ Cf. Topper 2012, Chapter 2, 27–28, 47–52.

²⁵ Shapiro 2000, 16–19; Sutton 2000, 185–191, 195–199 and 2009; Lear/Cantarella 2008, 115–129.

²⁶ Shapiro 1991.

them.²⁷ Significantly, both subjects appear predominately on symposium ware and often include Dionysian elements. Drinking vessels (cups and skyphoi) account for 42% of the vessels that portray Type γ , and almost 75% of heterosexual lovemaking. Amphoras, mostly Type B, carry over a quarter of γ scenes but a smaller proportion of the heterosexual lovemaking. Of shapes not connected exclusively to the symposium, most common is the lekythos (22%), the common jar for oil, a sexual lubricant, as noted.²⁸ Lekythoi carry Dionysian subjects, and such elements occur here (26, 29). The rare tripod pyxis represents 6% of the total and possibly had a related use.

Exactly half the catalogued vases have recorded provenience, indicating the theme's wide appeal in Greek and barbarian lands (Table 1).

Table 1: Catalog Items With Known Provenience N = 18

Greece N = 6 (33%)

Athens, Acropolis and N. Slope: cups 3, 4; lekythos 28

Eleusis, Demeter Sanctuary: lekythos 33

Aegina, Sanctuary of Aphaia: tripod pyxis 35

Pharsala (grave): amphora 21

Etruria and Central Italy N = 8 (44%)

Chiusi: cup 10

Falerii Veteres (tomb): lekythos 30

Saturnia: cup 15

Vulci: cup 9; amphora 16

Etruria: cups 2, 6

Villa Giulia Museum: lekythos 26

Sicily N = 1 (6%)

Megara Hyblaia: amphora 20

Black Sea N=2 (11%)

Olbia: cup 8; lekythos 29 (grave)

Egypt N= 1 (6%)

Naukratis: cup 13

A plurality (44%) comes from Etruria and Central Italy (most or all surely from tombs), with a third from Greece, mostly from Athens and Attica (slightly higher than the heterosexual scenes). Two of the latter were found in religious sanctuaries, but the fragments from the Athenian Acropolis probably originated in fill brought from the

²⁷ Sutton 2009, 89, Table 1.

²⁸ Kilmer 1993, 81–82, 88–89.

lower city;²⁹ only the Pharsala amphora originated in a burial (21). The remainder come from Greek colonies on the Black Sea, Sicily, and Egypt; no. 29 from Olbia was found in a woman's grave with a bronze mirror and gold jewelry. Scenes of heterosexual lovemaking are more widely distributed, although their number is greater and a higher proportion is of known provenience (67%).³⁰

Other subjects pictured on the same vessel establish a wider iconographic context for viewing the theme. Reflecting the prominence of symposion ware, a slight plurality of vessels carries related sexual and/or festive themes. Courting is most common, generally Type α (21 [fig. 5], 24, 26, 31, the ambiguous 32); on at least three Type γ lovers are repeated (12, 14, 16). On Hermogenes' band cup (7), the heterosexual lovers reported on Side B may indicate repetition of the presumed ABA scheme of side A. The dancers on the reverse of the amphora from Pharsala (21; fig. 5) accord with those on side A. Lovemaking is a subject of symposion ware³¹ and Dionysos is the favored divinity, present in every field of the Copenhagen eye cup (11), if we include the vines behind the lovers (as also 32); his vineyard is the setting for lovemaking and symposion on the Moscow (?)/Berlin band cup (9), and we have noted his entourage on two lekythoi (26, 29).

Pederastic lovemaking is ennobled by appearing with images of other gods and heroes: Athena is shown battling the Giant Enkelados (1), mounting a chariot, with Apollo and probably Artemis or Leto, and Hermes to lead the way (20), and possibly at her birth, as Shapiro suggests (17). The gods of the Spitzer amphora (25) are treated below. Nike appears on both exterior sides of a cup (2). The Dioskouroi (35) straddle the boundary between man and god, while two other heroes appear twice: Herakles, shown battling the lion (24) and Kyknos (35), a version in which Zeus intervenes;³² and Achilles, dueling Memnon (18) and gaming with Ajax (19). Scenes of noble mortal manly pursuits are rare: battles (1) and athletes (23) each appear once; only a pair of deer framing a siren on a shoulder refers to hunting (27); the siren lacks obvious relevance, although sirens also appear with heterosexual lovers.³³ The subject of a lekythos shoulder involving a horse is uncertain (29). Larger programs can be discerned on vessels illustrating multiple themes: divine and mortal battles (1) and deified heroes, Dioskouroi, and Herakles (35) seem to ennoble the pederastic theme, while the tripod pyxis evidently celebrates erotic diversity (36).

The Type γ courting on the Spitzer amphora is thus unexceptional, yet the particular choice of deities on side A is remarkable for imparting new artistic pedagogic associations. I hinted that the dancers on side B respond to the music of Apollo on the

²⁹ Stewart 2008a.

³⁰ Sutton 2009, 89, Table 2.

³¹ Sutton 2009, 82–84.

³² Cf. Shapiro 1984.

³³ Sutton 2009, 79, 81 fig. 5, 86 nos. 22, 23.



Fig. 5: No. 21, Side B. Courting Type α framed by dancing youths. As fig. 3.

obverse. Yet the kithara did not normally accompany the dance but served as the instrument for formal concert performance and poetic recitation.³⁴ Here it introduces an artistic aspect of gentlemanly *Bildung* to the previously recognized pederastic themes of hunt (an apt metaphor of courting), cockfighting, and athletics. It is difficult to imagine a more explicit and elevated allusion to the pedagogic aspect of pederasty than this pairing with Apollo the ephebe, “the most Greek of the gods,” “the epitome of that turning point in the flower of youth,” who, together with his sister Artemis, presided over the transition of youths and maidens to adulthood.³⁵ If the other gods require explanation, Hermes presides over transitions and often leads the way, while Poseidon seems generally appropriate as an adult male with local Athenian prominence, and perhaps he had seasonal relevance or personal connection to painter or client.

³⁴ Smith 2010, 99; Bundrick 2005, 14–29.

³⁵ Burkert 1985, 143–152, quoting 143, 145.

Catalog: Attic Black-figure Pederastic Courting Type γ

See full references in DeVries' catalog (D numbers; Lear/Cantarella 2008, 194–233), BAPD (in parentheses), and Beazley 1989b (γ numbers).

P = Painter; I = interior; A, B = exterior sides; frag = fragment; N = total number.

Total Cups (kylikes): N = 15 (42%)

Lip cup, N = 6

1. D 2.3 (3503693). Copenhagen 13966. Epitimos P. I; A, B (lip) Gigantomachy, Athena vs. Enkelados; (heads); by handles: duels (Greek vs. barbarian): A: on horse, B on foot. Heesen 2011, 156, 287–288 no. 236 pls. 67, 68; dated ca. 550 BCE.
2. D 2.21 (302570; γ 3). Moscow (?) (Berlin F 1773),³⁶ from Etruria. Near P of Boston C. A. A; I, nonsense inscriptions; B: Nike.
3. D 2.92 (γ 10). Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Agora A-P 733, frag., from Athens, Acropolis N. Slope. I. Pease 1935, 262, 267–268 no. 103 fig. 25.
4. D 2.93 (γ 11). Athens, Acr. 1761, from Athens, Acropolis, frag. I, inscription Θ .M. (*sic*).
5. D 2.112 (3878). Bochum S1024. Epitimos P. I, 2 names, including QONON; A, B: nonsense inscriptions. Heesen 2011, 156, 288 no. 230 pl. 20; dated ca. 545–540 BCE.
6. D 2.91 (7479; γ 9). Paris CP55, from Etruria. I.

Band cup, N = 4

7. D 2.13 (6408, 44981). Helgoland, Kropatschek, frag. Hermogenes P, signed by potter Hermogenes. A: γ , heterosexual lovers on right, probably also originally on left; B: heterosexual couple making love (not seen; possibly duplicate of A). Heesen 2011, 102–111, 277 no. 149 pl. 46b; dated ca. 545–540 BCE.
8. Olbia, frag. from Olbia. A, framed by dancing nude males, dancing women in skirts. Kryžickij 1989, 62 fig. 22.9.
9. D 2.95 (11037; γ 13). Moscow (?) (Berlin F 1798),³⁷ from Vulci. B, in vineyard; A, symposion under vines.
10. D 2.87 (γ 2). Florence, ex Vagnoville, patch band cup frag., from Chiusi. Iozzo 2006, pl. X.6.

Type A, N = 3

11. D 3.24 (302651). Kurashiki, Ninagawa 27. Krokotos Group; cf. Group of 48.42 I; zone: Dionysos & thiasos; A, B with eyes, Dionysos & Ariadne, Dionysoi; dolphins under handle.

³⁶ Zhuravlev/Lomtadze 2007.

³⁷ See n. 36.

12. BAPD 350784. Toulouse, 26.088. Group of the Courting Cups, FP Class. A, B.
13. D 3.43 (γ 14). Oxford G 1112, frag. from Naukratis. A, upper part of couple (not seen).

Other or uncertain, N = 2

14. D 2.109. Skyphos of Hermogenean Type. Basel Market. Strobos P. A, B. Heesen 2011, nn. 638, 657, 723.
15. D 2.94 (γ 12). Band cup or band skyphos. Once Rome, Hartwig, from Saturnia. A, between eyes, palmettes.

Total Amphoras: N = 10 (28%)

Type B: N = 8

16. D 2.59 (320395). London 1865.11–18–39, from Vulci. P of Berlin 1686. A, B.
17. BAPD 7277. San Antonio 86.134.44. P of Berlin 1686. B; A, gods (birth of Athena?). Shapiro 2000, fig. 2.
18. D 2.89 (2889; γ 7) Cambridge, loan from Trinity College T2. B; A: Achilles vs. Memnon.
19. D 2.90 (10478; γ8). Sèvres 6405. B; A, Ajax and Achilles playing.
20. D 3.47 (14208). Syracuse 9762, from Megara Hyblaia. B; A, Athena mounts chariot, with gods.
21. D 3.45. Athens 19297, from Pharsala (grave). A; B dancers frame Type α courting. (Here figs. 3, 5).
22. BAPD 9040. London Market. Euphiletos P. A; B, dancers.
23. D 3.32 (360885) Ex Milan, Vanzetti. Very close to Edinburgh P. A; athletes. Para 219 (not seen).

Neck Amphora: N = 2

24. D 2.16 (14). Market. Botkin Class. B; A: courting, Type α; shoulder A, B: Herakles vs. lion.
25. D 3.49. Bryn Mawr 2011.17.2. B; A: gods in musical procession. (Here color figs. 38–39; figs. 1, 2).

Lekythos: N = 8 (22%). *Scene on body*.

26. D 2.19 (301130; γ 4). Rome, Villa Giulia 50653. Taleides P. Shoulder: Type α.
27. D 2.20 (350510). Princeton 86.53. Taleides P. Shoulder: siren between deer.
28. 2.88 (γ 6). Athens, Acr. 2242, from Athens, Acropolis. Taleides Painter or close. (Here fig. 4).
29. D 2.73 (γ 5). St. Petersburg O.1912.272, from Olbia (grave). Cf. P of the Carlsruhe Skyphos. Shoulder: youths, figure in chiton, horse, all running. Trofimova 2007, 100–102 (color).
30. D 3.42 (14208; γ 5bis). Rome, Villa Giulia 1392, from Falerii Veteres (Civita Castellana; tomb). Near Cock Class, Haspels 1936, 67.

31. D 4.45 (41361) New York Market. Gela P. With other courting. Royal Athena Galleries 2001, 70 no. 198.
32. D 4.2. Athens, Canellopoulos Museum Δ 40. Gela P. Between columns, γ group (heterosexual?, as Zarkadas believes) between man with hound, heterosexual (?) courting.
33. D 2.103. Eleusis, from sanctuary of Demeter & Kore. Man/boy, hound, dancer (not seen).

Hydria (kalpis): N = 1 (3%)

34. 2.100 (5890) New York, Private. γ group, youth with hare, pederastic anal intercourse. Shapiro 2000, fig. 7; Sutton 2000, fig. 7.2; Lear/Cantarella 2008, fig. 3.8.

Tripod pyxis: N = 2 (6%).

35. 2.12 (14701). Aegina, from Aegina, Aphaia sanctuary, frag. Amasis P. C; A: Dioskouroi; B: Herakles vs. Kyknos.
36. 2.106. Oxford, Miss. A; B: heterosexual courting (?); C: 2 women share mantle.

Addenda

Courtesy Michael Padgett

- 11bis. Tampa, Zewadski, Cup, Type A frag. Group of the Courting Cups (Padgett?). A: upper half of γ pair between male dancers.
- 25bis. Neck amphora, Lausanne, Musée Olympique BA no. 9024527. A: Central γ pair between α pairs.
- 27bis. Lekythos, London Market. Central γ pair between nude dancing men between dancing women in *nebris*. Shoulder: equestrian youth between standing males. Christie's, London, September 23, 1998 no. 177.

Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter

A Lazy Afternoon

Dear Alan, for many years, I have admired your way of writing: the wording is elegant and eloquent, the content crystal clear, with no dreary digressions. In the early nineties, I had the opportunity to publish your *Personifications in Greek Art*.¹ Now, together with Mario Iozzo, we have edited papers on the François Vase, which, to me, has been a venture into quite a new and fascinating territory. Your introduction to the study of this vase reads pleasantly, as if accompanied by a light summer breeze.²

A few years ago, you followed the vestiges of Alcibiades in literature and pictorial art.³ Through the written words transmitted in later centuries, Alcibiades comes to life as an eternal youth, beardless and longhaired, walking affectedly, and wearing fancy clothing. He was prone to wine and notorious as a womanizer: all are characteristics that did not befit his position as a *strategos*. Despite a speech impediment, he was so charismatic that the male Athenian society could not get along with him in the long run; his breathtaking career ended in a violent death.

From the later fifth century BCE, there is no known contemporary portrait of Alcibiades. You then considered, as possible pictorial comparisons to his appearance during his lifetime, a small group of depictions of Adonis. Beardless, with long curly hair, always surrounded by women and *erotes*, Adonis appears as the perfect eternal youth because he dies young in a violent death. Here, however, end the similarities between the two.

The five, probably six vase paintings – some of the finest of their time – show Adonis as the imminent or established lover of Aphrodite, who could have been his mother in age.⁴ This unbalanced liaison goes back to Adonis' mother, Myrrha, who had seduced her father, was transformed while pregnant into a tree, and gave birth to Adonis through the tree trunk. Today, as in antiquity, people cut myrrh trunks to collect the thick liquid to use it as incense or in perfume. Adonis is equivalent, then, to a piece of dried resin, golden in color, strong in smell. The myrrh tree also hints at his origins from abroad because it is indigenous in the East or the Arabian Peninsula.⁵

1 Shapiro 1993b.

2 Shapiro/Iozzo/Lezzi-Hafter 2013.

3 Shapiro 2009a, 236–263.

4 (a) Paris, Musée du Louvre MNB 2109: ARV² 1175.12, Aison; (b) Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2705: ARV² 1317.1, Painter of the Frankfort Acorn; (c) ex Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2706: ARV² 1319.5, Aristophanes; (d) Brauron no inv., not in Beazley, probably also Painter of the Frankfort Acorn: Ghali-Kahil 1963, no. 57 pl. 14.4–5; (e) Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 81948: ARV² 1312.1, Meidias Painter; (f) St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum SM 4, the figures in added reliefs; not in Beazley, but belonging to the same workshop as the others. With the exception of (d), see Lezzi-Hafter 2012, 34–42, esp. 37–39.

5 Verbanck-Piérard/Massar/Frère 2008, 207–213, 324.

At the same time, the myrrh symbolizes the imminent death of Adonis, as does the transformation of the resin when it burns and goes up in smoke.

The union of Aphrodite with Adonis was sterile. This infertility is reflected in the Athenian cult images of the Adonia, which depict women putting young plants in pots on hot roofs to cause them to wilt before maturation as a remembrance of the death of Adonis in the early bloom of his youth.⁶

A vase painting in a private collection (color fig. 40) gives now another pictorial variation for Adonis and Aphrodite in a bridal bower.⁷ It covers the front of one of the big pelikai that were popular at the end of the fifth century BCE. Given its shape, decoration, and style, the vase belongs to the Meidian circle. Seven women of Aphrodite's retinue surround the love nest: two play with laurel sprigs, one ties a sandal, two proffer little chests. One holds a plate laden with fruit; close to her stands a thymiaterion from which, perhaps, the aroma of myrrh emanates. New in this iconography is the extravagant bed under two adjoining laurel trees, which serves as a rest for the lovers.⁸ Its wooden structure is richly adorned, enhanced on the underside with little movable ornaments. Two cushions on each side of the bed serve as supports to the couple. On the right, Adonis reclines, tuning a lyre, and Eros hovers above, about to wreath him. On the other end, Aphrodite sits, turning her head toward Adonis and holding up a piece of her chiton at her shoulder, a bridal gesture. None of the figures are inscribed as opposed to the many named figures in comparable vase paintings.

Amid the party, there is also a prominently seated woman in the lower range of the picture, who confirms this interpretation. She holds a twig of myrtle in her hands, broken in the middle.⁹ As Erika Kunze-Götte has shown, a broken myrtle twig alludes to the unhappy ending of a love encounter, all the more so, as myrtle is sacred to Aphrodite.¹⁰ The lazy afternoon of the divine couple under a roof of leaves, through which the sun shoots little rays of light, will not keep its promise.

To you, dear Alan, I wish many an inspiring moment with your "Anakreontic lyre" in hand – we are all keen to hear what you will sing us next.

⁶ LIMC I (1981) 222, s.v. Adonis (B. Servais-Soyez); Friese 2009, 91–110. Since this text was submitted, I came across another vase with a depiction of the Adonia, a squat lekythos dated to the early fourth century: D' Amicis 2013.

⁷ I would like to thank the owner for the permission to study the vase. Height 34 cm. Already mentioned in Lezzi-Hafter 2012, 42. The vase has never been published before but was imported legally to Switzerland in the late 1960s.

⁸ The bed, not a kline, is unusual for the Meidian workshop, but is adopted again on the neck of the volute krater by the Meleager Painter in Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.93, Shapiro 2009a, 248 fig. 71, where Adonis occupies it alone but for an Eros offering him a wreath.

⁹ It is painted as if two twigs meet at an angle; it is meant as one twig, but painted that way in the Meidian workshop.

¹⁰ Kunze-Götte 2006, 71–84. The broken twig serves the same purpose also in representations of Paris and Helen.

Afterward

It was only after having written the humble text above that I read Marcel Detienne's *The Gardens of Adonis*, a book so different from other books on antiquity. As an ardent gardener and a hobby pyromaniac, I made a fire in a pot, added a fresh twig of thyme, which produced smoke, and threw some grains of myrrh into it to obtain the desired aroma. The gods must have liked this "sacrifice" because it produced an agreeable atmosphere – the perfect one for a lazy evening in the heat of the dog days, when your birthday is celebrated and when the Adonia were held as a frivolous (and contradictory) feast of joy!¹¹

11 Detienne 1994, esp. chapter 5.

Narrative Strategies

J. Robert Guy

A Matter of Style/Why Style Matters: A Birth of Athena Revisited*

It is a great pleasure for me to be able to contribute an offering, slight though it may be, to this volume in honor of Alan Shapiro, a highly valued friend of forty years, whose numerous, meticulous, and deeply learned publications have done so much to illuminate the beauty and daunting complexity of the surviving record in the visual arts of ancient Greece, and in particular of Athens. He has often proposed fresh interpretations of commonly accepted or contested subjects, and he has been ever sensitive to the valuable role that a close study of style – connoisseurship – has had, and has still, to play in serving both to clarify and to strengthen the evidence on which sound iconographic analysis depends.

In this light, I take as my point of departure two red-figure fragments (fig. 1), said to be from a volute krater, which are now in Reggio's Museo Archeologico Nazionale, part of the rich trove of Attic ceramic material recovered between 1911 and 1915 by Paolo Orsi during the course of four excavation campaigns in the Greek "Lucifero" necropolis at Locri Epizephirii. First published by the excavator in his report of 1917, both fragments have been illustrated and discussed anew most recently by Karl Schefold.¹ J. D. Beazley attributed them to the Syleus Painter, being one of only two examples of the shape from this artist's hand.² During the course of prolonged reflection on the stylistic coherence of the members of the Syleus Sequence, I lately had occasion to consider the Locri fragments more carefully, and very much to my surprise, I found that all is not, in fact, as it seems. Although I freely admit that I have not studied the fragments at first hand, the published black-and-white photographs are nonetheless of excellent quality, and on their basis alone I believe that one may make a number of credible observations. To state the matter succinctly, the two

* For their generous assistance in readily providing photographs and relevant information, I should like to thank most warmly Lucilla Burn (Cambridge), Jasper Gaunt (Atlanta), Filippo and Giada Giudice (Catania), Martin Schulz (Munich), and J. Michael Padgett (Princeton). This paper has benefited from a critical reading by both M. Padgett and J. Gaunt, for which I am most grateful, as well as by the editors whose particular care has saved me from a number of errors.

1 Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4379: ARV² 251.27; BAPD 202504. The fragments are illustrated in Orsi 1917, 147, and in his description (146 and 149) they are said to come from a column krater: "... produco qui tre framm. di un cratere a colonette (fig. 53), due dei quali attaccano, mentre il terzo, ancor che non aderisca, è di sicura pertinenza allo stesso vaso." The figure behind Hephaistos he identifies as Poseidon, the better-preserved female on the smaller fragment as Hera. For the latter, Schefold 1981, 22 suggests Aphrodite.

2 There are fragments of a volute krater by the Syleus Painter in the Hatay (Antakya/Antioch) Archaeological Museum, from Al Mina: ARV² 251.28; BAPD 202505.



Fig. 1: Two fragments, Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4379. Reproduced after Schefold 1981, 21 fig. 8, with kind permission of G. Giudice.

fragments are, to my mind, obviously by different hands, and neither of those hands is that of the Syleus Painter. The larger of the two, from a volute krater with a significant rendering of the Birth of Athena, I take to be an early work of the Niobid Painter, ca. 470–460 BCE. The smaller, possibly from a volute krater as well, yet no longer securely so by association, and lacking as it does any trace of tongues on the shoulder, is a fully mature work of the Copenhagen Painter, whose actual name we now know to be Syriskos.³ The date, therefore, should be ca. 480–470 BCE. Different vases, then, different artists, different dates, and in all likelihood different iconographic schemes; these are conclusions all come to solely as a result of a reassessment of style of drawing.

For the long, slender fingers of hands gesticulating or clasping, and for the grip of a closed left hand on shaft of trident, on staff, or shield, the figurework preserved on the Reggio fragment by the Niobid Painter compares especially well with crowded scenes of departure on his equally early hydria in Cambridge (fig. 2).⁴ The head types, too, notably in profile of face, of Hephaistos on the former and of Priam on the latter, both of whom are identified by inscription, bear a pronounced familial resemblance. The distinctive form of Hephaistos' lightly lashed eye, with its pupil clearly defined, is to be found elsewhere on early works by the artist, at a time when he is closest in style to his "elder brother," the Altamura Painter. One may cite here, *inter alia*, the symposiast looking round to a companion on a bell-krater fragment in the British Museum,⁵ and twin-like figures of the young Dionysos, beardless and each wearing

³ The calyx krater with its unique signature of Syriskos as painter, which has given us the real name of the Copenhagen Painter, to whom the vase is securely attributable, is now in Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia: Pevnick 2010, 250 fig. 1 a–c; BAPD 28083.

⁴ Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.5.1961: ARV² 605.63; BAPD 207003.

⁵ London, British Museum E. 509.5: ARV² 602.29; BAPD 206967. One might also compare here the volute krater fragment New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 24.97.113, from Gela: ARV²



Fig. 2: Hydria by the Niobid Painter, Cambridge GR.5.1961. Courtesy of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

an almost identical embroidered *ependytes*, of whom one, *mainomenos*, whirls entranced on a hydria recently in the Munich market (fig. 3),⁶ while the other does battle with giants, on a krater fragment in Thessaloniki, from Olynthos,⁷ which I count as also youthful work by the Niobid Painter, rather than by the Altamura Painter, whose own version of an ecstatic Dionysos, on the fragment of a bell krater in Amsterdam,⁸ is cast in a decidedly different and less refined mold.

The smaller of the Reggio fragments preserves parts of two females. Of one, we have an extended right arm, short-sleeved and banded, which overlaps the upper part of another figure, diademed and clothed in a peplos, who stands full front, head turned to her proper right. In the context of a Birth of Athena, with its potent elements of wonder and fright, Schefold has reasonably proposed that these are attendant goddesses –

608.1; BAPD 207044 (manner of the Niobid Painter, early), and the fragment of an oinochoe Athens, Agora P 18538: ARV² 611, 40; BAPD 207087 (Odysseus, inscribed: “May be early, delicate work by the painter himself”). I am strongly inclined to give both fragments, that in New York being the earlier of the two, to the Niobid Painter himself.

⁶ Munich, private: ARV² 605.65bis: Munich, Gorny & Mosch, Auktion 154, 12 December 2006, lot 365, color illustration; BAPD 207006.

⁷ Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum inv. 8.54 (R. 108): ARV² 591.28; BAPD 206847.

⁸ Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum inv. 372: ARV² 592.33; BAPD 206855.



Fig. 3: Hydria by the Niobid Painter, formerly Munich private collection.
Photo: M. Schulz, Courtesy of Gorny & Mosch.

a bright-eyed Aphrodite, with hand to cheek marveling at the sight, and an Artemis greeting Athena's miraculous arrival with an open-handed gesture of welcome.⁹ Ricardo Olmos, by contrast, would have Schefold, Karl's Aphrodite be Eileithyia, likewise astounded by the divine birth at which she could be presumed to be present to proffer assistance.¹⁰ Once divorced in style and in date from the volute krater by the Niobid Painter, this fine fragment by the Copenhagen Painter opens itself to other interpretations of figural identity and the meaning of gesture – goddesses perhaps, surprise and welcome probably not. What little we have of the figurework here reveals the Copenhagen Painter at his best, fully comparable in line and detail with the slightly later figure, regally enthroned, of Ge Panteleia on his signed calyx krater in the Villa Giulia,¹¹ or with Helen, who with outward arms entreats Aphrodite's aid and protection on the body of Princeton's lidded dinos (fig. 4).¹² Closer still to the

⁹ Schefold 1981, 22, where, following Orsi (1917, 149), he also identifies the figure behind Hephaistos, on the larger of the two Reggio fragments, as Poseidon. Thus, the left hand should be holding a trident, of which the shaft's upper part intrudes visibly onto the shoulder's zone of tongues. Only the main fragment, with Athena's birth, is illustrated in Brommer 1961, pl. 36.1. The fragments are listed on p. 71 as B. I, a.2, and mentioned on p. 78, with no suggestion as to the identity of the three uninscribed figures. The representation of Hephaistos here, although secured by inscription, is not included in LIMC IV (1988) 646–647 nos. 188–202, s.v. Hephaistos (A. Hermay).

¹⁰ LIMC III (1986) 690, no. 43 s.v. Eileithyia (R. Olmos).

¹¹ See above, n. 4.

¹² Princeton University Art Museum y1986–34b: Padgett 2003, 171; BAPD 41052.

diademed woman, in profile of face and in form of light eye wide-open, is the splendid head of Achilles who is inscribed on fragments, privately owned, of a masterful and so far unique bell krater,¹³ preserving a new variant by the artist of Thetis' delivery of arms, which in its date and style well matches the more complete version on the obverse of his pointed amphora on loan to Zurich University.¹⁴ Females depicted with right hand to brow or to cheek we know from the moving scene, on the reverse of the Copenhagen Painter's Theseus and Minotaur stamnos in the Wiener Collection, of Athenian mothers mourning in anticipation of their children's dire fate as tribute to the king of Crete.¹⁵ Hand to cheek as a sign of foreboding, of anxious concern, recurs elsewhere at this time, ca. 470–460 BCE, on vases by the Euaichme¹⁶ and the Villa Giulia¹⁷ Painters, for example, and most poignantly on the majestic Oresteia krater in Rome by the Aegisthus Painter,¹⁸ pupil and workshop associate of the Copenhagen Painter. In all these instances, the women cradle a male child in the crook of a left arm. This gesture of the right hand, coupled with an outstretched arm on the Reggio fragment, now freed of an alien and misleading iconographical indicator, more naturally suggests a scene wherein the mood was one of consternation, of trauma, or despair – dark sentiments fully appreciable in the immediate aftermath of the Persian Wars – rather than of joyous wonderment. The marvels of Athens' glorious rebirth are yet to come.

A final word, briefly, on shape. Neither the Copenhagen Painter, nor his “brother” the Syriskos Painter, are strangers to the volute krater. By the former, we have splendid fragments from the Acropolis, with the Struggle for the Tripod as the principal scene, sadly still known only from line drawings.¹⁹ By the latter, there is the relatively

13 Attributed to the Copenhagen Painter by the author. Mentioned in Padgett 2003, 173 n. 20. The elaborate chain of palmette and lotus ornamenting the rim, which is bordered above and below by egg pattern, speaks for the shape being a bell rather than a calyx krater.

14 Zurich University, Archaeological Institute, L(eihgabe) 5: ARV² 1656, added as 496.2bis; BAPD 275252, erroneously still listed together with works by the Oreithyia Painter. First attributed to the Copenhagen Painter by Cornelia Isler-Kerényi.

15 Greenwich, CT, Malcolm H. Wiener: ARV² 257.11; BAPD 202929.

16 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8097: ARV² 785.2; BAPD 209665.

17 Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 25.088: ARV² 624.88; BAPD 207244.

18 Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia: Shapiro 1994a, 138–140 figs. 97–99; BAPD 12959. Erika Simon's suggestion (1985, 73) that this calyx krater should rather be attributed to the Copenhagen Painter, due to her belief in the identity of the Copenhagen and the Aegisthus Painters, the latter representing the early classical phase of the former, is unconvincing. It is perhaps worthy of mention here, as regards the not uncomplicated issue of stylistic interconnectedness in this critical period of transition, that the pelike Berne, Historisches Museum 12227 (ARV² 596.1; BAPD 206905), placed by Beazley in the manner of the Altamura Painter, is actually by the Aegisthus Painter, in its style readily paralleled by his hydria in Adria (Museo Archeologico Nazionale 22207 (B 1171): ARV² 506, 28; BAPD 205690).

19 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.761: ARV² 256.4; BAPD 202923. The subject is reprised by the artist on an unpublished stamnos fragment in Atlanta (Emory University,



Fig. 4: Body of a dinos by the Copenhagen Painter, Princeton y1986–34b.
Photo: Bruce M. White, Courtesy of Princeton University Art Museum.

complete krater in Bologna, with Eos and Kephalos, a late work,²⁰ produced at a stage in his career when, as Beazley observes, his “... likeness to the Copenhagen Painter has disappeared.” There are fragments, from the neck only, of three further kraters by the Syriskos Painter.²¹ And from a fourth, there survives but part of an exceptional handle, with Deeds of Theseus, which I firmly believe should be transferred from the Syriskos to the Copenhagen Painter.²² Lastly, there is the relative newcomer, sadly much ruined, in the Morat-Institut, Freiburg, with Herakles and Nereus on its obverse, two Muses (inscribed) on its reverse.²³ At various times variously attributed, by myself

Michael C. Carlos Museum acc. no. 2006.51.46), first attributed to the Copenhagen Painter by Martha Ohly-Dumm.

20 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico PU 283: ARV² 260.8; BAPD 202962. Quote taken from Beazley’s preamble to the Syriskos Group: ARV² 256.

21 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.758: ARV² 260.4; BAPD 202958. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 15076: ARV² 260.5; BAPD 202957. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale: ARV² 260.6; BAPD 202960.

22 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 194: ARV² 260.7; BAPD 202961.

23 Freiburg im Breisgau, Morat-Institut für Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft, on loan to Freiburg University: Flashar/von den Hoff/Kreuzer 2003, 41–42 cat. no. 1 figs. 1–16 and cat. no. 3 fig. 18; BAPD 44988. I propose to discuss this vase elsewhere, at greater length and with further bibliographic references. Suffice it to say here that, in relation to the uncertainty one often encounters in telling the two artists apart, Beazley’s forthright assessment of the style of a stamnos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York acc. no. 56.171.50: ARV² 259.above; BAPD 202951) holds, I believe, equally well for the Morat krater: “The difficulty ... of distinguishing the Copenhagen Painter from the Syriskos Painter comes to a head in the case of a New York vase: in ARV¹ (196 no.8) it was given to the Syriskos Painter, and it seems perfectly in place among his works; but on the other hand I do not know how to separate it from the Copenhagen Painter.” The Copenhagen Painter takes up the theme of Herakles and Nereus on the

and by others, either to the Syriskos Painter or to the Copenhagen Painter, I am of late fairly well convinced that both artists may actually have had a hand in its decoration, the Syriskos Painter being predictably responsible for the better-preserved subsidiary work on the neck, the Copenhagen Painter probably for the more monumental figures on the body. If such is indeed the case, it takes their fraternal collaboration, previously attested only on Princeton's dinos with its separate elements of lid and body, a full and satisfying step further, with their individual responsibility discretely apportioned to different and distinct zones of a continuous whole.

The site of Locri Epizephyrii has yielded up a vast quantity of high-grade red-figure vase fragments by, amongst many others, the Syriskos, the Aegisthus, and now the Copenhagen Painters, the Altamura and the Niobid Painters, not least this last artist's remarkable lekanis in Naples, another ambitious and elaborate early work.²⁴ It is to be hoped that future study, perhaps with the above-proposed reconfiguration of attribution in mind, may yet serve to augment physically the two fragments discussed here, and possibly to amplify further our picture of the conspicuous contribution made by two of Athens' most creative and versatile pot painters, and by their respective workshops, to the city's preeminent success in the commercial export westward of fine-ware decorated vases.

obverse of his contemporary stamnos in the Vatican (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco: ARV² 257, 13; BAPD 202931).

24 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H 2638 (inv. 81333): ARV² 607.89; BAPD 207030.

Jasper Gaunt

Story and Status: The François Vase and the Krater from Vix*

Few would dispute that the François Vase (color fig. 41) and the krater from Vix (color fig. 42) was each a masterpiece, ἔξοχον ἄλλων.¹ The fortuitous survival of these magnificent, contemporary volute kraters offers an opportunity to explore some profound differences in conception and association between vessels in bronze and vessels in clay during the Archaic and Classical periods. These go far beyond the question of derivative emulation of bronze by pottery that has been widely discussed in recent years.² Here, it is argued that fictile derivations from metal lie in aspects of the potting, not the painting. Indeed, the painters, simply by virtue of the exuberance of their decoration, move the pottery away from the toreutic sphere towards those of textiles and panel paintings. The metal smiths, conversely, sought to convey status through the intrinsic material of bronze (or precious metal) employing only a restricted vocabulary of aristocratic symbols by way of decoration.

The François Vase was potted in the foremost Athenian workshop of its time, the one established by the potter Ergotimos in collaboration with the painter Kleitias. It is generally dated around 570 BCE. Even in its own day it was exceptional by virtue of its size, the 270 figures arranged in complex narrative strategies, and the profusion of 121 inscriptions. Ergotimos and Kleitias must have recognized this, for each of them signed the vase not once but twice. Here, we need to recognize only that Ergotimos had made available to Kleitias as much space as possible for bands of mythological narrative, while keeping subsidiary ornament to a minimum.³ Remarkable as their achievement was to cover quite so much of their krater with so many fabled stories from myth, they were far from unusual in believing that ceramic vessels should be generously decorated with a combination of figural, animal, and subsidiary ornament. During the

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1 Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209: ABV 76; BAPD 300000. On the François Vase recently: Torelli 2007; Hirayama 2010; Hedreen 2011; Moore 2011; Shapiro/Iozzo/Lezzi-Hafter 2013. Châtillon sur Seine, Musée du Châtillonais, no number. On the Vix krater recently: Stibbe 2000; Rolley 2003; Stibbe 2006; Verger 2009.

2 E.g., Vickers/Gill 1994, with response by Williams 1996; Shefton 1998; Zimmermann 1998; Bottini 2011.

3 On this, see Gaunt 2013a.

Archaic and Classical periods, this was very much the norm in the many cities that produced fine wares throughout the Greek world.⁴

The poem entitled *Kiln*, preserved in a Life of Homer wrongly ascribed to Herodotus, suggests that the single most important goal for potters was to achieve that marvelous black glaze: εὔ δὲ μελανθεῖεν.⁵ Enhanced by crisp profiles and decorative techniques like ribbing, rouletting, or impressed palmettes, it was intended to shine like polished metal.⁶ This is clearest on fully black-glazed wares, but also accounts for the severe curtailment of figural decoration on many shapes, for example Antimenean dinoi.⁷ The goal for the vase painters, however, was quite different: ποικιλία. Graffiti inscribed by their merchants often describe fine vases as ποικιλία.⁸ Pindar also uses the same adjective admiringly of Panathenaic amphoras with their elaborate decoration (ἐν ἀγγέων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις).⁹ Aesthetic implications of this adjective are best understood from its application to natural phenomena like the appearance of leopard or fawn skins, the scales of snakes, and the plumage of birds.¹⁰ The essential idea is the way in which light is reflected from a glistening, patterned surface. Out of this arises naturally the corollary idea of complexity. Homer uses the term particularly for descriptions of armor and chariots, but during the Archaic period it is applied most often to embroidered textiles.¹¹

At a practical level, ποικιλία in the context of fine pottery must consist in the painstaking techniques of decoration: incision and the application of added white and red (for black figure) or relief line, dilute glaze, and added color (for red figure). On a conceptual level, however, we encounter a much more suggestive association of a related aspect of ποικιλία: its application to storytelling (and all its complexities of plot and veracity), in a variety of manifestations.¹² Pindar was not alone in speaking thus of his own compositions, in both their literary and musical elements.¹³ Probably equally significant were textiles with narrative decoration. These

4 Convenient conspectus: Boardman 1998a.

5 Line 3. Text and commentary: Milne 1988, 186–196.

6 Cf. for instance Sparkes/Talcott 1972, 20–31.

7 Cf. Brownlee 1997.

8 Johnston 1979, 225 type 8F (ΠΟΙ); Johnston 2006, 148.

9 Pindar, *Nem.* 10.35–36.

10 Leopard skin: *Il.* 10.30. Fawn skin: Euripides, *Bacch.* 249. Snake scales: Alkman fr. 1 sub fr. 1.66 (Page); Pindar, *Pyth.* 8.46; Theognis 602; Pindar *Pyth.* 10.46. Bird plumage: Alkaios fr. 345 line 2 (Page); Theognis 1.729; Ibykos fr. 36 a2 (Page).

11 Armor or chariots: *Il.* 3.327 is only one example of many. Of textiles (peploi): *Il.* 5.735; 6.289 and 294 (quoted by Herodotus 2.116); 8.386; *Od.* 15.105, 107; 18.293; Euripides, *Med.* 1159; Euripides, *Andr.* 148. Of a strap: *Il.* 14.215, 220. Of Lydian foot covering: Sappho fr. 39.2 (Lobel-Page). Of Lydian *mitrai*: Sappho fr. 98a.11 (Lobel-Page); Pindar, *Nem.* 8.15. Of *zeirai*: Herodotus 7.75.3. Of shrouds: Pherekydes FGrH 2 F 7 and 15; Euripides *IT* 1150; Sophocles fr. 586.1 (Radt).

12 Recently: Neer 2002, 14–23 and *passim*.

13 E.g., *Ol.* 3.8; *Ol.* 4.2; *Ol.* 6.87; *Nem.* 4.14; *Nem.* 5.42. Compare also ποικιλόπτερον μέλος of Pratinas (fr. 1.5, fr. 3.3 Snell).

appear in literature from the outset, with Helen weaving scenes from the Trojan War.¹⁴ Entire myths, such as that of Prokne and Philomela, depend upon their existence.¹⁵ Rhapsodes, who literally stitched verses together, owe their very name to narrative textiles.¹⁶ At Athens, a new peplos was woven for presentation to Athena at the Panathenaic festival. Famously, it depicted the battle of Gods and Giants.¹⁷ The need to present a fresh account of the same story every four years may have inspired to a significant degree the development of the iconography and composition of this subject in Athens. Womens' garments on vases by Sophilos are decorated with figures arranged in bands, the very scheme employed to lay out the decoration on so many contemporary vases.¹⁸ It was, therefore, in dialogue or competition with much more expensive narrative textiles that fine pottery may have been created.

While we know exactly who created the François Vase, where, and when, this is not so for the Vix krater (color fig. 42). This spectacular work of art was recovered from the Burgundian tomb of a young woman, aged around thirty-five. The krater, standing 164 cm high, was made up from several pieces: the body, plain except for shoulder tongues, was cast and then hammered into shape. It was soldered to a cast foot decorated with tongues. Around the neck, two dozen appliqué representing departing chariots and warriors were likewise attached with solder. Two strips of tripartite molding under the rim bear a faceted pattern above tongues and spirals. They were held in place with rivets to the body and to the two massive handles on either side. These were cast in the form of gorgoneia looking outwards, feature rampant lions in the blinkers and are additionally riveted to the shoulder by means of snake protomes. On the rim rested a strainer, the perforations arranged as a whirligig, the two cast handles terminating in palmettes, and a central conical base for a cast bronze statuette of a kore, her head veiled, her left hand extended to hold out perhaps a jug, her right at her side perhaps with a phiale. Suggestions for its place of manufacture include Sparta, Taranto, Corinth, Sybaris, and Ionia, and recently Aegina has entered the discussion in connection with the bronze volute krater from Trebenishte in Belgrade.¹⁹ For its date, scholars have failed to agree between an early one, around 570–560 BCE, or a later one, around 540–530.²⁰ Here, however, it needs to be demon-

¹⁴ *Il.* 3.125–128. Cf. Jason's cloak, Apollonius Rhodius 1.721–767 (on which see Shapiro 1980); Catullus 64.50–264.

¹⁵ Philomela and Prokne: *Od.* 19.518–524; Sophocles, *El.* 147–149; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1140–1145; LIMC VII (1994) 527–529 pls. 418–420, s.v. Prokne et Philomela (E. Touloupa). The story of Arachne has been argued to be represented on a Corinthian aryballos in Athens, but this is not certain and the story may be a later invention: see LIMC II (1984) 470–471 no. 1, s.v. Arachne (J. Szilágyi).

¹⁶ Shapiro 1993a and 1995b.

¹⁷ Barber 1992.

¹⁸ Bakır 1981, pls. 1–5; Williams 1983a.

¹⁹ For a review, Rolley 2003, 131–135. Ionia: Hiller 2008. Aegina: Lombardi in Godart 2010, 158.

²⁰ For reviews, Rolley 2003, 129–131; Stibbe 2006; Gaunt 2011 and 2013b.

strated only that the Vix krater was assembled using the same techniques and aesthetic preferences as many another Archaic bronze vessel: to a plain body (hammered or cast) were added (by solder or rivets) cast elements (usually handles and foot), with the decoration focused on the handles.

Three rich archaeological contexts have helped the study of Archaic and Classical Greek bronze vessels: the graves of chieftain warriors at Trebenishte;²¹ the votive “heroon” deposit at Paestum;²² and the find at Pishchane in Ukraine.²³ Astonishing finds at Trebenishte yielded over eighty sympotic vessels, and a dozen more in silver. They include two volute kraters (one equipped with a stand); five column kraters; three kraters of special shape without handles; two amphoras; four hydrias; several cups; a dozen basins; numerous cauldrons; two thymiateria; and a rod tripod. Attic black-figure pottery found contextually suggests a late sixth-century date. At Poseidonia, along the walls of a “heroon” were found six bronze hydrias and two bronze neck amphoras. An Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Chiusi Painter found with them suggests a late sixth-century horizon.²⁴ At Pishchane (Ukraine), four amphoras of different shapes, three situlae (one of them Assyrian), six kalpides, a stamnos, and four bowls came to light near a canoe. The vessels should be dated to the fifth and fourth centuries. All these bronze vessels, numbering well over a hundred, were conceived and assembled just like the Vix krater.

The place of bronze vessels and their appearance in Archaic Greece is constructed, I would suggest, through a Homeric lens. This is particularly clear in relation to their austere scheme of decoration; their originally shiny appearance; their use as athletic prizes; their use as burial urns; and their elite circulation.

The one metal vessel described at length by Homer is the golden cup of Nestor.²⁵ Its ornamentation, beyond gold rivets, was confined to two doves perched on the rim above each of the four handles. Most Greek bronze vessels of the Archaic period share a similar aesthetic.²⁶ It is, furthermore, precisely (only) when we turn away from the Greek world to its periphery that we regularly encounter metal vessels with much more ambitious schemes of decoration, using a variety of techniques. The great North Syrian griffin cauldrons with conical bases in relief²⁷ come to mind, as do the relief situlae from Central Europe,²⁸ or, at a smaller scale, Phoenician bowls, whose work-

21 Filow 1927; Vulić 1932, 1933a, and 1933b; Stibbe 2003.

22 Sestieri 1955; Vallet/Villard 1955; Rolley 1982.

23 Hanina 1970; Reeder 1999, 193–205.

24 Bothmer 1965, 600; Para 170.6; BAPD 351261.

25 *Il.* 11.632–637.

26 Compare bronze kantharoi with horses and lions on the handles (Furtwängler 1890, 96 pl. 35.671; Sotheby's (New York) Catalogue 7 December 2001, lot 286), a mug from the Argive Heraion with a crouching sphinx on the handle (Rolley 1983, 236 fig. 264) and the Etruscan gold skyphos from the Bernardini tomb with sphinxes on the handles (Strong 1966, pl. 11a).

27 Herrmann 1966, 1979.

28 Boardman 1971; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 2011; Frey 2011; Terzan 2011.

manship Homer so admired, and their imitations.²⁹ In silver, we encounter minutely engraved work in East Greece and Etruria, where bucchero also contributes to the impression that elaborately decorated metalwork may have been prized.³⁰

This is not to suggest that bronze vessels with more ambitious ornament were entirely unknown in Archaic Greece. The Derveni krater, the Berlin “Mänadenkrater,” and the Boston situla demonstrate a healthy interest in narrative on bronze vessels during later classical times.³¹ Archaic vase paintings occasionally represent vessels that are themselves decorated, and some may have been bronze.³² For the Archaic and Early Classical periods, however, we lack evidence for widespread manufacture of elaborate bronze vessels promoting narrative or figural decoration.³³ This, surely, was not a function of technical inability. The routine presence of austere decoration on truly magnificent bronze vessels like the Vix krater suggests that this was a matter of deliberate choice. Like the cup of Nestor, decoration would be confined largely to the handles.

For the appearance of bronze in Homer, what seems to have mattered most was that it should be shiny. The radiance of polished metal made it intrinsically godlike.³⁴ For an epic set on the battlefield, bronze weaponry is naturally more often described: the dazzling armor of the Greek army is compared to a forest fire;³⁵ Hector’s armor gleams like the thunderbolt of Zeus;³⁶ Achilles in armor is likened to fire across water or a star, Orion, the Sun itself, and finally to Hesperos.³⁷ When the poet speaks of metal vessels, we learn sometimes about their size, material, fine manufacture, or their circulation.³⁸ The epithet ἀμφικύπελλον is sometimes applied to cups.³⁹ Much more consistently, however, Homer dwells on the way the metal reflects light brilliantly.

²⁹ Markoe 1985; Karageorghis/Markoe 1996; Sidonian bowls in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 23.741.

³⁰ Etruscan: Strong 1966, 65 pl. 12b. East Greek: Bothmer 1984, 35, 37.

³¹ Barr-Sharrar 2008; Züchner 1938; Barr-Sharrar/Newman 2009.

³² For example the volute kraters on the magnificent column krater fragments in New York sometimes attributed to Lydos: Moore 2010.

³³ The question arises whether monumental relief pithoi (Simantoni-Bournia 2004; Ebbinghaus 2005; Topper 2010) were fictile adaptations of metalwork now lost. If metal examples were made, we would have expected that at least a fragment of one of their cast handles would have survived, but this is not yet the case. The presence of double-walled ceramic psykter amphoras and kraters in the Archaic period (Pasquier 1999; Padgett 2002) raises another question, whether vessels in bronze could have been similarly constructed in the Archaic period, on the analogy of later Hellenistic cups. If so, they must have represented only a fraction of the total output.

³⁴ Cf the range of meanings for δῖος in LSJ.

³⁵ *Il.* 2.415.

³⁶ *Il.* 11.65.

³⁷ *Il.* 19.375; 22.25; 20.135; 22.317.

³⁸ A few examples. Size: Large tripods: *Il.* 18.344; *Od.* 8.434. Larger krater: *Il.* 9.202. Material: Silver, of krater: *Il.* 23.740; *Od.* 9.203. Silver-gilt, of krater: *Od.* 15.115. Silver, of lebes: *Od.* 4.53, 7.173. Gold, of krater: *Il.* 23.219, *Od.* 9.203. Gold, of cup: *Il.* 6.220, *Od.* 3.41. On vessels in Homer, see Brommer 1942a.

³⁹ A few examples: *Il.* 1.584; *Od.* 3.63.

The vocabulary is notably rich in synonyms for flashing, shining, glittering, dazzling, or sparkling effects: αἶθων, ἥνοψ, μαρμαίρων, παμφανώνων, φαεινός.⁴⁰ In order to describe the appearance of a particularly fresh surface, one that has not been subjected to fire after leaving the smithy, the poet denotes it as ἄτυπος.⁴¹

Throughout the Archaic period, we encounter descriptions of bronze that echo this Homeric vision. Alkaios' account of armor in a treasury uses the Homeric verb μαρμαίρειν.⁴² Pindar's image of the brazen sky shares its philosophical basis with a Homeric simile in which the bronze armor of Achilles shines like the sun.⁴³ Aeschylus speaks of tripods untouched by fire.⁴⁴ Herodotus' famous story about the alleged shield signal given by the Alkmaionidai at Marathon makes sense only in the context of highly polished metal.⁴⁵ The classical philosopher Demokritos recommends wiping sulphur (θεῖον) over bronze mixing vessels to make them appear (i.e., shine like) gold.⁴⁶ Exactly this method of cleaning was used by Achilles for a cup before offering a prayer to Zeus for the safe return of Patroklos.⁴⁷

In the Archaic archaeological record, many bronze vessels, including the Vix krater, preserve some original golden color. This is clear on some of the horses and parts of the rim molding (color fig. 42). And, on the volute krater from Trebenishte in Belgrade, Marina Angelini and Olimpia Colacicchi have detected evidence of ancient polishing on the surface.⁴⁸

The importance of bronze vessels circulating in elite contexts must account for their profuse dedication in sanctuaries, notably those whose provenances were clearly products of fantasy.⁴⁹ The tripod won by Diomedes at the Games of Patroklos was said to have been dedicated in Delphi.⁵⁰ The temple of Apollo Ismenios boasted not only a (bronze) tripod dedicated by Amphitryon in honor of Herakles but also a gold one, thrown overboard by none less than Helen herself and later recovered by Milesian fishermen.⁵¹ Nestor's silver-gilt cup was said to have made its way to the temple of Artemis at Capua.⁵² From the Trojan side, some inscribed bronze bowls went to Dodona and a bronze cup was dedicated by Aeneas in the temple of Hera Lakinia at Kroton.⁵³

40 A few examples: *Il.* 18.348; *Od.* 3.247, 10.360.

41 Of tripods: *Il.* 9.122, 9.264. Of a lebes: *Il.* 23.267; 23.885. Of a phiale: *Il.* 23.270.

42 Alkaios 357.1 (Page).

43 Pindar, *Pyth.* 10.30; *Il.* 20.135.

44 *Tetr.* 2 play A fr. 11a.17–18 (Mette).

45 Herodotus 6.121.

46 Kenyon 1893, 89.

47 *Il.* 16.228. Compare much later, Theokritos 16.16–17.

48 In Godart 2010, 96.

49 On these, see Boardman 2002, 210–233.

50 Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 6. 49.

51 Pausanias 9.10.4; Plutarch, *Sol.* 4.

52 Athenaios 466e, 487–494.

53 Dionysios of Halikarnassos 1.51.1.

The temple of Apollo at Sikyon claimed to preserve the bronze pot in which Medea had cooked up Pelias.⁵⁴ Sparta claimed to have the cup given by Zeus to Alkmene when he was disguised as Amphytrion.⁵⁵ The temple of Apollo at Patara claimed a bronze bowl dedicated by Telephos and allegedly made by Hephaistos.⁵⁶ At Lindos, the *Chronicle* records (among mythical dedications) a phiale dedicated by Lindos himself, a lebes with a Phoenician inscription dedicated by Kadmos, a silver cup from Minos, a gold cup from Rhesos, and a gold phiale from Telephos; and (among the historical), a large bronze krater dedicated by the people of Gela, a second krater dedicated by Phalaris of Akragas, ten phialai dedicated by Amasis king of Egypt, and a silver phiale from Soloi.⁵⁷ This list illustrates well how historical figures tried to insinuate themselves among the ranks of heroes.

The subject matter encountered on Archaic bronze vessels cannot be discussed here in detail. Several are entirely plain, including eight of the eighteen from Pishchane. Gorgoneia and sirens predominate from the world of myth and may be apotropaic in character.⁵⁸ Lions, horses, livestock, and snakes are the commonest from nature.⁵⁹ Strikingly, they overlap with the range of subject matter encountered on plastic aryballoi⁶⁰ and shield devices.⁶¹ Thus, for example, the recumbent rams at the base of three bronze hydriai at Paestum (fig. 1)⁶² recall the composition of plastic aryballoi, such as one in the Getty (fig. 2).⁶³ A shield device on a cup by the Amasis Painter in New York (fig. 3) almost depicts such an object.⁶⁴ These manifestly speak the language of the elite using a vocabulary that goes back to the world of Homeric similes.⁶⁵ They serve to proclaim the ἀρετή of the owner by alluding to the world of the hero.

54 Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis* 5.5.

55 Athenaios 475b.

56 Pausanias 9.41.1.

57 See further Higbie 2003.

58 Gorgons: e.g., Rolley 1981 and 2003, 90–102; Padgett 2003, 312–322. Sirens: e.g., Diehl 1964, 34–39, 219–220, B 137–172, pls. 14–21; Bothmer 1965, 603–605; Padgett 2003, 285–287, 300–303.

59 E.g., Rolley 2003, 77–128.

60 Maximova 1927, 163 (Gorgoneia), 143–148 (Sirens), 111–113 (lions), horses (107), livestock (104–106, 107–108, 119–123); for a snake, Vafopoulou-Richardson 1981, pl. 7b.

61 Chase 1902, 50–52 nos. 119–125 (Gorgoneia), 65 no. 235 (sirens), 56–58 nos. 166–173 (lions), 52–54 nos. 136–144 (horses), livestock (42–44 nos. 58–64; 61 nos. 211–214), snakes (63–65 nos. 225–229).

62 Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1–3: Rolley 1982, pls. 10–11.

63 Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.696: *Getty Handbook* 2002, 53 and 2010, 54.

64 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.62: Para 67; Bothmer 1985, 217–220 no. 60.

65 A few examples. Lions: *Il.* 5.136–142, 161–162, 554–558. Horses: *Il.* 6.506–511; 15.263–265; 22.22–23; 22.162–164. Livestock: *Il.* 2.414–416; 2.474–477; 3.196–198; 13.492–493; 13.703–707; 17.4–5; 20.495–497. Snakes: *Il.* 22.93–95.

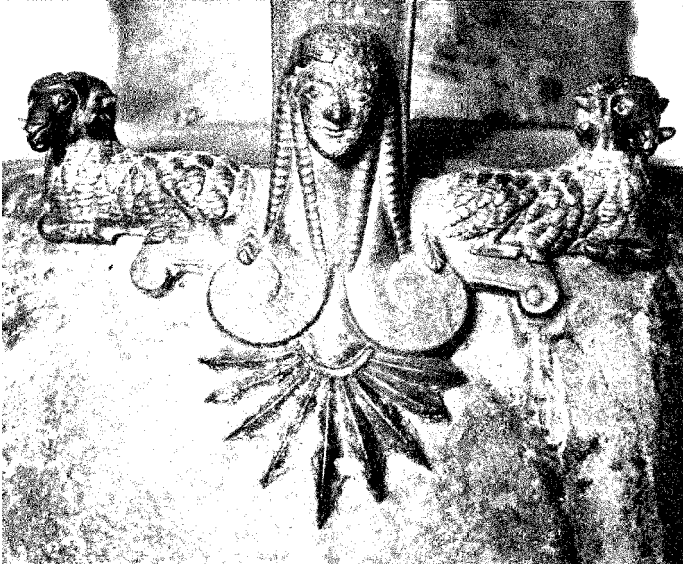


Fig. 1: Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1: bronze hydria.
Photo: after Rolley 1982, pl. 10.42.



Fig. 2: Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.696. Protocorinthian
aryballos in the form of a recumbent ram. Photo: courtesy, Museum.

The list of prizes offered by Achilles at the Games for Patroklos starts with vessels. Indeed, the first prize to be offered for the most prestigious event – the chariot race – is a tripod, as is the first prize for three other contests. Of a total of nineteen prizes offered, seven are vessels: two lebetes, two tripods, a phiale, a krater, and a



Fig. 3: Attic black-figure cup by the Amasis Painter.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.62.
Gift of the Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989.
Photo: author.

cup.⁶⁶ For the poet, this seems to have been nothing other than standard practice. Elsewhere, Nestor speaks of a chariot race at Elis for which a tripod was awarded;⁶⁷ and later, Homer likens the pursuit of Hektor by Achilles around the walls of Troy to a horse race with a prize of a woman or a tripod.⁶⁸ During the chariot race at the games of Patroklos, Idomeneus proposes to settle his quarrel with Ajax son of Oileus about

⁶⁶ Lebes: third prize in chariot race (*Il.* 23.267–8); first prize for spear throwing (*Il.* 23.885). Tripods: first prize for the chariot race (*Il.* 23.264, together with a skilled woman); first prize for wrestling (*Il.* 23.702–703). Phiale: fifth prize for chariot race (*Il.* 23.270). Krater: first prize for footrace, in silver, of surpassing beauty because it was made by Sidonian craftsmen (*Il.* 23.741). Cup: second prize in boxing (*Il.* 23.656). For prizes in early Greek sport, see Papakonstantinou 2002.

⁶⁷ *Il.* 11.700. Cf. *Il.* 23.629–631: Nestor recalls competing in funeral games for Amarynkeus for which the sons set out unspecified prizes.

⁶⁸ *Il.* 22.164.

which of their chariots was in the lead by wagering a cauldron or tripod and inviting Agamemnon to act as judge.⁶⁹

In the archaeological record, we have evidence for bronze tripod cauldrons dedicated at Olympia as early as the ninth century.⁷⁰ Representations on geometric pottery support the suggestion that several must have been prizes.⁷¹ By the seventh century, the practice of awarding tripods and other vessels at athletic competitions was certainly widespread. Most famous of all is the handled tripod (τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα) that Hesiod won at a musical competition at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalkis, and which he took back to Boeotia to dedicate in the sanctuary of the Muses on Helicon.⁷² From Boeotia there exists a series of seventh-century bronze lebetes which were inscribed as prizes.⁷³ At Corinth, the earliest evidence known to me is Pausanias' report that tripods were offered as prizes in the depiction of the Games of Pelias on the chest of Kypselos, which may have been earlier than the seventh-century Protocorinthian aryballos from Taranto, on which four riders gallop towards the finish where the prize, a tripod, and the judge are standing.⁷⁴ In Asia Minor, Herodotus speaks of tripods being awarded as prizes "long ago" (τὸ πάλαι) at games of Triopian Apollo, near Knidos.⁷⁵

At Athens, we encounter at least three tripods dedicated on the Acropolis that had been awarded as prizes for a horse race, a foot race, and a choragic competition.⁷⁶ Representations of prize tripods and lebetes are also preserved on many Athenian vases. Examples from the sixth century suggest they were commonly awarded for a variety of competitions. Sometimes both – λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε – are shown together.⁷⁷ Tripods appear as prizes not only for chariot races⁷⁸ and wrestling⁷⁹ (as in

⁶⁹ *Il.* 23.482–487.

⁷⁰ Maass 1978.

⁷¹ Schofield 1995; Sakowski 1997 with Rolley 2000; Moore 2004, 44–45; CVA Oxford 4, 17.

⁷² *Op.* 654–659. The same tripod, or so they said, was seen by Pausanias (9.31.3).

⁷³ Jeffery 1961, 91–92.

⁷⁴ Pausanias 5.17.11. Taranto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 4173; BADP 9005207.

⁷⁵ Herodotus 1.144.7.

⁷⁶ Raubitschek 1949, nos. 317, 318, 323.

⁷⁷ Tripods and cauldrons shown as prizes together: Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209 (the François Vase: ABV 76.1; BAPD 300000); Tyrrhenian amphora, Paris, Musée du Louvre E 836 (ABV 100.75; BAPD 310074); Tyrrhenian dinos, Paris, Musée du Louvre E 875 (ABV 104.123; BAPD 310122); unattributed volute krater fragments, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis 654 (McGowan 1995, 627 fig. 10); pyxis lid fragments, Vatican, Astarita 710 (36574; BAPD 9025215).

⁷⁸ E.g., black-figure lebes fragments, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.53; BAPD 17548.

⁷⁹ A few examples: black-figure amphora attributed to the Swing Painter, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.71 (ex Bareiss, BAPD 8766); Nicosthenic pyxis lid, Vatican, Astarita 710 (36574; BAPD 9025215). Tripods sometimes appear in representations of Peleus and Atalante wrestling: e.g., neck amphora attributed to the Diosphos Painter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen F 1837 (ABV 509.121; BAPD 305527).

Homer), but also for horse races,⁸⁰ boxing,⁸¹ and various musical performances (as for Hesiod).⁸² On an amusing series of vases, the victors carry them off.⁸³ Lebetes are shown as prizes, sometimes atop columns,⁸⁴ for a similar range of sports. They are most frequently associated with chariot races,⁸⁵ but also appear for wrestling⁸⁶ and boxing.⁸⁷

As time goes on, the range of shapes offered for prizes in athletic competitions widens. On vases, besides cauldrons and tripods we encounter hydrias,⁸⁸ amphoras,⁸⁹ and kraters.⁹⁰ The frequency with which bronze vessels are depicted as prizes in Archaic art, and the range of their shapes, underscores that the practice was widespread.

These representations are best considered in relation to the complementary array of surviving bronze vessels from the sixth and fifth centuries that bear inscriptions recording that they were offered as athletic prizes. Besides the seventh-century prize dinoi from Boeotia already encountered, these include a rod tripod, three lebetes, and nearly two dozen hydrias, notably those awarded at games sacred to Hera at Argos and those celebrated by the Athenians in memory of those who fell in the Persian Wars.⁹¹

80 A few examples: Tyrrhenian amphoras, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1984.884 (BAPD 18050); Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 2423 (BAPD 310064); Paris, Musée du Louvre E 836 (ABV 100.75; BAPD 310074; a dinos also offered); St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum 1402 (St 153; ABV 105.3; BAPD 310137). Tyrrhenian dinos, Paris, Musée du Louvre E 875 (ABV 104.123; BAPD 310122; both tripods and dinoi offered); also, black-figure pyxis lid, Orvieto, Museo Faina 2492 (BAPD 9703).

81 A few examples: neck amphora by Elbows Out, Paris, Musée du Louvre E 705 (ABV 248.4; BAPD 301401); amphoras by the Swing Painter, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 2421 (ABV 306.45; BAPD 301525) and once New York private, Kervorkian (ABV 307.61; BAPD 301541).

82 E.g., kitharode: black-figure amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire HR 84 (BAPD 7475, 31865). Aulos: black-figure amphora once Lucerne market (BAPD 24051).

83 A few examples: amphoras attributed to Group E, Copenhagen, National Museum 109 (ABV 135.33; BAPD 310293); Vatican, Guglielmi (ABV 135.40; BAPD 310300); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.13 (ABV 136.50; BAPD 310310).

84 E.g., Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz F 1873 (ABV 407; BAPD 303074).

85 A few examples: Antimenean dinos, Kurashiki, Ninagawa 7375 (BAPD 7375; atop column); column krater fragments, Basel, Cahn HC 809 (BAPD 17554); skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter, formerly Nuremberg private (BAPD 19756; atop columns).

86 A few examples: loutrophoros fragments near Group E, Athens, Kerameikos 1680 (ABV 139.15; BAPD 310347); neck amphora by the Princeton Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre F 217 (ABV 298.2; BAPD 320401).

87 Two examples: lekythos by the Taleides painter, once Basel Market (BAPD 44906); column krater from Sirolo (BAPD 44166; on column).

88 A few examples: with akontists and halteres, black-figure lekythos, Germany private (BAPD 5022); skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter, formerly Germany private (BAPD 19756; atop columns). Nikai sometimes convey prize bronze hydrias: e.g., Shapiro 1992b, 61 fig. 39a.

89 A few examples: black-figure band cup, with boxers, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 593 (2220; BAPD 31912). On a cup, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H 2457 (BAPD 14139), a man lifts a pointed amphora and pulls another in a cart, likely prizes for the riders about him.

90 For instance, a column krater on a Nicosthenic amphora, Vatican 364 (ABV 219.20; BAPD 302679).

91 On the Argive series, see Amandry 1980, 2002; Williams 2014. On the Athenian series, Amandry 1971. For the hydrias, see Sowder 2009.

Homer's description of Achilles carrying out the cauldrons and tripods – λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε – left a remarkable impression in later writers. In Xenophon's *Symposium*, Nikeratos quotes it as an example of great wealth and its desirability.⁹² Much later, Plutarch comments that Achilles' motivation was to make a spectacular display.⁹³ The Homeric vision for king or noble is that he uniquely and naturally possesses such κειμήλια. Tripods and cauldrons are primarily tangible expressions of restricted landed wealth, to be variously used. When king Alkinoos suggests in the *Odyssey* to the assembled Phaeacian nobility that each of them make an impromptu present of a large tripod and cauldron to Odysseus (τρίποδα μέγαν ἡδὲ λέβητα ἀνδρακάς),⁹⁴ the unexpected suggestion is taken up without any ado, and later, when Odysseus has landed safely in Ithaca, he enjoys counting them out.⁹⁵ Like Achilles, Agamemnon kept a supply of bronze vessels in his tent that he offered to bribe Achilles to rejoin the fight against Troy.⁹⁶ Priam includes two cauldrons, four lebetes and a beautiful cup from Thrace in his ransom for Hektor.⁹⁷ In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, it is tripods and cauldrons that are the sole defining feature of the house of his mother, Maia (τρίποδας κατὰ οἶκον ἐπηγετανούς τε λέβητας); and it is the really beautiful tripods and cauldrons (τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἡδὲ λέβητας), that Hermes threatens to steal from Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi.⁹⁸ It is cauldrons and tripods, as well as gold and other heirlooms (κειμήλια ... χρυσόν τε λέβητας τε τρίποδάς τε καλά), that Menestheus son of Peteos singles out in his effort to woo Helen of Troy.⁹⁹ Pindar's description of Herodotus of Thebes coming home from the games with tripods, cauldrons and phialai of gold (καὶ τριπόδεσσιν ἐκόσμησαν δόμον καὶ λεβήτεσσιν φιάλαισι τε χρυσοῦ), is clearly self-consciously echoing this tradition.¹⁰⁰ Kleitias had surely remembered the phrase when he painted tripods and stacked cauldrons in his depiction of the Games of Patroklos on the François Vase.¹⁰¹

A second archaic practice that would seem deliberately to echo Homer's descriptions is the use of bronze vessels as ash urns. Most bronze vessels that are still complete owe their preservation to graves; and a great many of them (if not all) surely functioned as containers for the ashes of the deceased rather than grave goods. As Dyfri Williams has pointed out recently, the practice of gathering together the ashes, and wrapping them in cloth before consigning them to rest in a dinos (or other vessel)

⁹² Xenophon, *Symp.* 4.45.

⁹³ Plutarch, *De Cupiditate Divitianum* 528b.

⁹⁴ *Od.* 13.13–14.

⁹⁵ *Od.* 13.217–218.

⁹⁶ *Il.* 9.122–123, 9.264–265, 19.244–245.

⁹⁷ *Il.* 24.233–234. Vessels often appear in artistic representations of the Ransom of Hektor: LIMC I (1981) 148–161 pls. 121–129, s.v. Achilles (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

⁹⁸ *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 4.60–61; 178–180.

⁹⁹ Hesiod fr. 200.5 (Merkelbach-West).

¹⁰⁰ Pindar, *Isthm.* 1.19–20.

¹⁰¹ For a list of vases with tripods and cauldrons, see above n. 77.

seems to have been a conscious evocation of the burial rites, lovingly described, for Patroklos, where the charred bones from the pyre were carefully separated from the others and placed in a golden urn wrapped in a double layer of fat pending the death of Achilles.¹⁰² At least two surviving prize dinoi were certainly subsequently reused to contain the ashes of the deceased.¹⁰³

This discussion suggests that it is the black glaze rather than the decorated figural element in pottery that sought to emulate metal work in the Archaic and Early Classical period. Like the Vix krater, the great majority of Greek metal vases tended to be restrained, even plain, with regard to their decoration. The artists and patrons of these vessels sought to evoke Homeric antecedents and associations in the subject matter, the preference for gleaming surfaces and their functions in elite society, especially as prizes and as ossuaries. Here, material explicitly confers – indeed guarantees – status. By contrast, the decoration of the François Vase, like most figural vases, is engaged in the business of elaborate storytelling, derived in visual terms not only from the ceramic tradition but also from textiles. Ἀρετή in Archaic Greece was not simply an expression of moneyed wealth. In Pindar's words, this might indeed consist in winning the chariot race at Olympia. But equally and, because listed first perhaps more importantly, it could also consist in sunshine and, above all, water – ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ.¹⁰⁴ Painted vases offered something that metal counterparts did not: ποικιλία. Hence their presence in the “heroon” at Paestum and even in the “royal” burial at Vix.¹⁰⁵ In an encomium written for Thrasyboulos of Akragas,¹⁰⁶ Pindar speaks of sending a chariot of songs to be a goad (κέντρον) for Athenian cups to be used after dinner at a symposion. The inference must be that it is the red-figured cups by Onesimos, the Brygos Painter, and their colleagues that are intended, whose mythological decoration would promote a strophic-like dialectic with the poet: presumably because the cups, like Pindar (or Sappho and Alkaios on the famous kalathoid psykter which Thrasyboulos may have seen in Akragas) facilitated access to worlds of heroic poetry, myth and above all, beauty.¹⁰⁷

102 *Il.* 23.238–244.

103 Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 2590 from Ambelokipi: Amandry 1971, 606 fig. 11. London, British Museum GR 1816.6–10: Williams, 2014.

104 Pindar, *Ol.* 1.1.

105 Paestum: above, n.24. Vix: ABV 201.14; BAPD 302591.

106 Pindar fr. 124 a,b. On this see Bell 1995, 27.

107 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 2416: ARV² 385.228; BAPD 204129.

Bettina Kreuzer

A Frame for Names: The Case of the Hydria Louvre F 287*

The hydria Louvre F 287 is an extraordinary piece. It was originally acquired from the Campana Collection in 1861 and had been heavily restored (fig. 1a–b), but now the vase has been cleaned. After that, only a small part of the shoulder and a bigger part of the main panel of the vase remained.¹ The vase has not yet been attributed, and is included neither in Beazley's lists nor in the LIMC.

The shoulder depicts parts of two warriors framing a galloping chariot in three-quarter view, a popular topic on Late Archaic hydrias.² The shoulder and belly of the hydria are separated by a narrow band, as often is the case on hydrias. In this case, however, the band does not contain ornamentation; instead it includes letters. These are written one after the other and spell out the names of mythical figures in the genitive:]ΟΑΙΤΕΣ ΑΘΕΝΑΑΣ ΗΡΕΑΣ ΗΕΡΜΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ[. The letters were written carefully after the main decoration on the belly had been finished, avoiding any potential overlap with the crest of a helmet and the tip of a lance painted on the hydria's belly. This causes some irregularities in the spacing of the letters: while Aphrodite receives all the space on the left side of the frame and the letters are equally placed, the letters on the right side are closer to each other; the last ones barely fit. This creates the impression of a more crowded space on the right than on the left. It looks like the painter started writing Athena's name first, then proceeded to the right, and eventually turned to the left to spell out Aphrodite's name. Another result of this choice is that the names of the figures on the right could not be placed exactly above the figures they describe. In sum, the frame seems crowded.

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¹ Paris, Musée du Louvre, F 287: BAPD 7600; Gerhard 1859, 141 no. 131; Pottier 1901, 124 pl. 83; Beazley 1928, 5 n. 1; Clairmont 1951, 35 K 77 and 104; Raab 1972, 25, 130 n. 4, 166 A II 36; CVA Louvre 6 III He pl. 69.4; Bothmer 1977, 213 fig. 1; Lemos 2009, 138.

² E.g., on the hydria by the Antimenes Painter in Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 434: BAPD 320042; Burow 1989, pl. 114.



Fig. 1a–b: Paris, Musée du Louvre F 287. © bpk – Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte.

The letters discussed above identify the participants of the scene on the belly, namely, the Judgment of Paris – again, a topic frequently depicted on hydrias.³ On the left, we recognize Athena, who turns her head back towards Aphrodite, whose face and hair survive. Athena's upper body is shown frontally, clad in the aegis whose snakes curl towards both sides; the high crest of her Attic helmet crosses the panel's borders and continues onto the shoulder, a clear indication that the scene was painted before the letters were added in the frame above. Athena raises her left arm in an expressive gesture that emphasizes her conversation with Aphrodite. Standing in front of Athena and in the foreground, Hera raises her left hand and looks at the flower that she holds with her thumb and

³ Cf. the workshop of the Antimenes Painter: Burow 1989, 59–61.

index finger.⁴ She stands in profile facing right and wears a belted chiton patterned with big red dots and incised crosses adorned with smaller white dots. The three women are thus separated into two groups: on the left, Aphrodite and Athena are involved in conversation; on the right, by herself, Hera is concerned only with her flower. None of them seem to be interested in what happens in the scene to the right: Hermes, characterized by his petasos and kerykeion and wearing a white chiton and a *Schraegmantel* with red stripes, extends his left hand over the body of a beardless, young Alexandros in front of him. The latter looks back at Hermes while moving to the right, and expresses his emotion by raising his left arm in a gesture that repeats Athena's, and crosses the frame on the right end of the scene. His right hand touches his right hip, thus avoiding an overlap with Hermes' hand. Like the god next to him, Alexandros wears a chiton and *Schraegmantel*. All figures have long hair that falls down in tresses.

The composition of the scene is conventional in its narrative of a fleeing Alexandros,⁵ and the topic, as mentioned above, is not unpopular on hydrias, especially in the workshop of the Antimenes Painter. The painter of the Louvre fragment structured all figures in pairs (Aphrodite and Athena; Hermes and Paris), except for Hera who is singled out in the center of the image. There are only a few arms and hands that overlap with the adjacent figures; everything is clearly visible, immediately recognizable, and thus easily readable.

One element of the decoration is striking: the frieze with the names, all written in the genitive form, is highly unusual. Using this as a starting point, we first have to ask who used this type of inscriptions and what was the use of frames, in general, before we eventually focus on the meaning of the genitive form of the names in this particular context.

If we look for comparisons for the stylistic treatment of faces and garments, the closest parallels come from the workshop of Psiax:⁶ compare, for example, the heads of the men harnessing horses on a hydria in Hartford.⁷ Psiax clearly follows the conventional system of hydria-decoration, by using frames on all three sides. Only once, however, on a vessel in Würzburg, he fills the side frames with the long-established ivy leaves.⁸ The upper frame may contain various ornaments, such as a

⁴ Note the sketch line for her right hand before it was painted in white.

⁵ The Beazley Archive contains twenty-one black-figure hydrias depicting this topic, and most of them have been painted in the last quarter of the sixth century. For the topic in general, see LIMC VII (1994) 178 pls. 106–108, s.v. Paridis Iudicium (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

⁶ This attribution has been made by Robert Guy.

⁷ Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum 1961.8: BAPD 320355; Vermeule 2001, 377–388.

⁸ Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 319: BAPD 320356; Shapiro 1989, pl. 52 C. The same ornament decorates the hydria attributed to Psiax's manner, in Göteborg, Röhsska Museum 18.69 (BAPD 9597; CVA Göteborg pl. 25); note that the panel's upper end is marked only by a single line, a system usually not used by the Antimenes Painter and his companions but by painters of the Leagros Group.

net pattern,⁹ a meander,¹⁰ or a red-figure leaf ornament, as on the Hartford hydria.¹¹

The Basel hydria attributed to Psiax's "brother," the Antimenes Painter, offers a close iconographic parallel to the Louvre hydria in its combination of a chariot scene on the shoulder and the Judgment of Paris on the belly of the vase.¹² The group of warriors fighting on the left side of the chariot differs only in the details of the equipment, while the directions of the chariot and the warrior on the right have been reversed. The impression of the main scene, however, reveals a different spirit: the goddesses are livelier, and Paris is portrayed beardless. This is quite an innovation, and Psiax is certainly among the first painters to illustrate the Trojan prince as a young man. Athena's look backwards, a feature that brings her in direct contact with Aphrodite, is not commonly found on hydrias but has parallels on contemporary neck amphoras.¹³ In all cases, Hera is singled out as a "lone" goddess.¹⁴

In Psiax's work, inscriptions can be found on the hydria in Würzburg and a second one in Berlin.¹⁵ Whereas on the Würzburg hydria the inscriptions name the horses, on the Berlin vessel they identify three of the four men harnessing the horses. These names are written in a straight line following the inner border of the image; in both cases the letters are neatly written and evenly placed. This is similar to a belly amphora in Munich, where – as on the Paris fragment – the names of Herakles, Iolaos (as Ioleos), and Hermes are given in the genitive,¹⁶ and are placed as close to the figures as possible. Summing up the situation, we may conclude that Psiax offers parallels in all fields with the exception of the use of a frame for letters.

Before we turn to the field of inscriptions, let us have a look at the use of frames and the perception of "virtual space" on hydrias of the late sixth century BCE.¹⁷ Frames on hydrias were introduced by Lydos on his later vases, with ivy leaves as ornaments for the side frames.¹⁸ This type of ornament was commonly used until the

9 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen F1897: BAPD 320354; Furtwängler/Hauser/Reichhold 1932, pl. 154.2.

10 See n. 8.

11 See n. 7.

12 See n. 2. For the relationship of both painters, see Burow 1989, 50.

13 E.g., on the shoulders of the hydrias in London, British Museum B 312 (BAPD 6493, Chiusi Painter) and Bristol, City Museum H 801 (BAPD 17079).

14 Clairmont 1951, pls. 15, 17, 20a. See also Munich, Antikensammlungen 1544: BAPD 9026848; CVA Munich 14, pl. 28.2 and p. 32, where Erika Kunze-Götte concludes that this turn is the result of placing Athena in the middle of the three deities and her role as a mediating figure.

15 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen F1897 (see n. 9). For Psiax's inscriptions in general, see Immerwahr 1990, 58–59.

16 Munich, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen 2302: BAPD 200021; CAVI 5254; ABV 294.23; CVA Munich 4, pls. 153.2, 154.3–4; Wünsche 2003, 294 fig. 52.1. Cf. the amphora fragment in Adria (IG 22 915–916; BAPD 44587; CVA Adria 2, pl. 8.4: Apollonos).

17 Hurwit 1977, *passim*.

18 Tiverios 1976, pls. 29, 31a.

end of the sixth century BCE, and painters of the Leagros Group and the Antimenes Painter use it frequently, as does Psiax on his hydria in Würzburg.¹⁹ At the same time, in the last quarter of the sixth century BCE, new ornamental forms are introduced, such as palmette chains of various types.²⁰ Painters compose the scenes within the panel frames until, again in the last quarter of the sixth century BCE, a change occurs: figures start to disappear partly behind frames, cross them, and, in a few cases, the frames lose their defining character altogether, since they vanish behind the figures.²¹ This new outlook on borders is particularly visible in the workshop of the Leagros Group and the related Priam Painter.²² They join painters of the Pioneer Group, like Euphronios or Euthymides, in their aim to overcome the constraints of border panels. Other than the Pioneers, however, the painters of black-figure vases did not give up border panels. They only found ways to supersede them. For example, parts of chariots are hidden behind the frame, giving the impression that the scene extends beyond the borders. Arms or legs cross the side frames, helm crests, spears, or trees continue onto the shoulder scene, and in rare cases, they even cross the bottom frame of the scene.²³ There are various ways to deal with space: for instance, the Antiope Painter depicts the protagonists of Hektor's ransom on one level, with Hektor's arms and the horses' foreparts hidden behind the frames. At the same time, Iris moves in front of all the figures at a different height (as revealed by the position of her feet), thus adding a new layer of composition.²⁴ On a hydria in St. Petersburg by the same painter, however, the spatial development flows from left to right: Hektor's arms as well as Achilles' right foot are placed in front of the frame, whereas the foreparts of the horses disappear behind the frame, leaving only their hoofs in front of it.²⁵ Very often, the images seem to burst: the figures are placed on different levels, making it very difficult to understand the narrative at first glance.²⁶ Some painters evoke a

19 See n. 8.

20 E.g., on hydrias by Psiax in Berlin (n. 9), Hartford (n. 7) and a hydria whose painting has been compared to Psiax's (Paris, Louvre Cp 10660: BAPD 340537). Very refined are the palmette chains in the frames on Psiax's red-figure hydria in the Ticino private collection (BAPD 8252).

21 Hurwit's "open mode" (1977, 5–17). There are, as noted by Hurwit, some earlier predecessors, e.g., two *lekanai* by the KX Painter where animals disappear behind the handle: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 296: BAPD 300285 and Basel Antikenmuseum 1960.27: BAPD 306498.

22 Sarti 2003, 28–29.

23 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen F1901: BAPD 302017; LIMC I (1982) 45 no. 22 pl. 59, s.v. *Achilleus* (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

24 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.473: BAPD 351200; LIMC I (1982) 139 no. 586 pl. 116, s.v. *Achilleus* (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Shapiro 1994a, 30 fig. 16.

25 St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum ST 165: BAPD 302026; Trofimova 2010, 87 no. 1.

26 E.g., on Munich, Antikensammlungen 1712 (BAPD 302029; Wünsche 2006c, 267 fig. 39.12). Other scenes of the struggle between Herakles and Antaios, such as Munich, Antikensammlungen 1708 (BAPD 320000; Wünsche 2003, 178 fig. 26.1), depict the participants on many different layers, which are hard to visualize in one's mind. The same is true for the A Painter's struggle between warriors on a hydria in London (British Museum B 327: BAPD 302033).

development in space: the scene begins behind the left frame and ends in front of the right. Thus, it extends into an imaginary space that lies somewhere between vessel and viewer. Particularly striking is the design on a Late Archaic hydria by the Leagros Group in Munich depicting Herakles' deed against Geryon:²⁷ the side figures, Athena, and parts of Geryon, are placed in front of the frame, which is only partly visible, while Herakles' right foot crosses the frame underneath. All frames have lost their original meaning since the scene extends in front of them, thereby losing ground and receiving a new status: in a way, the scene becomes independent from the vessel's surface both in the eye of the painter, as well as the perception of the viewer.

In addition, painters of the Leagros Group reveal a strong interest in the depth of space.²⁸ They illustrate this by superimposing figures on top of each other, so that the narrative is often difficult to read at once. These practices rarely occur in the work of Psiax or his "brother," the Antimenes Painter. Their narratives are laid out in one level and the protagonists are singled out unless they are depicted harnessing horses or fighting in groups and thus are easily identifiable.²⁹ In sum, it is clear that the Leagros Group, on the one hand, and the Antimenes Painter, as well as his "brother" Psiax, on the other, follow different models of spatial layout of narratives. The Louvre fragment, however, is so far the only painting by Psiax that links him with the Leagros Group, since Paris' arm extends beyond the panel, overlapping its border; he is meant to move on a level beyond the surface of the vessel so as to escape its constraints. Thus, the figure becomes detached from the pot. It is only by maintaining the frame that figures can be disassociated from the surface on which they are painted. This disconnectedness is repeated in the band above the panel where the names are lined up. If we turn to the gods, we realize that they are present in two ways: as painted figures in a mythical event, as well as in the form of their names.³⁰

The reserved band that contains the inscriptions is a very uncommon feature in the time of the vase's production, in the late sixth century BCE. So far only one parallel has been mentioned in the scholarly literature, namely, an Etruscan stamnos of a later date in the Villa Giulia.³¹ There are two more examples of reserved bands with inscriptions, on two later Attic black glazed jugs, both naming potters.³²

²⁷ Munich, Antikensammlungen 1719: BAPD 302008; ABV 361.3; Wünsche 2003, 146 fig. 19.8, 406–407 cat. 81.

²⁸ An additional element that creates the perception of space is the innovative body turns, as, for example, Herakles' leg and foot on the hydria Munich, Antikensammlungen 1719.

²⁹ E.g., Burow 1989, pls. 106–108.

³⁰ To use Lissarrague's words (1999, 151): the name " ... redouble au plan linguistique la présence de la divinité, à la fois peinte et nommé."

³¹ Rome, Villa Giulia 1599: Beazley 1947, 74; LIMC IV (1988) 2 no. 6 pl. 6, s.v. Eros in Etruria (I. Krauskopf).

³² An olpe in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis 833 (BAPD 301083; ABV 170.2) and an oinochoe in Cracow, (Czartoryski Museum: BAPD 330104; ABV 446.2; CVA Goluchow, Muzeum Czartoryski pl. 16.2). Both contain the signatures of potters, Priapos and Kriton, respectively.

If, however, we extend our view, a few more structural comparisons can be made with other vases. For example, the name of a potter, Pasiades, is written in the area above the main decoration on two white-ground alabastra in London and Athens by the Pasiades Painter, who was close to the Euergides Painter and a member of the Group of the Paidikos Alabastra. The letters are carefully written and aligned.³³



Fig. 2: Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 10910. © E. Raming, Freiburg.

³³ London, British Museum B 668 (1887.7–801.61): BAPD 200859; ARV² 98.1; Badinou 2003, pl. 69. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15002: BAPD 200860; Tzachou-Alexandri 1996/97, 93 pl. 36 a–b.

Compared to the Louvre hydria, the inscribed area is broader but it is still a zone predominantly reserved for ornamental motifs (including black stripes).³⁴

More potter signatures are to be found in frames that enclose the tondo of a cup, such as the type A cup in Madrid³⁵ (fig. 2). It depicts a gorgoneion whose frame bears the signature of the potter Pamphaios, giving the impression that the gorgoneion itself delivers the information. At about the same time, another potter ([Sosim]os?) incised his name in the frame of a tondo showing an owl in Six's technique. According to the same inscription, the potter dedicated this cup to Athena on the Acropolis of Athens.³⁶

A different message is conveyed by an inscription on a white-ground lekythos in Lyon (fig. 3a–c):³⁷ underneath the main composition (a quadriga and Apollo playing the lyre), two lines create a frame that carries the inscription KOPONE KALE ΦΙΛΟ. This meaningful and well-written inscription contrasts with the meaningless words that fill every space between the figures of the scene above.³⁸ Considering the chronological range of the aforementioned parallels, it is most interesting to note that they were all made at approximately the same time and can be compared in terms of form but not content. Only in the case of the Korone inscription a connection between frame and image seems possible.

If we now turn to the question of names given in the genitive, we have to realize that this is not a new idea: Exekias writes AXIAEΩΣ next to the hero on the neck amphora in Philadelphia, a late product of his third phase and thus datable to the brink of the last quarter of the sixth century BCE.³⁹ Albeit not in large numbers, there are several examples that represent this tendency: inscriptions in the genitive appear on a lekythos from the north slope of the Athenian acropolis,⁴⁰ a neck amphora in the

34 A painter of the same workshop imitates this but his letters remain as meaningless as the inscriptions surrounding the three young members of the *jeunesse dorée* depicted on his alabastron (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen 31390: BAPD 200892; Badinou 2003, pl. 76). A third alabastron of this group, again white ground, seems to address the viewer: on the same area one reads the inscription “prosagoreuo.” For the meaning of the inscription, see recently Lynch 2011, 85. The Painter of New York 21.131 uses this place for a KALOS inscription (Athens, Kerameikos Museum HS 107: Badinou 2003, pl. 118).

35 Madrid, National Museum 10910: BAPD 301279; ABV 236.4; Immerwahr 1984, 348 no. 7; Sánchez Fernández/Cabrera Bonet 1998, 43 fig. 1.

36 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis 1078: BAPD 301983; Verbanck-Piérard 2008, 51 fig. 3.

37 Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts X 492–8: BAPD 305516 (wrong inventory number 75); ABV 677.2; Frontisi-Ducroux 1998, 174.

38 The inscription itself is something of a riddle: who loves the beautiful Korone? The painter? Should this be a comment on the image above? Should we then separate “Korone kale” and “philo”?

39 Philadelphia, Museum of Art MS 3442: BAPD 310396; Mackay 2010, 291–303 no. 27 pl. 70, and for the inscription, see 291.

40 Athens, Agora Museum AP 1665: BAPD 9017646; Roebuck 1940, 218–240 no. 194 fig. 41 and esp. 219, where he compares the Louvre hydria to the Athenian lekythos.



Fig. 3a–c: Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts X 492–8. © Museum.

manner of the Mastos Painter in Munich,⁴¹ a belly amphora by the Leagros Group in Munich,⁴² a hydria in Berlin,⁴³ an amphora by the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 218 in Vienna,⁴⁴ or, in the field of red figure, on a fragmentary cup by Euthymides in New York,⁴⁵ to name just a few examples. This selection is also indicative of the chronological range of the practice: the use of the genitive for naming figures seems predominantly a feature of the end of the sixth century BCE. Names are not all always given in the genitive; sometimes nominative and genitive are used next to

⁴¹ Munich, Antikensammlungen 1562: BAPD 1160; CVA Munich 8, pl. 376.1.

⁴² Munich, Antikensammlungen 1408: BAPD 3021010; CVA Munich 1, pl. 39.1–2.

⁴³ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlungen F1906: BAPD 306469; LIMC VIII (1997) 69 no. 7 pl. 42, s.v. Triton (N. Icard-Gianolio). Note that the names of Herakles and Triton resemble ornaments and are written along the image's border.

⁴⁴ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3607: BAPD 200049; Meyer 2012, 34.

⁴⁵ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982.386+: BAPD 200124; Immerwahr 1990, 66 no. 382. Names in genitive form are very rare on vases of the Pioneer Group; see Immerwahr 1990, 71 no. 421 (BAPD 200183); another example, albeit disputed, may be [Arte]midos on the amphora by Phintias in Paris (Musée du Louvre G 42: BAPD 200116; Immerwahr 1990, 66 no. 385; for the doubts, see CAVI 6417).

each other.⁴⁶ On a neck amphora by the Three-Line Group in Paris,⁴⁷ Hermes, Athena, Hera, and Ares have assembled around Zeus; all names are written closely to the figures, and all are given in the genitive. These names are barely necessary for an understanding of the scene, since most figures are immediately recognizable by their insignia; only Hera could be confused with another goddess, but even so, her posture, the proximity to her husband, and her gesture suffice for a correct identification.

The Louvre fragment by Psiax presents a similar case, with the difference that the names are inscribed on the top frame rather than immediately next to the figures. The painter has deliberately omitted an explicit association between the figures and their names with his use of the genitive and urges the spectator to match the names to the figures. Psiax highlights this alienation of the figures from their name even further by introducing a frame for the letters. But what word could be the missing noun attached to the genitives? François Lissarrague has suggested we should add *eikon*,⁴⁸ a concept that would fit the intentional disentanglement between the zone of figures and band of letters. This means that the painter wished to depict not the actual figure but only its image. When viewing the scene, the gods' and hero's presence is immediately noticeable, while their names could be read aloud, as if one was addressing them. In either case, the gods remain distant, untouchable, and unreachable. By using the visual models described above, Psiax expresses this view regarding the figures of the Greek pantheon. He is certainly not the only contemporary to feel this way about gods and heroes.⁴⁹ He is certainly, however, the only vase painter in Athens at this time to give his opinion in such an explicit way, by means of compositional structure and application of letters.

⁴⁶ Cf. Kretschmer 1894, 137; Cairns 1996, 156. On the lekythos in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts 95.15: BAPD 303417) Athena's name is in the genitive, Achilles' and Ajax's in the nominative: Is this the painter's way of implying that Athena is meant to be a statue?

⁴⁷ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 229: BAPD 301672; Shapiro 1990b, 85 fig. 1; Lissarrague 1999, 150–151 fig. 112.

⁴⁸ Lissarrague 1999, 151.

⁴⁹ Xenophanes expresses similar thoughts in his poetry; see Burkert 1985, 308–309.

Mark D. Stansbury-O'Donnell

Composition and Narrative on Skyphoi of the Penelope Painter*

The oeuvre of the Penelope Painter presents an interesting opportunity to consider the narrative choices of an artist in a slightly different light from iconography. Rather than consider the iconographic variations of a single story or the repertory of subjects favored by an artist or workshop, I would like to focus on how an artist has faced the problem of composing narrative pictures on a specific type of vessel, in this case, the skyphos. The shape presents different artistic problems than other vessels, and since nearly all of the surviving vases by the Penelope Painter are skyphoi, we can explore how one artist dealt with the problems of a specific shape.¹

With its steep sides, the skyphos does not present easy vantage points from which both sides of the vase can be easily observed simultaneously.² A kylix, for example, can be hung on a wall, and the entire exterior frieze is visible. When used for drinking, the cup is tilted up; with its sloping and flaring sidewalls, it is possible for someone other than the drinker to see portions of both exterior sides of the cup.³ This viewer, such as a symposiast looking at a companion drinking from a cup, would be in a position to see whether there is a connection between the scenes when “reading” the cup’s narrative scenes, or if the scenes are only casually related to each other, or not at all. Glimpses of Greeks fighting Amazons on both sides would readily suggest a single theme; the repetition of a figure like Theseus or Herakles might suggest heroic biography as a theme.⁴ So, too, the sloping sides of a volute krater provide an opportunity when looking down at the vase to see at least the top part of both sides of the krater and for the viewer to consider whether the narrative pictures connect. It is more difficult to do this in the case of the calyx krater, since the vessel walls flare outward, obscuring a wider view from above. The bell krater is more like the skyphos in having vertical walls at the top and a slight slope inward toward the foot. It is possible to see a portion of both sides of a bell or calyx krater by looking directly at

* I would like to thank Alan Shapiro for his insights into vase painting and narrative as a scholar and for his long support of colleagues in pursuing their own studies. I would also like to thank Denise Demetriou and Amalia Avramidou for their work in organizing this volume and the invitation to be part of it.

1 On the Penelope Painter, generally, see Smith 1974, 20–22. See also Robertson 1992, 218–219; Batino 2002, 162–168; Iozzo 2012.

2 On the skyphos, generally, see Batino 2002. For discussion of the Corinthian skyphos, see Oakley 1988, and for large Heron-class skyphoi, see Scheibler 2000.

3 See, for example, the illustration of a drinker with an eye cup in Boardman 1996b, fig. 278.

4 On reading Greek vases and repetition, see Steiner 2007.

the handle, but the vantage point would need to be nearly level with the vase and would only work if the krater were set on a table amid seated viewers.⁵

The steep sides of the skyphos provide a large, continuous frieze for the painted decoration, but rarely does the figural decoration wrap around a skyphos in the way that it does in a volute or calyx krater. The handles divide the vase's surface into front and back pictures, and this division of the vessel's surface is strengthened when ornamental patterns appear under and around the handles. Thus, when looking directly at a picture between the handles, the framing makes the picture self-contained and isolates the front and back pictures visually from one another.⁶ Even when tilted for drinking, the steep walls prevent the picture on the drinker's side from being exposed to other viewers in a sympotic setting, in the way that the kylix's exterior is displayed. Essentially, the exterior of the skyphos presents one picture to the drinker and one picture to the other viewers. It is possible to see both sides of the skyphos when looking straight at the handle, but such a viewing angle would be limited to when the cup is sitting on a table, being handed from one person to another, or held out by a drinker to be refilled. Even in this position, one can only see the edge of the figures on each side; the vegetal ornament between them hinders seeing any obvious connection between sides A and B. Creating a narrative or thematic connection between the two pictures requires visual prompts for the viewer to realize that there may be a relationship between the two sides of the vase, whether thematically or as part of the same narrative, and then to explore the imagery further.

There are two important means for cueing the viewer to connect the two sides of the cup. First, the configuration of the picture provides a formal prompt for the viewer.⁷ Pairs of figures who look at each other in what we may call a converging configuration would provide little inducement to consider the single picture as part of a larger composition. In contrast, a strongly directional composition that has figures moving outward toward either handle and the other side of the cup would prompt the viewer to follow. A single standing figure looking to the left or right could suggest a connection through the gaze to the other side, but by itself this would not be a clear inducement to consider the figure as anything but isolated like a statue. A second factor would be repetition, either verbatim repetition, in which the figures on both sides are exactly reproduced, or reduplication, in which the figures on one side are variations of those found on the other side.⁸ Given the physical qualities of the skyphos, this is a secondary strategy compared to a kylix, since it is difficult to see fully the figures on either side of the cup at the same time. If a viewer, whether drinker or companion, were to see the second side as the cup moved about, the repetition would cue a thematic unity

5 On the visibility of kraters during symposia, see Langner in this volume.

6 On framing, generally, see Hurwit 1977; on frames and framing in vase painting, see Kreuzer in this volume.

7 Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 79–80. See also Hurwit 1977, 1–15.

8 See Steiner 2007, 12–16 and 102–104 for a skyphos by the Pisto Xenos Painter and unified narrative.

regardless of which side were visible first. While compositional configuration and repetition are fairly straightforward narrative devices, we will see that, in a few skyphoi, the Penelope Painter both prompts and hinders the viewer's recognition of a thematic connection that enhances the dramatic effect of the narrative picture.

There are twenty-eight skyphoi attributed to or near the Penelope Painter that are mostly or entirely preserved, in addition to twenty-three fragments that we will not consider here.⁹ About half of the cups have non-specific scenes with stock characters: youths, men, and women who mostly stand, either singly or in pairs, athletes, Dionysiac scenes with komasts or satyrs, and a couple of single deities.¹⁰ These universalizing figures are mostly non-narrative or only weakly narrative in their action, and several of the skyphoi have self-contained pairs of figures on both sides of the cup, isolating the pictures. In the skyphoi with a komos scene, the painter uses strongly directional compositions and reduplication to create a continuous dancing line of men or satyrs in what could be termed a panoramic composition or narrative. In other cases, the figures on one side either move or point in one direction while those on the other side point in the opposite direction, so that all figures converge on one another around the skyphos.¹¹

The use of a strongly directional configuration on both sides of the cup is more apparent in the narrative skyphoi by the Penelope Painter. On the Berlin skyphos with Odysseus slaying the suitors (fig. 1), the side with Odysseus and the two women is directional, with Odysseus in a crouch as he shoots an arrow.¹² On the other side, the

⁹ In addition to the twenty-six skyphoi listed in the Beazley archive as of May 31, 2013, there are two skyphoi near the Penelope Painter: Pisa, Collezione della cassa di Risparmio di Pisa (Iozzo 2012, 78 no. 29 with earlier bibliography); Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 25412 [T.784] (Oakley 1988, 183 no. 43 with bibliography).

¹⁰ Scenes with little action or conversation: BAPD 4516 (athletes); BAPD 6761 (youths and woman); BAPD 216801/ARV² 1301.18 (youths); BAPD 216804/ARV² 1302.21 (man and youth); BAPD 216810/ARV² 1302.27 (youths); BAPD 340041/Para 475.23bis (athlete and youths); BAPD 9022128 (man and youth). Scenes with more action: BAPD 3619 (youths with horses); BAPD 12698 (Eros on rock); BAPD 42190 (komos); BAPD 216798/ARV² 1301.15 (komos); BAPD 216806/ARV² 1302.23 (Nike with lyre and youth); BAPD 216813/ARV² 1302.2 (satyr komos). For a table of subject matter overall, see Batino 2002, 345–347 nos. 363–398.

¹¹ For example, on the skyphos with two representations of Eros (Basel Market, BAPD 12698), the figures point toward each other from opposite sides of the cup, almost like pointing to a reflection in the mirror. There is also a playful quality in the Anthesteria scene on the large skyphos Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2589 (BAPD 219002/ARV² 1300.7), in which the woman on the swing moves rightward, kicking out at the woman walking leftward toward her. The BAPD entry includes a picture of the handle area with the figures approaching one another.

¹² Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2588: BAPD 216788/ARV² 1300.1. The bibliography on this cup is large, but see CVA Berlin, Antikensammlung-Pergamonmuseum 1, 54–55 and pl. 34; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 256–257 no. 479; Schefold/Jung 1989, 319–329, esp. 321–323, Shapiro 1994a, 61–62. A view of the handle zone connecting to the two scenes is published in both the CVA and BAPD entries.



Fig. 1: Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Penelope Painter, ca. 440 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2588. Odysseus slaying the suitors. Photo: bpk, Berlin/Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung/Juergen Liepe/Art Resource, NY.

suitors both face toward their attacker and attempt to flee. An arrow sticks out of the back of one suitor, while the bearded suitor holding the table like a shield anticipates the flight of Odysseus' arrow. The vertical posture of the women and the suitor on the couch bracket opposite sides of their pictures, reinforcing the convergence of the two pictures around the handle. This type of narrative strategy, in which different pictures combine to present a single narrative scene, was aptly given the name of unified narrative by Alan Shapiro.¹³ On the Berlin skyphos, not only movement prompts the viewer to connect the two sides, but also the psychological states of the participants. Odysseus is focused on shooting a target, leading one to wonder where his arrow is aimed, while the suitors are clearly terrified of a threat not immediately visible. While it is just possible to see Odysseus' bow and arrow as well as the wounded suitor when looking straight on at the handle of the cup, this viewpoint is not necessary for inducing the viewer to put the pictures together into one composition.

For a pursuit scene involving two figures, the Penelope Painter places the pursuer on one side and the pursued on the other. In this case, both figures move in the same direction, but the pursued turns back to look toward the pursuer so that the viewer can readily identify the role of each figure. Pursuits were a staple subject for the Lewis Painter, a predecessor of the Penelope Painter who also specialized in skyphoi. Of the fifty-two whole skyphoi attributed to the Lewis Painter, twenty-two are pursuits, either with single figures on both sides or both figures on one side and additional

¹³ Shapiro 1992c.



Fig. 2: Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Penelope Painter, ca. 440–430 BCE. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 62705 (1831). Odysseus and Eurykleia. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

fleeing figures on the other.¹⁴ The pursuit was of lesser interest to the Penelope Painter, who did just three or possibly four pursuits out of twenty-eight skyphoi.¹⁵ There are also two additional skyphoi that show a fleeing or running figure on one side but a seated figure on the other, and their subject matter is less certain.¹⁶

The subjects and compositions discussed so far, including those with a unified narrative, can be found in the work of other skyphos painters like the Lewis Painter. However, there is a group of skyphoi by the Penelope Painter that have a distinct variation on a unified composition, which are unusual not just for their subject matter, but also for their narrative structure. One of the most well known is the skyphos from Chiusi showing the return of Odysseus, an earlier moment of the

¹⁴ Data on the Lewis Painter derived from a search of whole skyphoi through the BAPD as accessed on April 9, 2013. On the Lewis Painter, see Robinson/Freeman 1936 and Smith 1974.

¹⁵ Pursuits: BAPD 216803/ARV² 1302.20: Eros pursuing youth; BAPD 275523/ARV² 1689: Hermes pursuing Io; cup in Pisa with man pursuing woman (see Iozzo 2012, no. 29). One additional skyphos (BAPD 216802/ARV² 1301.19) shows both a winged goddess and a woman running on opposite sides of the skyphos that may also be a pursuit.

¹⁶ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1934.339 (BAPD 216815/ARV² 1302.4) and Milan, Banca Intesa 6 (BAPD 9007876).



Fig. 3: Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Penelope Painter, ca. 440–430 BCE. Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 62705 (1831). Penelope and Telemachos. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Odyssey narrative than the Berlin skyphos with the slaying of the suitors.¹⁷ On one side we see Odysseus having his foot washed by his old nurse, Eurykleia (inscribed *Antiphatta*), who looks up in apparent recognition of his scar (fig. 2). A bearded man looks on and holds out a rounded object in his right hand; the inscription identifies him as Eumaios, the swineherd who had preceded Odysseus into the household. This set of actions and characters varies from what is described by the *Odyssey* and indicates the painter is retelling the underlying story. Eumaios did bring food to Odysseus at Telemachos' order (*Od.* 17.345–347), but this was when he had first entered the house. The foot-washing scene occurs much later in the *Odyssey* narrative, and is ordered by Penelope after she has addressed the disguised Odysseus, not recognizing her husband but insisting that the rules of hospitality and guest friend-

¹⁷ Chiusi, Museo Archeologico 62705 (also Collezione Civica C 1831): BAPD 216789/ARV² 1300.2. This bibliography is also vast, but see CVA Chiusi 1, 16–17 and pl. 35; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 217–218 no. 373 and 248–249 no. 455; Schefold/Jung 1989, 319–320; Neer 1998, 28–32; Batino 2002, 162–165; Latacz et al. 2008, 432–433 no. 192 (M. Iozzo); Iozzo 2012.

ship should be observed (*Od.* 19, esp. 353–358). Thus, Penelope is present when Odysseus' foot is washed and he is recognized by Eurykleia (*Od.* 19.467–479).

The Penelope Painter has structured the time and action differently and placed Penelope on the other side of the skyphos, sitting in her distinctive pose before a loom, while Telemachos stands with a spear on the left side (fig. 3).¹⁸ It is easy to consider this space as another section of the house, well away from the entrance where Odysseus stands with his traveling pack, as well as the *andron* where the suitors eat and drink.¹⁹ One can readily imagine the scene as the earlier moment in the *Odyssey* when Telemachos has returned from Pylos and, after bathing, recounts his story to Penelope after she has put aside her distaff and wool (*Od.* 17.96–108).

The Penelope Painter's skyphos is the only representation in Attic vase painting of the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope, but the visual narrative was already well established in the early classical period on terracotta reliefs.²⁰ Three reliefs show the foot-washing scene and date to 470–450 BCE.²¹ On the two examples preserving the figure of Odysseus, he is seated on the left side of the relief and raises his left leg above the basin. Eurykleia crouches before him, while a nude male figure, probably Telemachos, stands behind and between them in front of a colonnade. On the right side of the relief in New York stands a female figure who must be Penelope, but this section is missing on the Louvre relief. This scene is more in keeping with the events described in the *Odyssey*, except that Telemachos has already retired to his chamber before Odysseus meets Penelope. Penelope shows no sign of recognition, and Odysseus' pose, which resembles his pose in scenes of the embassy to Achilles, suggests that he is recounting the fictional story of his whereabouts.²² There are eight examples of a second narrative moment on the terracotta reliefs, dating to the same period as the foot-washing reliefs.²³ On these, Odysseus is shown as a traveler in a semi-crouch on the right; he holds onto a stick with a suspended vase and bag with his left hand

18 On the history of the pose, see Kader/Koch-Brinkmann 2006, especially the essay and catalog by Germini/Kader 2006. See also here Closterman, who discusses this side of the skyphos.

19 It has been suggested that this scene shows Telemachos leaving to find his father, perhaps based on a lost play of Sophocles, but the scene makes more sense as part of the return to the house. See the discussion of Iozzo 2012, 73–74, who suggests that the skyphos was a votive offering for the cult of Telemachos in Chiusi, and so a deliberate and special iconographic selection by its owner.

20 On the reliefs generally, see Jacobsthal 1931, 67–71 nos. 87–93 and 95–96, and Stilp 2006, 99–101 and 198–205 nos. 62–72. Stilp (2006, 61 nos. 62–64) argues that Group 1 of the reliefs, which includes the foot-washing scenes, is Attic in origin.

21 The best-preserved example is New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.78.26. See LIMC IV (1988) 101–102 nos. 8–9 pl. 52, s.v. Eurykleia (O. Toucheffeu); LIMC VII (1994) 293 nos. 20–21 pl. 228, s.v. Penelope (C. Hausmann); Jacobsthal 1931, 71–74 nos. 95–96; Stilp 2006, 99–100, 198–200 nos. 62–64. Only the wash basin is clearly legible on one example (Aegina, Archaeological Museum T99).

22 For examples of Odysseus' pose in the embassy to Achilles, see Shapiro 1994a, 16–21 and LIMC I (1981) 106–114 nos. 437–465 pls. 103–106, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

23 Jacobsthal 1931, 69–71 nos. 89–93; Stilp 2006, 100–101, 200–205 nos. 65–72. The relief in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.11.9 LIMC VII (1994) 294 no. 33a–f pls. 229–230, s.v. Penelope

and reaches forward with his right to grasp the arm of Penelope. Penelope is in her distinctive pose, and, with her head shown in three-quarter view, does not see Odysseus. The version in the Metropolitan Museum of Art adds three observing male figures, but the core of the composition is the supplication by Odysseus.

In both narratives on the reliefs, it is clear that Penelope does not recognize the nearby Odysseus. This ignorance is not shared by the viewer, who having identified the scenes through recognizing the distinctive poses of Odysseus or Penelope, can anticipate the result of Odysseus' subterfuge. Odysseus, however, gazes toward Penelope and does not share her lack of awareness of the situation.

Rather than use a single picture, the Penelope Painter combines the most distinctive actions of foot washing and Penelope's closed pose and places them on opposite sides of the cup. By including the foot-washing scene, the painter cues the idea of recognition via the scar, but without Penelope in the picture there is no potential for Odysseus to interact with her.²⁴ He is still on the margins of the household, and has not yet insinuated himself amongst the suitors to carry out his plan. As a result, Penelope's isolation on the other side of the cup is even stronger than on the terracotta reliefs.

Separating the protagonists adds a level of drama to the visual narrative by changing the viewer's awareness of the situation. Looking at the Penelope side, a viewer can recognize her and deduce the identity of her son, but the closed configuration adds little incentive for the viewer to turn the skyphos to the other side, unlike the directional compositions on the slaying of the suitors. On the Odysseus side, a viewer might recognize the hero based on the unusual action of foot washing and the traveler's kit, but the inscription of the nurse injects a potential point of confusion.²⁵ This closed composition also does not encourage the viewer to link this scene to the opposite side of the cup. The painter further obscures recognition of the scene by unifying different moments of time and makes the viewer less omniscient than on the terracotta reliefs.²⁶

The scene is a textbook case of the importance of recognition that brings about a reversal of the narrative situation, and Aristotle in *Poetics* 16 uses the recognition of the scar as an example of the "least artistic" type of recognition, namely, through signs.²⁷ I would like to suggest that the changes made by the Penelope Painter to the standard visual vocabulary, as represented by the terracotta reliefs, make recognition in the scene more artistic by shifting the narrative moment from the dénouement, in which the transformation of the situation has begun and proceeds to its conclusion, to the

(C. Hausmann) [Penelope 33b] has three additional men on the left side who are identified as Telemachos, Laertes, and Eumaios.

²⁴ See the discussion of Neer 1998, 29–30.

²⁵ Neer 1998, 32 points out that Antiphatta, an invention of the painter, means "she who contradicts," a synonym for antilogic and a counterargument to the ambiguity of images.

²⁶ On the involvement of an educated viewer, see the comments on the skyphos by the Pisto Xenos Painter by Steiner 2007, 103–104.

²⁷ Aristotle, *Poetics* 16 (trans. Halliwell 1987, 48).

complication: “By the ‘complication’ I mean everything from the beginning as far as the part which immediately precedes the transformation to prosperity or affliction.”²⁸ The slaying of the suitors is a simple and straightforward action, but the entry of the disguised Odysseus into his house leaves ample opportunity for misrecognition and failure and requires more effort for the viewer to connect the parts of the plot into a narrative.

The Chiusi skyphos is not the only cup by the Penelope Painter to utilize compositional configuration and separation of the scenes to enhance the drama of a unified narrative. The skyphos in Copenhagen, showing the return of Orestes and Pylades on one side of the cup and Elektra and her attendant at the tomb of Agamemnon, has a similar strategy.²⁹ Elektra and her attendant form a closed composition that could be any scene of tending to a grave; only the partial inscription AGAMEM... informs the viewer of the mythological narrative setting. On the other side of the cup Orestes and Pylades stand in contrapposto poses looking to the right, introducing a directionality to this side of the composition. This is a modest inducement to the viewer to turn the cup, but at first glance, the scene offers little in the way of action like the suitors cup to suggest that this is an important narrative moment involving recognition and reversal. As Alan Shapiro has pointed out, this is the only example of a vase “that uses the opposite sides of the vase to such good effect in capturing the dramatic suspense of the scene.”³⁰ Indeed, other representations in Attic and South Italian vase painting place similar figures and the stele in the same field, with Elektra sometimes sitting on the tomb in a Penelope-like pose.³¹ Like the terracotta reliefs, the viewer of the later images is omniscient in being able to look at all of the narrative elements simultaneously. In dividing the scene, the Penelope Painter hinders the viewer’s recognition of the scene and narrative moment and turns the viewer’s identification of the story into an act of recognition in its own right.

This dramatized mode of unified narrative is also found on a skyphos in the Louvre showing Athena and a giant on one side and two men looking at an olive tree.³² Like the other skyphoi, this is an unusual subject and unprecedented in Attic vase painting. On one side, we see Athena standing, facing and pointing with her right arm to the right (fig. 4). Behind her, a giant, identified by generic inscription *gigas*, stoops to

²⁸ Aristotle, *Poetics* 18 (trans. Halliwell 1987, 51).

²⁹ Copenhagen, National Museum 597: BAPD 219000/ARV² 1301.5. See Lissarrague 1988; Shapiro 1994a, 131–132. On the scene, see LIMC III (1986) 709–719 pls. 543–549, s.v. Elektra (G. Berger-Doer).

³⁰ Shapiro 1994a, 132. The terracotta reliefs from the early classical period show Elektra in a Penelope-type of pose and Orestes reaching toward her, also minimizing the drama; see Stilp 2006, 102–104, 208–212 nos. 78–81.

³¹ See Taplin 2007, 49–56.

³² Paris, Musée du Louvre G372: BAPD 216791/ARV² 1300.4. For a review on the scholarship on the skyphos, see Crommey (1991) 167–171, who proposes the theory followed here. See also Schefold 1981, 91; Hurwit 1999, 75; Neils 2001, 13.

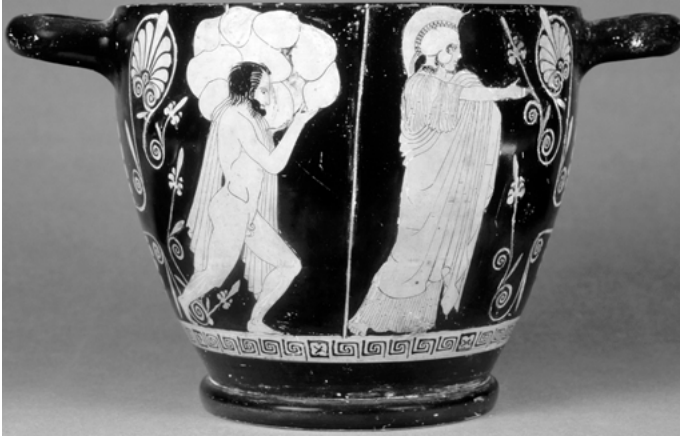


Fig. 4: Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Penelope Painter, ca. 440 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre G372. Athena and Giant. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski, © RMN – Grand-Palais/Art Resource, NY.

carry a heavy burden of rock. On the other side of the cup, are two men, each facing toward a central tree (color fig. 43). Above the left figure is an inscription, *philyas*, whose meaning remains unclear.³³ As Robert Crommey has pointed out, the figures are holding staves that are measuring rods and a red cord that is an architect's line, making these figures architects or builders. Crommey proposes that the scene is a reference to the burning of Athena's sacred olive tree in the Persian destruction of 480 BCE, after which, a long shoot grew out of the stump that was seen as a miraculous sign by the Athenians who first returned to the site, as Herodotus (8.55) recounts:³⁴

Now it befell this olive tree to have been destroyed with the rest of the temple by the barbarians; but on the second day after the destruction those Athenians ordered by the King to sacrifice then mounted into the precinct, and saw that a sprout out of the bole as far as one *pēchyas* had sprung up.

According to Crommey, the men are architects who are about to work on rebuilding the Pandroseion after the return of the Athenians in 479 BCE, or are about to undertake the rebuilding of the Parthenon in the 440s. In either case, Athena and Gigas on the other side show divine support for the Athenian initiative.

The subject matter is certainly unique in Attic vase painting, and the obscurity of the imagery is matched by the composition. The directional configuration of side A draws the viewer toward the other side of the cup, like the arrow of Odysseus on the

³³ Crommey 1991, 171.

³⁴ Trans. Crommey 1991, 172.

Berlin skyphos. The closed configuration on side B, however, does not tempt the viewer to look around. Indeed, the viewer becomes a third party looking at the central tree, trying to divine its meaning. These figures, like Penelope on the Chiusi skyphos or Elektra on the Copenhagen skyphos, are as yet unaware that events have been set into motion that will alter the status quo, in this case the rebuilding of the devastated Acropolis. While the architects and viewer puzzle over the meaning of the tree-sign, Athena shows her role as an instigator of a reversal in the narrative that will restore the situation to its proper state. The two sides form a unified narrative, but one side of the composition shows unawareness and the other side an initial action that will bring the *dénouement*, once recognition enables the unaware to carry out their action.

This more dramatic use of unified narrative distinguishes the narrative compositions of the Penelope Painter from the earlier Lewis Painter.³⁵ While relatively modest in number, these skyphoi represent a significant proportion of the painter's extant production. All have unusual subject matter and most of the skyphoi are also large in size, mostly over 18 cm in height, with the Copenhagen skyphos being the smallest at 16.3 cm.³⁶ At these heights and proportional diameters, the skyphos is not easy to handle when filled with wine, and one has to wonder if works of such size were made as much for offerings as for drinking. Mario Iozzo points out that the Penelope/Telemachos skyphos was a sanctuary offering, in which case a prospective owner or viewer would be approaching it with a different mindset than a symposiast.³⁷ The unusual subject matter, concealing composition, unified narrative, and occasionally unclear inscriptions that we have seen in these large skyphoi would make them distinctive offerings, and differentiate the wares from the smaller cups in the market with more common subjects and decoration. Some of the painter's work ends up in Etruria, especially in Chiusi and Tarquinia, but the Copenhagen skyphos comes from Basilicata and the Louvre cup from Nola. Iozzo suggests that "informed locals" helped to sort out the distribution of individual pots upon their arrival in Italy, and perhaps we can extend this idea to the painter who may have been aware of an interest in narrative puzzles among the export markets.³⁸ Certainly the skyphoi retain their narrative interest today.

³⁵ An additional example, though not mythological, could be the skyphos in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum V288; BAPD 216797/ARV² 1301.14) that shows two athletes wrestling in a closed composition on one side, while Nike and a trainer watch from the other. A smaller Nike on a pillar holds her head in her hand like Penelope, while the larger Nike on the other side gestures with both arms raised out from the body. The trainer and the wrestlers seem unaware of the divine figures, and Robertson 1992, 219 proposes that they represent the spirits of the wrestlers rather than two Nikai.

³⁶ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F2588: 19.6 cm; Chiusi, Museo Archeologico 62705: 20.5 cm; Paris, Musée du Louvre G372: 19.9 cm; Oxford, Ashmolean V288: 18.1 cm; Copenhagen, National Museum 597: 16.3 cm. Other heights by BAPD number: 6761: 14.6 cm; 12698: 10.9 cm; 216798: 22.9 cm; 216810: 16.3 cm; 216815: 13.1 cm; 275523: 10.5 cm; 9007876: 13.0 cm; Ferrara: 13.8 cm.

³⁷ Iozzo 2012, 72.

³⁸ Iozzo 2012, 74.

Martin Langner

Where Should We Place the Krater?

An Optimistic Reconstruction of the Vessel's Visibility during the Symposium

In most Greek houses, a special room, the *andron*, was reserved for the symposion.¹ Although numerous modern reconstructions of this room exhibit painstaking attention to detail,² none of them includes kraters despite the fact that, according to literary sources, mixing wine in a krater played an important role in the symposion.³ At the same time, most archaeologists believe that vase paintings on pottery, particularly those on kraters, influenced the discussions held during the symposion.⁴ This raises a question of the vessel's visibility, which I address in this paper. By analyzing a few select vase paintings that illustrate a krater in use, before turning my attention to the layout of select *andrones* in Athens and elsewhere, I am able to trace changes in the placement and visibility of the krater from the Classical to the Hellenistic periods.

Depictions of Symposia

In the Classical period, vase paintings depicting human banquet scenes rarely show a mixing vessel.⁵ A total of only four late-red-figure sympotic scenes contain a dinos or a krater (figs. 1–4), suggesting that a krater was not a necessary cue for the viewer to understand that what was being illustrated was a symposion. The almost total absence of kraters in sympotic scenes might also allow us to conjecture that the mixing vessel must have been used at a place or time that was distinct from the interior setting of a typical symposion, i.e., the *andron*. This evidence is all the more

1 On the *andron* in general, see Robinson/Graham 1938, 171–185; Börker 1983; Reber 1989, 3–7; Murray 1990, 6; Hoepfner/Schwandner 1994, xv, 98–99, 108–110, 327–328; Hoepfner 1999, 143–146; Nevett 2010, 43–62. For a summary on the space of the symposion in the Archaic period, see Lynch 2007, 243–249; Nevett 2010, 50–57.

2 E.g., South Stoa I: Thompson 1954, 44 pl. 4; Olynthos, House of Good Fortune: Connolly/Dodge 1998, 52; *Andron*, Priene: Hoepfner/Schwandner 1994, 217 pl. 212; House of the Mosaics in Eretria: Ducrey/Metzger/Reber 1993, 36; *Ausgegraben!*, 116.

3 Pellizer 1990, 178–179. On the relevance of the krater as a focal point for the participants, see Lissarrague 1990a, 23.

4 E.g., Lissarrague 1990a; Vienneis/Kaeser 1990, 206–207; Muth 2008, 404, 452. *Contra*: Scheibler 1995, 67–68.

5 On the iconography of the krater in symposion scenes, see Lissarrague 1990b. Topper 2012 doubts that the scenes depicted on vases reflect contemporary symposia but interprets them as “ancestral symposia” with high significance for the polis.



Fig. 1: A *hetairai* feast held outdoors. Hydria, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum KAB 29, ca. 340–330 BCE. After ABC 1854, pl. 62.2.

striking given the fact that kraters occur quite frequently in paintings of mythical banquets depicting the feasting Dionysos and his thiasos.⁶

When a krater is shown in human banquets, it is in the context of symposia that take place outside the *andron*. For example, a krater can be seen on a hydria from the Hermitage Museum (fig. 1)⁷ that depicts a symposium with *hetairai* in attendance. In this instance, the presence of a tree suggests an open-air setting and the krater might be shown only because of the outdoor nature of the scene. This could lead to the conclusion that symposium scenes set in the *andron* did not need to include a krater either because the vessel was mainly used outside of this room or because it had been set aside before the events depicted on the vase took place and thus could be left out of the image.

Two other vase paintings provide a more extensive representation of the sympotic space. A bell krater in a private Neapolitan collection depicts two klinai with five symposiasts.⁸ Between them, a flutist is crowned by a flying Eros. The space behind them is demarcated by a row of columns, five of which are visible. Because of the large

⁶ Dionysian scenes with the depiction of kraters, e.g., BAPD 566, 8875, 10611, 20444, 46426, 215343, 217561, 217589, 218020, 218153, 218234, 218281, 218294, 230374, 260094, 9022103; cf. BAPD 9525 (Herakles and the Hesperides) and Heinrich 2007, 99–156.

⁷ Schefold 1934, no. 155 pl. 28.3–4; Valavanis 1991, 293–296 pls. 144–145; BAPD 46588.

⁸ Sotheby's (London) 1988, 70 no. 121; Sini 1997, 161 fig. 3; Kathariou 2002, 263 (LON 12); CVA Berlin 11, 40. A fragment from Olynthos showing a symposiast in back view must come from a similar composition: Olynthus V (1933), no. 305 pl. 133.

number of columns, it is unlikely that the feast is being held in the interior of a house; instead, the symposium is more likely taking place in a peristyle courtyard. A second vase, a calyx krater at the Hermitage Museum (fig. 2),⁹ bears a similar scene: six symposiasts recline on three couches, with a row of columns positioned behind the leftmost kline. That we are once again dealing with an outdoor feast is clearly indicated by the low couch in the foreground, which is a bed, not a kline, upon which usually only Dionysos is shown reclining to eat.¹⁰ Thus, the painting does not represent a fully furnished *triclinium*, but rather a temporary arrangement composed of various pieces of furniture, an idea further enhanced by the lack of side tables.¹¹ If this interpretation is correct, then the presence of a krater in this vase painting can be explained by the fact that the furnishings have been assembled at an unconventional location. Furthermore, the absence of drinking vessels and the gestures of the symposiasts clearly indicate that the banquet is at an advanced stage.¹² During the flutist's performance, the krater does not need to stand in the center of the company of revelers but has been moved aside. This same moment is depicted on a dinos in London (fig. 3):¹³ in the center of the composition stands a female flutist flanked by two pairs of symposiasts, each reclining on two klinai. A torch-bearing komast approaches from the left, signifying the lateness of the hour. And, once again, a mixing vessel is present, namely, a dinos decorated with a cloth and placed on a high stand behind the rightmost kline.

The fourth late-red-figure vase painting depicting a mixing vessel is found on an unusually large bell krater in Naples (fig. 4).¹⁴ The scene suggests a particularly relaxed atmosphere suffused with eroticism, featuring three half-naked *hetairai* and four *erotes*. A calyx krater stands in the center of the composition at the height of a small table; a *pais* draws wine from the vessel. On the left, a symposiast pours wine into his bowl from a rhyton he holds in his raised, arced arm, whereas on the right, a reveler merry with wine lifts his bowl. This vivid illustration of wine consumption frames the centrally placed feasting scene and is suggestive of a relaxed atmosphere. In this sense, the krater is important enough to represent. Unlike the other two paintings, however, the vessel does not occupy a raised position but stands directly

⁹ Schefold 1934, 131 no. 239 pl. 15. 4; Reber 1989, pl. 1.5; Peschel 1987, pl. 285; Sini 1997, 159–160 figs. 1–2; BAPD 41005.

¹⁰ Sini 1997, 159–165 discusses the vase in detail and argues that the legs of the kline are shown shorter to preserve more space for the rest of the depiction. However, compared with the other couches, the thick mattress highlighted in white color indicates that another piece of furniture was meant to be placed there.

¹¹ This is the reason why the painting cannot show a leasable *andron*, which is opened to a peristyle.

¹² Sini 1997, 163 associates the missing tables and the depiction of a libation with the passage in Xenophon, *Symp.* 2.1, where the entertainment part of the symposium opens with a drink offering.

¹³ ARV² 1334.26; Para 480; CVA London, British Museum 6 III I c, pl. 104.1; BAPD 239149.

¹⁴ Furtwängler/Hauser/Reichhold 1932, 337–339 pl. 173; Schefold 1934, 16, 82, 106, 123 no. 108; Metzger 1951, 363 no. 41 pl. 48.2; Dentzer 1982, 111 pl. 21 fig. 117; Schäfer 1997, 91, 113 pl. 51.2; BAPD 8020.

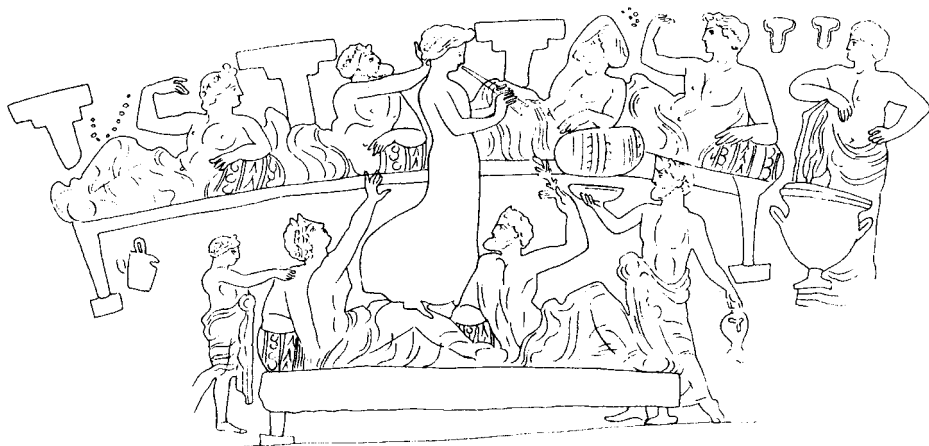


Fig. 2: A flutist performs. Calyx krater, St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum B 2338, ca. 380–370 BCE. After Sini 1997, 160 fig. 2.



Fig. 3: A dinos on a stand. Dinis, London E 811 [1842.7–28.841], ca. 410 BCE.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

on the ground. It is also worth mentioning that here (as also in fig. 1) the painter does not depict his own product – a red-figure bell krater – but rather a metal calyx krater, as evidenced by the mouth of the vessel. And so this painting, too, represents an unusual scene that does not necessarily relate to how the krater is ordinarily used.

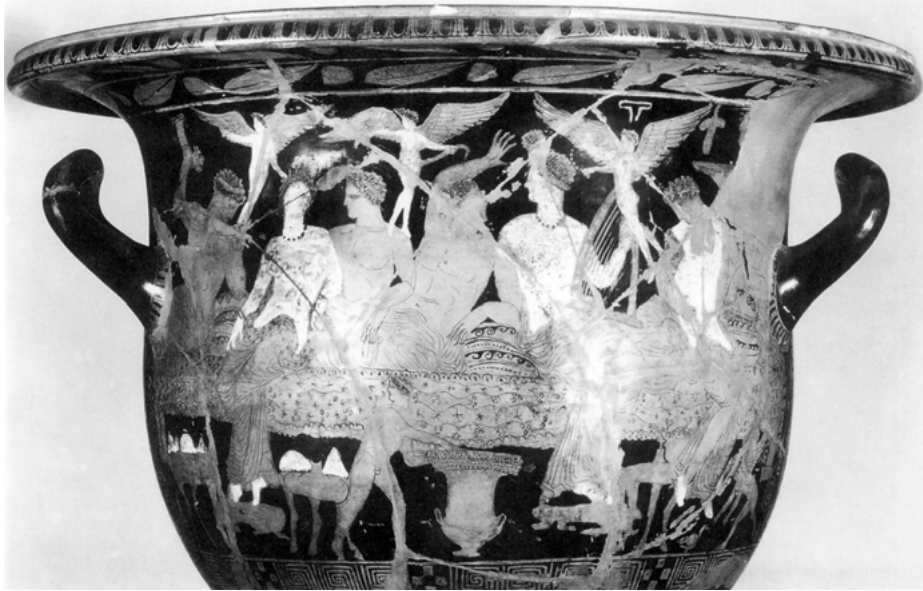


Fig. 4: A feast with *hetairai*. Bell krater, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 82924, ca. 350–340 BCE. After Schäfer 1997, pl. 51.2.

These four pieces of pictorial evidence should not be generalized, given that they all represent atypical scenes of symposia. They do show, nonetheless, possible locations for the mixing vessel, such as the area beside a kline and the center of the sympotic space. One also cannot rule out the possibility that the vessel was used outside the *andron* because three of the four aforementioned symposia took place outdoors. It is more likely, however, that the krater was considered as a moveable object that could be set aside during, for instance, a flutist's performance.

Banquet Settings of the Fifth Century BCE

How can we reconcile the pictorial evidence from vase painting, which offers possibilities about the placement of the krater – next to a kline; moved to the side during performances – with the archaeological testimonia from excavated houses? Although our knowledge of residential buildings in Classical Athens is imperfect at best, it is nevertheless possible to reconstruct at least the ground plans of several houses based on the excavated remains.¹⁵

¹⁵ On fifth-century houses in Athens and Attica, see Lauter-Bufe/Lauter 1971, 109–124; Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 173–203; Graham 1974, 45–54; Dinsmoor 1975, 252–253, 322–325; Jones 1975, 63–141; Krause 1977, 173–179; Lawrence 1983, 315–331; Camp 1992, 148–150; Hoepfner 1999, 239–243; Nevett

Unlike in the Late Classical period, when the main characteristics of the *andron* are crystallized – a square floor plan and a door that turned on an axle – and its location can easily be determined based on floor coverings, floor plans, and accessibility, it is difficult to ascertain the banquet hall in houses of the fifth century BCE. This does not mean, however, that such rooms did not exist.¹⁶ The largest room in the house, namely, the place where the family spent the better part of the day, is designated as the *oikos*. In most houses, this leaves several rooms as candidates for banquet halls, based on their size, rather than their shape.¹⁷

On the northern face of the Areiopagos, south of the South Stoa, an insula consisting of six residential units was discovered (fig. 5b). Ceramic evidence indicates that the units were inhabited until the end of the fifth century BCE.¹⁸ The two larger houses comprising the eastern half (fig. 5b, entrances 5 and 6) were organized around a courtyard, from which one could also enter the large *oikos*. Both houses featured a square room with space for three klinai that can be identified as an *andron*. Marking out three klinai of the usual size, 3 × 6 feet,¹⁹ does not fill the space completely; in both houses, it leaves a vacant space along one side of the wall, large enough to store and handle the krater.²⁰ A different entrance (fig. 5b, entrance 2) led through a large space and across the courtyard to the only room furnished with a waterproof floor. Hence, we are most likely dealing with a large (leasable?) *andron* with seven klinai,²¹ which also had a large enough space on the western wall by the entrance to accommodate a krater. A statement made by Socrates in Xenophon's *Symposium* (2.18) implies that the usual number of klinai in wealthy houses at the end of fifth century BCE was seven; this number is also consistent with the size of the large, public banquet halls that one sees, for example, in the South Stoa of the Athenian agora.²²

1999; Ault/Nevett 2005; Tsakirgis 2009, 47–54; Hellmann 2010, 42–52, 121–134. In general, on housing in the Classical period: Pesando 1987; Goldberg 1999, 142–161; Ault 2000, 483–496; Morgan 2010.

16 Tsakirgis 2009, 50–51 and Nevett 2010, 59–61 doubt the existence of *andrones* in fifth-century houses, but they overlook the fact that the voluminous klinai must be stored somewhere.

17 On the location of the *andron* near the entrance of the house and its separation from the private sphere, see Walker 1983, 81–91; Nevett 1999, 70; Hoepfner 1999, 240.

18 Thompson 1958, 147, and 1959, 98–102 pls. 16–22; Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 177–180 pl. 42; Hoepfner 1999, 240–241; Nevett 1999, 86–88 pl. 17; Tsakirgis 2005, 67–69 pl. 5.1. The findings are not published, except for a select few shown in Thompson 1959, pl. 22.

19 Börker 1983, 13, quoting Goldstein 1978, 356. On the design of the klinai, see Andrianou 2009, 31–50.

20 The location of the *andrones* in the houses comprising the western half is less certain. In particular, it remains a matter of controversy whether we are dealing here with two houses or four: Hoepfner 1999, 240.

21 Hoepfner 1999, 241. The room south of it was most probably used as a kitchen, as attested by two grill racks found on the floor among other finds: Thompson 1959, 100 pl. 22e. On leasable *andrones*, see Hoepfner/Schwandner 1994, 110–111; Leypold 2008, 197–199.

22 On the South Stoa, see Thompson 1954, 39–45, and 1968, 36–72; Travlos 1971, 534–536; Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 74–78 pl. 27; Coulton 1976, 43–44; Börker 1983, 13–14. In sanctuaries, the rooms for banquets are usually *endekaklina*: Leypold 2008, 177.



Fig. 5: Floor plans of Athenian houses from the late fifth century BCE. Possible banquet rooms are marked. © Author.

Furthermore, there are also houses with smaller *andrones*, large enough to accommodate only three or five couches; this seems to have been the standard size in the Early and High Classical periods.²³

²³ Hoepfner 1999, 240.

House K and the early phase of Houses C and D on the “Street of the Marble Workers” near the Agora (fig. 5a) also belong to the fifth century BCE.²⁴ The *andrones* in these houses were most probably furnished with three to five klinai.²⁵ Irregularly sized *andrones* are also found in other fifth-century Athenian residential buildings, as for example, in two houses on the northern face of the Areiopagos (fig. 5c, entrances 1 and 3).²⁶ Located near the houses’ entrance, these banquet halls have enough room to accommodate a krater along a wall, just as the houses discussed in the preceding section.²⁷

This overview demonstrates that, in the fifth century BCE, the *andrones* in Athenian houses had not yet attained the canonical form of a square floor plan with a door that turned on an axle and that there was usually enough free space beside one of the klinai for a krater. Thus, it is likely that during symposia of this period, the mixing vessel was set against one of the walls, as depicted on the London dinos (fig. 3). At the beginning of the symposion, when the mixing ratio was established and the wine was mixed with water, the krater may well have been placed in the center of the room, only to be set aside later to make room for a performance. The vase paintings would still have been visible to the symposiasts even after the vessel had been removed from the middle of the action and set along the walls by one of the klinai.²⁸ The room, therefore, constituted a neutral environment for wine consumption and discussion during a symposion, and red-figure mixing vessels, as the only objects with figurative decorations in the space, may well have kept the conversation flowing.

Upgrading the *Andron*

By the fourth century BCE, the *andron* in residential houses had been enhanced, resulting in differences in the banquet space and sympotic practices of the fifth century

²⁴ Young 1951, 202–228; Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 173–178 pls. 40–41; Hoepfner 1999, 241–242; Nevett 1999, 88–90 pl. 19; Tsakiris 2005, 76–79 pl. 5.4, and 2009, 50 pl. 49.

²⁵ House D became a metal workshop in its second phase and was connected with House C through a door. It was entered from the street through a square room that probably functioned as an *andron* in the first phase of the building. Goldberg 1999, 142–161, esp. 152, points out that there is no need for a special room like the *andron* to celebrate a symposion. For a flexible use of the rooms cf. also Jameson 1990, 92–113, esp. 100; Tsakiris 2009, 50–51. Nevett 1999, 71, even speaks of female activity in the *andron*.

²⁶ Thompson/Wycherley 1972, 180–183 pl. 44; Shear 1973, 147–156; Hoepfner 1999, 243–244; Nevett 1999, 90–91 pl. 20; Tsakiris 2005, 48 pl. 47 (House 1).

²⁷ The larger room in the east of House 1 was named *andron* by Shear 1973, 147, although there was a hearth made of mud bricks in the middle. Instead, Hoepfner 1999, 243, points out that there was not enough space for tables and interpretes the room as a workshop.

²⁸ The krater is not the only object that might have been placed along the wall: drinking bowls and musical instruments are depicted hanging on the walls of banquet halls on vase paintings of the sixth and fifth century BCE. See Schäfer 1997, pls. 12.1, 15.1–2, 17.1, 28.1, 29.1.

BCE discussed above. An *andron* with a square floor plan and a door that moves on an axle appears in Athens for the first time in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE in the rearmost rooms of the South Stoa at the Agora. Presumably, this layout was originally developed for banquet houses located in sanctuaries (*hestiatoria*). As a columned hall with back rooms for *klinai* comprising one side of the peristyle construction, the South Stoa is the oldest known construction of its kind.²⁹ A generation later, this new spatial configuration was also used in private residential architecture. It was accompanied by far-reaching changes that led to an upgrading of the *andron* in Greek houses: the room now distinguished itself from all others by its luxurious decor.³⁰ Two innovations in Late-Classical house construction are responsible for this. First, the walls of fourth-century houses were covered with colored plaster and constructed of painted ashlar masonry, marking a significant departure from mudbrick and emulating large-scale stone architecture. Although rooms that can be positively identified as *andrones* have been excavated only in Olynthos and Eretria, comparable fourth-century remains have been found at an excavation site under the large peristyle courtyard west of the Athenian agora.³¹ Second, floors covered with mosaics made of colorful river pebbles are also reminiscent of public buildings. These pebble mosaics first emerge in Greece at the end of the fifth century, appearing initially only in public baths, and later on as floor coverings in banquet halls of the early fourth century BCE.³² There may have been practical reasons for this change, as it would have been easier to clean leftover food dropped from the tables and wine lees flung during a game of *kottabos* from a pebbled floor. Notwithstanding practical considerations, the floor covering changed the appearance of these rooms fundamentally. Although the shape of the walls and floor of the room were previously defined by straight lines and probably decorated with multiple colors, the pebble mosaics introduced a kind of carpet-like splendor.

It is noteworthy that although mosaics depicting mythological figures did not emerge until after the first third of the fourth century BCE, the palmette patterns used in these mosaics are also regularly found under the handles of Attic red-figure vases. By the beginning of the fourth century BCE, these patterns had developed into complex vine systems on *hydrias* and *lekythoi*, parallel to the increasingly more intricate motifs of the room decor. Interestingly, just as the ornaments on the vases stay clear of the main image, so does the pictorial world of the *andrones*. Although the luxurious reorganization of the banquet halls led to an increase in the number of pictorial elements visible during a symposion, the wall decor and the ornamental mosaics did

²⁹ Börker 1983, 13–14, 16–17; On the South Stoa, see above n. 22.

³⁰ On the change in the design and decoration of Greek houses in the Late Classical period, see Walter-Karydi 1994, *passim*.

³¹ Robinson/Graham 1938, 291–303 pl. 30; Bruno 1969, 306 pl. 69 figs. 8–10; Andreou 1989, 46–47 no. 27; 209–210 and *passim*; Ducrey/Metzger/Reber 1993, 36; Walter-Karydi 1994, 32–44; R. F. Townsend 1995, 40, 116 (Arch12) pl. 22; Reber 1998, 116.

³² Salzmann 1982, 21–25, 47–55; Westgate 1997/98, 93–116; Dunbabin 1999, 5–6.

not compete with the vase paintings, but rather served as a frame within which the latter could be properly appreciated; the decorative motifs remained in the background while the only figurative and thematically complex images were on the krater.

The early pebble mosaics often defined a circular, central area within the square space. This area served as the center of the *andron*, with the symposiasts reclining around it, and as the visually marked center, it was an ideal place for the wine mixing ritual. Hence, the mosaic constituted an ornamental expansion of the red-figure decor, helping to focus attention on the krater's paintings and to impress the figurative representation into the minds of the symposiasts as the wine was mixed. At the time, Attic pottery workshops were producing kraters of unprecedented size and figurative complexity. Martin Robertson suspects that the rule of the Thirty Tyrants may have provided the impetus for this:³³ the new level of luxury exhibited by these vessels was well suited to the lavishly decorated *androne*s, but because the square banquet halls with their seven klinai no longer featured an unoccupied space along the rear walls, the krater could only have stood in the center of the room at the beginning of the symposion; afterward, it was carried out to make room for flutists and other entertainers.³⁴ Whereas in the fifth century the krater remained visually present throughout the course of the feast and thus served as a potential conversation piece at any given time, the vessel, enhanced by the room's decor, now enjoyed a temporally limited, yet visually accented moment, in front of the symposiasts.

In this way, red-figure vases came to be integrated even more fully into festivities that involved wine consumption and offered relief from everyday life. Such carefree activities were also the subject of fourth-century pottery, which depicted scenes of the symposion, komos, or sacrifice with increasing frequency, whereas in the High Classical period, mythological subjects were predominant.³⁵ Festivity, rather than debauched wine consumption, characterized the late-red-figure paintings of symposia, while the enraptured revelry of the symposiasts was further reflected in the images of the Dionysian thiasos.³⁶

At the end of the fifth century BCE, Athens exhibited an increasing interest in luxurious culinary delights.³⁷ With the addition of the fish plate to the potter's

³³ Robertson 1992, 259. Cf. Shefton 1982, 151; Burn 2010, 23–25.

³⁴ Cf. Xenophon, *Symp.* 2.1, where the tables are put aside to make room for the artistic entertainment.

³⁵ The database of the Beazley Archive lists 1382 kraters made between 475 and 425 BCE. 190 (13.7%) of which are decorated with depictions of a symposion, komos, or sacrifice, whereas 213 (15.4%) show Dionysos or his thiasos. Between 450 and 400 BCE, the number of these motifs slightly increases: now 143 (15.0%) of 952 kraters depict feasts and 166 (17.4%) the Dionysiac thiasos. The shifting of interest from one scene to the other might be characteristic, as well. During 475–425 BCE, komos depictions (93, 6.7%) were more frequent than sympotic motifs (82, 5.9%) or scenes of sacrifice (15, 1.1%). The number of sympotic representations increases during the second half of the fifth century: 62 (6.5%) kraters depict symposia, 43 (4.5%) komos scenes, and 38 (4%) a sacrifice.

³⁶ On this topic, see Langner, forthcoming.

³⁷ Schmitt Pantel 1992, 209–252; Nesselrath 1990, 297–309; Davidson 1997.

repertoire and a certain type of *lekanis* for serving meat, customers of red-figure ceramics now began to focus their attention on bowls and dishes for serving food rather than wine sets. This is reflected in the fact that paintings of both the symposion and the Dionysian thiasos dating from this period frequently depict food being offered or arranged on dishes and trays.³⁸ This shift of interest toward food and eating equipment and away from drinking and drinkware may also be another reason for the krater's diminished role during fourth-century symposia.

Wine Mixing in the Anteroom

Another fourth-century feature of the *andron*, the addition of an anteroom, helps us approach the question of the krater's location and visibility during the symposion from a different perspective. Around 360 BCE, several houses in Olynthos and Eretria were expanded and equipped with large floor mosaics,³⁹ similar to those found in Athens.⁴⁰ The floors of *andrones* were predominantly decorated with vine ornamentation and animal scenes.⁴¹ Furthermore, many of the *andrones* of this period featured narrow anterooms that were also equipped with stone or mosaic floors.⁴² These rooms served more than just the function of providing more privacy to the participants;⁴³ the presence of a waterproof floor shows that these rooms, too, required the same kind of cleaning as the areas where liquids were handled. It is therefore easy to imagine the narrow side at the back of these anterooms as the place where the krater was kept. The anteroom would then have functioned as a festive setting for the first phase of the symposion, the wine-mixing ritual, a hypothesis that explains the presence of mosaics. During this ceremony, the participants' gaze would have been fixed on the krater and on the paintings adorning the front of the vessel. The temporally limited use of the krater and the way in which the mixing ritual was enacted would have placed more emphasis on the connection between the vessel and wine consumption than in previous periods. This change of setting is also reflected in the development of the themes depicted on the front of the vase, which now feature frequently images of feasts and Dionysian scenes, as mentioned above.⁴⁴ The most prominent images in

38 Schäfer 1997, 91.

39 Hoepfner/Schwandner 1994, 108–110.

40 Salzmann 1982, 86 pl. 24.2–3.

41 Salzmann 1982, 25–27; Dunbabin 1999, 6–11.

42 Anterooms with floor pavement in Olynthos: Robinson/Graham 1938, pl. 89 (House A-1.g; A-5.d; A-VI-1); pl. 95 (House A-V-6.g; A-V-8.c); pl. 99.100 (House A-VII-4.j); pl. 103.1 (House B-V-1.a); Robinson 1946, pl. 3.1d (House A-VIII-1); pl. 6b (House A-VIII-2); pl. 60g (House A-IV-7); pl. 158f (House of Many Colors). In Eretria: Ducrey/Metzger/Reber 1993, 86–87 Room 8; Reber 1998, 98–100 (house II g).

43 Hoepfner 1999, 240, explains the function of the anterooms as means of protection against unintentional perturbation.

44 See Langner, forthcoming.

the *andron*, namely, the paintings on kraters, may also have inspired the symposiarch, who not only fixed the mixing ratio but also determined the subject of conversation.⁴⁵

Permanently consigning the krater to the anteroom would have relegated its reverse side to obscurity, remaining unnoticed during the symposion. This tendency concurs with the increasing neglect of the secondary sides of the kraters by vase painters. This thematic and qualitative imbalance appears as early as the middle of the fifth century BCE and is most likely attributable to the fact that during the symposion the krater was in most cases already consigned for extended periods to a location beside a wall, rendering the reverse side visible only during the first phase of the drinking. Moreover, in the fourth century, the cloaked figures on the backsides of kraters took on an emblematic, almost ornamental character, which further supports the notion that the krater occupied a different position in the Late Classical period than in previous ones.

The Missing Krater

In the Hellenistic period, the use of kraters experienced dramatic changes. In a lecture entitled “The Missing Krater,” Susan Rotroff supplied an impressive explanation of the astonishing fact that, in third-century-BCE contexts, there are almost no kraters to be found.⁴⁶ As she rightfully points out, the cause of their absence cannot be attributed simply to the fact that metal kraters had come into use, as Roger Edwards has argued,⁴⁷ because clay and bronze (not to mention silver) were priced quite differently. Rich Athenians of the Classical period had already come to prefer metal vessels (cf. Aristophanes, *Plut.* 812–814). The lack of kraters in Hellenistic contexts of the Agora must, therefore, be explained in terms of changes in sympotic practices that affected rich and poor alike.

Stephan G. Schmid has offered a comprehensive presentation of an interesting find from the Temple of Apollo in Eretria. The remains of a banquet were discovered in a filled-in well shaft: animal bones, six dinner plates, a fish plate, a dinos, an amphora, a jug, two unguentaria, a krateriskos with relief decoration, and thirteen cups nearly as large as the krateriskos, also decorated in relief.⁴⁸ The capacity of the krater in this case is only slightly greater than that of the drinking vessels. The markedly reduced size of the few third-century surviving mixing vessels – a phenomenon observed by Rotroff in the case of the Athenian agora and Ian McPhee in Corinth – proves that only small amounts of wine were consumed or mixed at one

⁴⁵ Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.4 (620a–622b), and Plato, *Symp.* 176c, 177d. Cf. Lissarrague 1990a, 8.

⁴⁶ Rotroff 1996.

⁴⁷ Edwards 1975, 107.

⁴⁸ Schmid 2006.

go.⁴⁹ If the material I discuss in a forthcoming publication is indeed representative, then a shift in the sympotic tradition must have taken place in the second half of the fourth century, which affected the production of red-figure pottery, as well: namely, the transition from large bell kraters to medium-sized mixing vessels.⁵⁰ Hence, it seems that the development of mixing vessels for personal use can be traced as far back as the fourth century BCE. As Rotroff has pointed out, there is also a significant reduction in the size of Hellenistic pots, with the vessels nearing the storage capacity of one or two bowls or kantharoi.⁵¹ In the Hellenistic period, however, the way in which wine was consumed was not the only thing that changed; dining customs changed, as well. Pauline Schmitt Pantel has shown that great feasts, to which members of the elite invited large numbers of citizens, marginalized the importance of a common meal in private company.⁵² She also supports the view that the custom of collectively mixing the wine was abandoned at the end of the fourth century, with each participant at the feast determining his own mixing ratio.⁵³

The model proposed by Rotroff⁵⁴ can also be further developed from this viewpoint: whereas in the Archaic period, the symposium was a purely aristocratic affair involving metal vessels and several large, black-figure kraters, the introduction of democracy led to the popularizing of the symposium, which in turn increased the demand for affordable pottery.⁵⁵ An important role in these changes, in Rotroff's opinion, was played by public symposia and *syssitia*,⁵⁶ which were attended by annual officeholders and deserving citizens who were awarded this honor and served as a model for smaller-scale private symposia.

At the end of the fifth century BCE, the setting of the symposium in the houses of the wealthy underwent significant changes. The *andrones* became larger and colorful; decoration acquired a higher priority here than in other rooms. At the same time, the spatial aspects of the symposium supported the illusion that the feast offered relief from everyday life. But since the square rooms no longer preserved a place by the wall for the krater, the vessel was now only visible to the revelers at the beginning of the feast. The introduction of anterooms seems to have coincided with the limited presence of the krater in the first part of the banquet. As a result, the krater's painting was now oriented toward the entrance and those entering the anteroom. Conversations at

49 Rotroff 1996, 18. McPhee 1997, 126–127, considers the use of the stemless bell kraters from Corinth as drinking cups or vessels used for libation during a symposium.

50 See Langner, forthcoming.

51 Rotroff 1996, 18 pl. 13.

52 Schmitt Pantel 1992. Alexander regularly hosted sixty to seventy *philoi*: Ehippos fr. 2 (= Athenaios 146c).

53 Schmitt Pantel 1992, 380–382.

54 Rotroff 1996, 27–29.

55 Lynch 2011, 170–173.

56 Rotroff 1996, 27; see also Monaco 1995, 133–140.

the symposion may have been inspired by the krater's painted images, but basing discussions directly on the visual representation of the subject was no longer possible. Furthermore, in the Hellenistic period, it seems that *kylikeia* were used to put silver tableware on display, demonstrating the owner's wealth and affluence – a point also made by organizing mass feasts. As status symbols, ceramic products were inferior to metal vessels like the Derveni krater.⁵⁷ At small-scale meals with a few friends, one seems to have preferred small mixing vessels and pots, which could be used individually to fill handheld cups or – in imitation of municipal festivals or large feasts held in sanctuaries – deep bowls that only had to be filled once.

⁵⁷ Barr-Sharrar 2008. On the increase of metal vessels in Macedonian tombs of the Early Hellenistic period, see Völcker-Janssen 1993, 196–202.

Helene A. Coccagna

Manipulating *Mastoi*: The Female Breast in the Sympotic Setting

It is well known that the symposion was a setting that favored cunning and wit – from double entendres to puns, *metis* was a highly valued component of these gatherings. Sometimes, these predominating sentiments that characterized much of sympotic literature also led to playfulness in the work of Attic craftsmen. Among the clever themes that potters and painters explored in their craft was that of drawing parallels between the human body and the body of the vase. As we still do today, ancient Greeks assigned anatomical terminology to the various parts of the vase.¹ The pot's handles were its “ears” or *ota*, the mouth was its *stoma*, the lips, *cheile*, just as human lips, and its foot was a *pous*.² At times, Attic potters and painters chose to play with this anthropomorphizing trend, exploiting the rich polyvalence of the terms applied to the vases and exploring the potential for metaphors. To this end, a craftsman could make a vase's features evoke its human counterparts, or apply anatomical features to the body of the vase. A good example of this phenomenon is the eye cup. The cup's large eyes, projecting foot, and protruding handles – its ears –, create a mask that replaces the face of its drinker when he lifts the vessel to his lips. Here, I discuss a distinctive anatomical Attic vase known as the *mastos*. This conical cup, complete with an articulated nipple, converts a female body part into a functional object of the symposion and, I argue, serves as the subject of visual jokes that draw on the conceptualization of the female body in the symposion setting.

The *mastos* is a relatively rare vase shape in the repertoire of Attic production.³ While evidence for this form has been gathered and catalogued, very little analysis of the shape has been carried out to date.⁴ The use of the term *mastos* to indicate a cup is attested by a number of sources, although all are admittedly later than the clay specimens examined here.⁵ Athenaios reports that the Paphians called a drinking cup

1 Froehner 1876.

2 See Lissarrague 1990a, 56–57 for a brief discussion. For a list of examples, see Froehner 1876.

3 Kathleen Lynch, in Lawall et al. 2002, 419, states that there are approximately twenty in the BAPD. Here, I restrict my discussion to true *mastoi*, meaning cups with an articulated nipple, and exclude similar forms such as mastoid vases. I draw this distinction because of my focus on the anatomical parallels being drawn through the shape and, while mastoid vases may retain some of these allusions, I restrict myself to the closest parallels.

4 Lawall et al. 2002, 419. See also *RE* XIVb (1930) col. 2175, s.v. *Mastos* (H. Nachod); Richter/Milne 1935, 30; Kanowski 1984, 105–106.

5 Richter/Milne 1935, 30.

a *mastos*.⁶ Epigraphic evidence from Delos and Oropos furnishes two further examples of this usage in inscriptions that mention the cup in inventory lists.⁷ Finally, Pliny the Elder mentions an electrum cup in the form of Helen's breast that was dedicated at the temple of Athena at Lindos on Rhodes.⁸

Corinthian workshops, the probable inventors of the form, began producing *mastoi* at the beginning of the sixth century.⁹ Darrell Amyx cites thirteen known examples, including three with figural decoration – all with padded dancers – and ten either decorated with patterned motifs or left unpainted.¹⁰ No Attic examples of *mastoi* survive from the first half of the sixth century. However, as Kathleen Lynch points out, cups of this form appear in sympotic scenes by the KX Painter that date to 580–570 BCE.¹¹ In these images, *mastoi* of an early form hang on the wall above men reclining on klinai. In a scene on a skyphos by the KX Painter, a man carries what appears to be an early form of the *mastos*, its shape especially conical.¹²

Attic *mastoi* appear during the second half of the sixth century and are clearly inspired by the earlier Corinthian form. The shape was produced by Attic workshops for roughly fifty years. Lynch describes the *mastos* as “conical or slightly bulging” with its pointed bottom culminating in an articulated nipple.¹³ The cups have two handles, typically either both horizontal or one horizontal and one vertical.¹⁴ While the strap handle served a functional purpose for the drinker, the horizontal handle “presumably allowed the cup to be hung on a wall so that the view was ‘anatomically correct.’”¹⁵ Such a handle, situated to allow the cup to exhibit its unique shape when hung, distinguishes the shape from other cup forms. *Mastoi* appear to have been manufactured with their display aspect in mind. By arranging the cup's handles to ensure that its distinctive shape was optimally displayed, the potter sought to accentuate the form, thus demonstrating the very deliberate nature of this anatomical allusion.

In addition to their early appearance in sympotic scenes on Attic pottery, recent archaeological evidence also indicates that *mastoi* appear in domestic deposits, further supporting the theory that they should be interpreted as “an exotic element of a private sympotic set.”¹⁶ In my analysis, I evaluate *mastoi* as sympotic objects. In doing so, I

⁶ Athenaios 11.487b attributes this information to Apollodoros of Cyrene. As Richter/Milne 1935, 30 indicate, Hesychius also defines the word as cup.

⁷ Richter/Milne 1935, 30.

⁸ Amyx 1988, 502. Pliny, *HN* 33.23.8.

⁹ Amyx 1988, 502–503; Lawall et al. 2002, 420.

¹⁰ Amyx 1988, 502–503.

¹¹ Lynch in Lawall et al. 2002, 420; see also Kreuzer 1998, pl. 37 no. 200.

¹² CVA Athens 4, 15–16 (commentary) pl. 3.2.

¹³ Lynch in Lawall et al. 2002, 419–420.

¹⁴ London, British Museum B 376. Beazley 1928, 4 n. 2, on handles. Amyx 1988, 503 indicates that the presence of the vertical handle is the chief difference in form between Corinthian and Attic *mastoi*.

¹⁵ Lawall et al. 2002, 420.

¹⁶ Lawall et al. 2002, 420–421.

recognize that these vessels had the potential to be purchased and used in non-symposium settings, whether as votives at sanctuaries or as grave goods in Etruscan tombs. However, it is my contention that these vessels were produced to be included as one of a large variety of cup types to be used in the symposium. As such, I argue that they are subject to evaluation within the discourse that characterized this setting.

Lynch outlines a typology of the *mastos* form based on observable chronological changes. Earlier examples, she explains, tend to have “delicate, thin walls, straighter sides, and smaller nipples, resulting in an overall conical appearance.” Over time, the tendency is for the walls to thicken and to bulge to produce a more “hemispherical profile, and larger, acorn-shaped nipples.” Within this latter group are three black-figure *mastoi* by Psiax that have hollow nipples, which contain beads that rattle when the cup is moved.¹⁷

Adolf Greifenhagen states there is no absolute relationship between the *mastos* shape and its decoration. His list of Attic black-figure *mastoi* demonstrates the range of figured decoration that might appear. These include six Dionysiac or sympotic scenes, two warrior scenes, and three mythological images.¹⁸ While it is often difficult to find a direct correlation between vase shape and iconography, I demonstrate below how both shape and image were reflections of the sympotic ethos, and that they present themes that intersect and play off one another in fascinating, often revelatory ways.

First, it is important to contextualize these vases, not just as sympotic accoutrements, but also in light of the body parts they represent. In the pages to follow, I provide an account of breasts as they are discussed in Greek literature, from works that predate the appearance of the vases to the end of the Classical period, in order to demonstrate that the *mastoi* bore a range of associations, from a mother’s capacity to nurse her child to the sexual appeal of virginal breasts. In addition, I highlight instances in which breasts are described as sexual objects and evaluate how these descriptions accentuate the haptic aspect of the drinker’s encounter with the breast-shaped cup. I argue that such tactile attention given to human breasts in literature is replicated in their three-dimensional clay imitations.

Mention of breasts in non-sympotic literary genres suggest that they are more often taken as an indicator of gender than as eroticized aspects of the female body.¹⁹

¹⁷ Lynch in Lawall et al. 2002, 420 n. 25; Mertens 1977, 23 and pl. 22 no. 3.

¹⁸ Greifenhagen 1977, 134–137.

¹⁹ Of course, this may simply be a consequence of the appropriateness of erotic language to the genre in question. While sympotic literature is frequently erotic, the language of tragedy or historical writing is often not. Herodotus provides us with two examples of actual dismemberment in which women’s breasts are cut off. The first instance, at 4.202, describes Pheretima’s revenge against the people of Barca for their roles in her husband’s death. By means of punishment, she impales the men and cuts off their wives’ breasts, which she also impales. Thus, the female body is fragmented and put on display to make a political statement. A second example (9.112) involves only one woman, whose breasts are cut off in addition to other body parts.

We find an early reference to the comfort of a mother's breast in Hecuba's appeal to Hektor to remember his mother's λαθικηδέα μαζόν, or care-banishing breast.²⁰ This passage lies at the beginning of a long tradition of mothers invoking their breasts to incite pity in their children in the hope of swaying their decisions. The tragedian Euripides employs the term *mastos* close to thirty times, and demonstrates the scope of the word's signification. Most frequently, *mastos* refers to a mother's breast, whether in a scene in which a female character beseeches a child by making reference to their breast that once suckled him in infancy or bemoans the separation of mother and son, as in the *Ion*, when the description of the child seeking the breast is referenced twice.²¹ In *Bacchae*, the *mastos*' natural function is violated as frenzied women, their breasts swollen with milk not fed to the children they have left behind, nurse wild animals in their stead.²² These depictions present non-eroticized, biologically functional breasts that mark the woman's role as mother and caregiver.²³

One early example of the eroticized breast appears in a fragmentary poem of Archilochos. In this seventh-century poem, the poet dismisses Neoboule in favor of an erotic encounter with the daughter of Amphimedo. Describing her through comparison to Neoboule, who is extensively disparaged, Archilochos indicates that the object of his desire is a respected young woman, likely of aristocratic status. Following a declaration of his desire, the poet describes his act of seduction (42–54):

τοσ|αὐτ' ἐφώνεον· παρθένον δ' ἄνθε|σιν
 τηλ|εθάεσσι λαβών
 ἔκλινα· μαλθακῇ δέ|μιν
 χλαί|νηι καλύψας, αὐχέν' ἀγκά|λις ἔχω|ν,
 ...]ματι παυ|σ]αμένην
 τῶς ὥστε νεβρ|
 μαζ|ών τε χερσίν ἡπίως ἐφηψάμην
 ...]ρέφηγε νέον
 ἦβης ἐπὶ|λυσιν χροά
 ἅπαν τ|ε σῶμα καλὸν ἀμφο|ρώμενος
 ...]ον ἀφῆ|κα μένος
 ξανθῆς ἐπιψαύ|ων τριχός.

That's what I said; and then I took the girl,
 and laying her down in the flowers,
 with my soft textured cloak

²⁰ Homer, *Il.* 22.83.

²¹ For the invocation of the breast, see *Supp.* 1159; *El.* 1207; *Tro.* 759; *Phoen.* 31, 306, 987, 1527, 1568, 1603; *Or.* 527, 568, 841. The term also appears with the same meaning a few times in Aeschylus, *Cho.* 531, 545, 897. For the child seeking the breast, see Euripides, *Ion* 319, 962, 1372.

²² Euripides, *Bacch.* 701.

²³ One possible exception to the non-erotic content of these scenes is that of Klytemnestra in *Choephoroi* (896–897), a scene which Griffith 1998a, 230 argues combines the elements of pity with erotic undertones. See also Devereux 1976, 203–212 and Zeitlin 1996, 96.

I covered her; my arm cradled her neck,
 while she in her fear like a fawn
 gave up the attempt to run.
 Gently I touched her breasts, where the young flesh
 peeped from the edge of her dress,
 her ripeness newly come,
 and then, caressing all her lovely form,
 I shot my hot energy off,
 just brushing golden hairs. (trans. West 1974)

In μαζῶν τε χερσὶν ἠπίως ἐφηψάμην ... ἰρέφηνε νέον ἥβης ἐπῆλυσιν χροά, we are given a double allusion to the appeal of Amphimedo's breasts, which the poet describes himself as touching softly as they peek out over the edge of dress. Thus, the breasts command both a visual and tactile allure in the poem. This erotic appeal is one that the poet expects his audience to recognize and share with him.²⁴

Before proceeding to a discussion of non-symptotic literature, we might pause here to note the relative paucity of literary sources for the female breast, or even the female body, as an object of erotic poetry in the symposion setting. The poetry which does survive does not tend to preoccupy itself with the female as love object. When eroticism is addressed in the literary sources for the symposion, more often it concerns the sexual appeal of young men, reflecting a preoccupation with issues of *paiderastia* in this body of literature. Based on this evidence, we might be inclined to infer that symposiasts were relatively unconcerned with contemplating women as sexual objects. The present study of "female" vases counters such observations, however, demonstrating that women were highly eroticized and quite literally objectified for the symposion setting.²⁵

If we return to Euripides, we find a few examples in which breasts are regarded sexually in his works. In *Andromache*, as Peleus rails against Menelaos, harshly criticizing all of the decisions Menelaos made to regain his unfaithful wife, he says (627–631):

ἐλὼν δὲ Τροίαν – εἴμι γὰρ κάνταῦθά σοι –
 οὐκ ἔκτανες γυναῖκα χειρίαν λαβών,
 ἀλλ', ὡς ἐσεῖδες μαστόν, ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος
 φίλημι' ἐδέξω, προδότιν αἰκάλλων κύνα,
 ἦσσαν πεφυκώς Κύπριδος, ὃ κάκιστε σύ.

And when you had taken Troy (for I shall go there also in my argument), you did not kill your wife when you had her in your power, but when you saw her breasts, you threw away your sword and kissed and fawned on the braying bitch, proving no match, coward that you are, for Aphrodite's power. (trans. Kovacs 1994)

²⁴ On the expectation that the symptotic audience will find the same elements erotic in poetry of the symposion, see Stehle 1997.

²⁵ This is also often evident in the way *hetairai* are depicted at symposia.

Helen's breasts quite literally disarm her husband, converting his passion to kill her into passionate sexual desire. Mention of breasts with an erotic association also appears in *Cyclops*, when Silenos, delighting in the wine Odysseus has given him, proclaims how he prefers to enjoy himself (168–172):

ὥς ὅς γε πίνων μὴ γέγηθε μαίνεται·
 ἴν' ἔστι τουτί τ' ὀρθὸν ἐξανιστάναι
 μαστοῦ τε δραγμὸς καὶ παρεσκευασμένου
 ψαῦσαι χεροῖν λειμῶνος, ὀρχηστὺς θ' ἅμα
 κακῶν τε λῆστις.

The man who does not enjoy drinking is mad: in drink one can raise this to a stand, catch a handful of breast and look forward to stroking her boscage, there's dancing and forgetfulness of cares. (trans. Kovacs 1994)

Within the playful genre of the satyr play is just where we might expect to find such erotic objectification of the female body. Female breasts, which enjoy such a prominent role as markers of women as mothers and nurses of children, assume another shade of meaning in the speech of the notoriously lascivious Silenos. Furthermore, in the elder satyr's comment we note a reference to the tangible eroticism of the breast.

A somewhat less overt example of the breast's eroticism is that of the sacrificial virgin in tragedy. Through examples from Euripides, we are shown that the virgin's breasts are both alluring and elusive. The playwright reinforces these qualities by pointing out that breasts are not appropriate for display. Exploring the theme of the virgin as aesthetic object in tragedy, Ruth Scodel cites several passages that focus the audience on the girl's body.²⁶ The description of the sacrifice of Polyxena (Euripides, *Hec.* 558–65) serves as a case in point:

κάπει τόδ' εἰσήκουσε δεσποτῶν ἔπος,
 λαβοῦσα πέπλους ἐξ ἄκρας ἐπωμίδος
 ἔρρηξε λαγόνας ἐς μέσας παρ' ὀμφαλόν,
 μαστοὺς τ' ἔδειξε στέρνα θ' ὥς ἀγάλματος
 κάλλιστα, καὶ καθεῖσα πρὸς γαῖαν γόνυ
 ἔλεξε πάντων τλημονέστατον λόγον·
 ἴδού, τόδ', εἰ μὲν στέρνον, ὦ νεανία,
 παίειν προθυμῇ, παῖσον, εἰ δ' ὑπ' αὐχένα
 χρῆζεις, πάρεστι λαμδὸς εὐτρεπὴς ὁδε.

Taking her robes where they were pinned at the shoulder, she tore them to the middle of her flanks, by the navel, and revealed her breasts and lovely upper torso, like a statue's, and putting her knee on the ground, she spoke the most pathetic speech: Behold, if you wish to strike my breast here, strike, or if you want to strike at the neck, here is my fine throat. (trans. Scodel 1996, 121)

26 Scodel 1996.

In Polyxena's revealing gesture, Scodel finds allusions to both types of breast baring previously discussed. The gesture is one of supplication, as when a mother begs her child "by showing the breast as a reminder of the child's obligation to repay *trophe*."²⁷ However, Scodel points out that Euripides likely also intended for the audience to picture Helen's baring of her breasts to Menelaos. Scodel argues that this episode from the *Little Iliad* has stronger resonance, arguing that:

"[t]he reflection of Helen's gesture is more intense than that of Hecuba and Clytemnestra's display of the maternal breast because the situations are closer to being parallel. Polyxena is a beautiful young woman, not a mother, while earlier passages in the *Hecuba* have evoked Helen."

Scodel goes on to point out that "Helen saved herself by displaying her value as an aesthetic and sexual object."²⁸

Comedy provides us with numerous, often eroticizing presentations of breasts, where, as Jeffrey Henderson observes, "the captivating pleasures of looking at a young girl's breasts through torn clothing or diaphanous gowns appears frequently." As he indicates, more proper words such as *thelai*, *mastoi*, *sterna*, and *stethe* do not appear at all in the genre, while the less formal term, *titthos*, is "used only rarely in Aristophanes, by a woman in an innocent context." The more vulgar *titthion* appears to be the preferred term in comedy, used as a symbol of female beauty and male sexual pleasure, rather than to express any kind of female biological function apart from sexuality. The firmness of a woman's breasts is most often described through comparisons to various items of food. Thus, breasts are "hard and quincelike," "as firm as young turnips," "as fresh as apples or strawberries," or "as firm and virginal as salted olives."²⁹ Henderson's observations underline the attention paid to breasts' similarities to food and, in particular, to the stress given to the breasts' physical qualities. In addition to these descriptions of breasts, Henderson also cites examples of *titthia* being fondled as a prelude to intercourse.

Before returning to the *mastoi*, one final observation must be made. Because a woman's breast was so inherently linked to concepts of nourishment and care of the child, we should not overlook such connotations in the interpretation of *mastos* vases. In fact, an examination of the semantic fields of the terminology used to describe breastfeeding reveals that such words had the potential to contribute further shades of meaning to these cups. Understanding how symposion participants might have reconciled these layers of meaning with the use of the breast-shaped wine vessel allows us to recognize the complex intersections of human and vase anatomy as it is represented in the *mastos*.

²⁷ Scodel 1996, 123 cites the examples of Hecuba in Homer, *Il.* (22.79–89) and Klytemnestra in Aeschylus, *Cho.* (896–898).

²⁸ Scodel 1996, 123–124.

²⁹ Henderson 1974, 148–149. Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1199; *Thesm.* 1185; fr. 141.

Let us begin by looking at the word *helkein*, which can refer to drinking more generally, but also to the nursing of a child.³⁰ When used of a person who is drinking, the term refers to a particular type of consumption, namely drinking in long draughts.³¹ A scene from Euripides' *Cyclops* provides a good example (416–419):

ὁ δ' ἔκπλεως ὦν τῆς ἀναισχύντου βορᾶς
 ἐδέξατ' ἔσπασέν <τ'> ἄμυστιν ἐλκύσας
 κάπῃινεσ' ἄρας χεῖρα· Φίλτατε ξένων,
 καλὸν τὸ πῶμα δαιτὶ πρὸς καλῇ δίδω.

And he, his belly full to bursting with that execrable meal, took it and downed it in one long draught, then raising his hand in admiration he said, 'Dearest friend, you give me fine drink on top of a fine meal.' (trans. Kovacs 1994)

In his commentary, Richard Seaford explains that “ἄμυστιν means not just ‘a long draught’ (LSJ) but ‘a draught which empties a full cup.’”³² Thus, the term connotes a particular type of greedy, deep drinking of a sort deemed unseemly in the sympotic setting.³³ The verb used to describe the Cyclops' action, *spao*, is likewise closely associated with this gluttonous form of drinking as well as to nursing.³⁴ In Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, the chorus uses the term in its description of breastfeeding, as they describe Klytemnestra's dream to Orestes (530–534):

ΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ
 τίνος βορᾶς χρῆζοντα, νεογενὲς δάκος;
 ΧΟΡΟΣ
 αὐτὴ προσέσχε μαζὸν ἐν τῶνείρατι.
 ΟΡΕΣΤΕΣ
 καὶ πῶς ἄτρωτον οὔθαυ ἦν ὑπὸ στύγους;
 ΧΟΡΟΣ
 ὥστ' ἐν γάλακτι θρόμβον αἵματος σπᾶσαι.

30 Compare Euripides, *Phoen.* 987:

χώρει νυν· ὡς σὴν πρὸς κασιγνήτην μολών,
 ἥς πρῶτα μαστὸν εἴλκυσ', Ἰοκάστην λέγω,
 μητρὸς στερηθεὶς ὄρφανός τ' ἀποζυγεῖς,
 προσηγορήσας εἶμι καὶ σώσω βίον.

now; for I will come to your sister, Jocasta, at whose breast I was suckled when bereft of my mother, a lonely orphan, [to give her greeting and then I will save my life].

31 LSJ; See also Archilochos 4, where the compound form *aphelke* is used, and Aristophanes, *Eq.* 106–108.

32 Seaford 1984, 185 n. 417.

33 See Kurke 1997, 140 n. 103 for examples of praise for moderation in Alkaios, Anakreon, and Theognis.

34 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 576b10–12.

OPEΣTEΣ

οὔτοι μάταιον. ἀνδρὸς ὄψανον πέλει.

Orestes

What food did it crave, the newborn viper?

Chorus

In her dream she offered it her own breast

Orestes

Surely her nipple was not unwounded by the loathsome beast?

Chorus

No: it drew in clotted blood with the milk.

Orestes

Truly it is not without meaning; the vision signifies a man! (trans. Smyth 1926)

These two passages thus highlight the applicability of verbs associated with breast-feeding to other forms of drinking. More than simply denoting the act of consuming a liquid, the terms appear to connote a specific type of deep, greedy drinking. In light of the symposium's ostensible admiration for moderation, particularly with regard to wine, the attribution of a greedy act of drinking to nursing might leave the *mastos* user susceptible to jokes or criticisms that hinged on the terminology of breastfeeding.

Let us now consider the implications of the preceding discussion for the assessment of the *mastos* in the symposium. First, the interpretation of these vases is complicated by the fact that they are comprised of two art media in the form of their figural representations and their three-dimensional, tactile aspects.³⁵ We must consider how each functions independently and how the two media relate to one another. While it is not my intention to discuss theories of aesthetics here, it is important to note that there was a distinction in how the *mastos*' figural scenes would have been approached and how the shape of the cup itself would have been interpreted by its user.

Before proceeding to an analysis of figural *mastoi*, it should be pointed out that non-figural, black-glaze examples of the form also exist. Lynch believes that these vessels were probably made by the same potters who created the figural examples.³⁶ Of the known non-figural *mastoi*, one is decorated on its bottom half with a series of horizontal stripes, a patterning that accentuates the plastically rendered nipple at the base of the cup.³⁷ This same emphasis is placed on the nipple-shaped base of the *mastos* in two other examples. The base of a *mastos* in Adria consists of an acorn-

³⁵ Lopes 1997, 425. I work from an assumption that, as Lopes points out, "the arts comprise a collection of art media, each of which is characteristically perceived through a different sense modality."

³⁶ Lynch in Lawall et al. 2002, 419–420 n. 23. All of the examples Lynch discusses from the Athenian Agora are black glaze. No black-figure figural *mastoi* have been found in the Agora excavations.

³⁷ CVA Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2, pl. 29.2.

shaped nipple encircled by a series of bands, including a ray pattern and a meander.³⁸ Such patterning, which highlighted the nipple and areola, was typical of black-glazed *mastoi*. This decorative technique suggests that the cup's imitation of the female breast was its primary concern in these black-glaze examples, the anatomical allusion accentuated with a highly ornamental nipple. Black-glaze *mastoi* provide evidence for one layer of deliberate playfulness implicit within these unique cups. The *mastos* was a form that invited, even compelled, its drinker to handle the female breast. Its lack of a supportive base meant that, once filled, it could not be put down. Rather, its user must continue holding it until the cup was drained. Such circumstances left conditions ripe for the user and his fellow drinkers to enact the erotic objectification known from the literary sources. The *mastos* was thus enjoyed as an alluring part of the female body to be handled and for its allusion to drinking and plenitude through its parallels to the nursing breast.

Turning now to the figural examples, it would seem that *mastoi* could serve as concise visual and physical encapsulations of many of the prominent themes of the symposion. To illustrate this argument, let us look at a fragmented black-figure *mastos* in Würzburg (fig. 1).³⁹ On one side of the cup is a woman holding a small child. Framed by two satyrs and Hermes, she turns to face Dionysos. Karl Schefold has interpreted the fragmented image on one side of the cup as a scene of Ariadne holding one of the sons she bore to Dionysos, Oinopion.⁴⁰ Representations of Ariadne with her children are rare; their appearance is limited to black-figure vases in the late sixth century.⁴¹

The name Oinopion, attested by an inscription on a vase by Exekias, means "rich in wine" and was well suited to the son of Dionysos.⁴² Schefold, recounting the boy's appearance in the visual record, references images of the child in infancy, as on the Würzburg *mastos*, and as an ephebe, when he serves as cup bearer on the amphora by Exekias. Discussing this latter image, he says that "the way in which the young man is glorified here is reminiscent of the victory odes of Simonides ... at this time too ... vase painters begin to write on their works the names ("kalos name") of those young men whose beautiful youth aroused such admiration."⁴³

³⁸ CVA Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2, pl. 29.3. For other examples, see Lawall et al. 2002, 421–422 (P 1217; P 24556).

³⁹ *Mastos*, Würzburg, Martin v. Wagner Museum der Universität L 391. On the opposite side is a seated Dionysos and four silens.

⁴⁰ Schefold 1992, 18. See Carpenter 1997, 62 n. 644 and 1986, 21–25 for the argument that the woman represents Aphrodite.

⁴¹ LIMC III (1986) 1050–1070, s.v. Ariadne (M. L. Bernard/W. A. Daszewski).

⁴² London, British Museum B 210; ABV 144.7. Schefold 1992, 18–19.

⁴³ Schefold 1992, 19.



Fig. 1: Fragmented black-figure *mastos* with Dionysos, Ariadne, and child. Würzburg L391. © Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg. Photo: P. Neckermann, respectively E. Oehrlein.

While Exekias' representation of Oinopion presents an idealized *eromenos*, the Mastos Painter chose instead to highlight the child's infancy. This was a deliberate decision by the painter, who appears to have coyly decorated the vase to render shape and image mutually complementary. From the preceding pages, we have seen that the *mastos* almost inherently bore erotic connotations by virtue of its imitation of the female breast, accentuated visually, through the stylized areola and articulated nipple, and physically, by allowing the drinker to handle the "breast." However, it was also noted that the breast was closely associated with the mother, and it is thus fitting that the Würzburg vase represents a mother and young child. On one level, the drinker is equated with Oinopion, as both perform similar acts of drinking from two rather different types of *mastoi*. Perhaps even more significant is the range of connotations borne by this small child. In addition to what has already been mentioned, the painter also encourages the drinker to consider the offspring of the god, not just in the form of children, but also the liquid product of his omnipresent vines.

Looking to the iconography of other *mastoi*, it is possible to discern a similarly playful interweaving of sympotic themes. On those vases decorated with mythological scenes, the most frequently depicted god is Dionysos, while a number of vessels portray his raucous followers – satyrs and maenads.⁴⁴ A *mastos* in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris features the return of Hephaistos.⁴⁵ According to myth, Hephaistos was expelled from Olympos by his mother, Hera, who was disgusted by his physical imperfection – a lame foot. Spurned, Hephaistos crafted a chair with invisible bonds that he sent to his mother as an act of revenge. Once Hera was unable to free herself

⁴⁴ Greifenhagen 1977.

⁴⁵ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 352; CVA France 10, pl. 68 no. 9.

from the chair, a counsel of the gods was called to determine how they might coax Hephaistos to return to Olympos. After a failed attempt by Ares to bring him back by force, Dionysos succeeds in coaxing Hephaistos back to Olympos by getting him drunk. As a reward for her freedom, Hera granted both Dionysos and Hephaistos acceptance among the Olympian gods.⁴⁶ The myth is thus an appropriate scene to demonstrate Dionysos' power and a celebration of his status as an Olympian god. The scene accentuates the divine power of the *mastos*' liquid contents.

The only other mythological character to appear on surviving *mastoi* is Herakles. How was a viewer meant to reconcile this "Greek hero of virility" with the undeniably feminine cup on which he is painted?⁴⁷ I would suggest that this is a deliberate attempt to encourage the cup's user to consider gender, through playful juxtaposition of male and female. Perhaps more than any other mythological figure, save Dionysos, Herakles represents what Nicole Loraux terms an "essential ambivalence" with respect to gender, embodying perceived contradictions between the virile and the feminine. Discussing his status as *philogynes*, she states that the female body is "an object of conquest and pleasure ... for him." Loraux further points out that Herakles, a "determined misogynist," is more than once made subservient to women, including Hera and Omphale, and has a tradition of cross-dressing.⁴⁸ A *mastos* in Munich with representations of Herakles overpowering a deer, or another with its scene of the hero wrestling the lion both reflect the superhuman strength and perceived masculinity of the hero.⁴⁹ Essentialized representations of male and female qualities are thus visually played out in these cups. The potential for more complicated interpretation and interaction of cup and decoration, however, is implicit in Herakles' history of fluid gender identity. In light of the popularity of the topics of gender and eroticism in the symposium, such cups should be viewed as thought- and conversation-provoking components of the banquet.

We again find male-dominated iconography in the non-mythological scenes represented on the *mastoi*, which are restricted to images of erotic pederastic encounters and to warriors. To these we might again attribute a deliberate, thought-provoking juxtaposition. Scenes such as the duel on a *mastos* in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (fig. 2), or of two men on horseback on a *mastos* in London, of which two examples survive, provide further examples of a visual interweaving of sympotic themes, meant to ensure the cup's role in the symposium beyond its mere functional

⁴⁶ Hedreen 1992, 13. Cf. also Hedreen 2004.

⁴⁷ Loraux 1990, 22.

⁴⁸ Loraux 1990, 24–26 and 35–36 for cross-dressing. According to a tradition first cited in the fourth century, Hera nursed Herakles to make him immortal (Loraux 1990, 41–42). Furthermore, Loraux 1990, 44 cites another link between Herakles and Hera's breast from the *Iliad*, when the hero attacks the gods, notably striking Hera in the breast (Homer, *Il.* 5.392–394).

⁴⁹ Munich, Antikensammlungen 2003; Mertens 1977, pl. 12.3. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R297; CVA Brussels, H E 7 pl. 15.1a–b.



Fig. 2: Black-figure *mastos* with warriors. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.223.

capacity as a wine container.⁵⁰ In the preceding pages, we have seen that the shape and image of figured *mastoi* need not be seen as wholly unrelated. To the contrary, the painters of these vessels provided their consumers with “food for thought” with which to contemplate the act of drinking within the sympotic setting.

⁵⁰ Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum inv. no. 48.223; Albersmeier 2008, 52–53 cat. no. 12. London, British Museum B 375. In the representation of two horsemen, it is tempting to read an allusion to their heroic counterparts – the Dioskouroi.

Christoph Reusser and Martin Bürge
Laconian Wine*

The honorand of this volume, Alan Shapiro, has shown his appreciation of the various religious, cultic, and iconographic facets of Dionysos and Dionysiac imagery in recent decades and on various occasions with due regard given to both literary and archaeological sources. This is particularly so with regard to the great cultic and political significance of Dionysos and his imagery in Athens, the widespread popularity of these subjects on Attic pottery, and the advent of the Dionysiac iconographic tradition in the period around 580 BCE. This paper aims to cast our gaze across the Isthmus to the “other side” namely, to Sparta, and in doing so to add a missing piece to the jigsaw of the Dionysiac world.

Broken into numerous fragments, approximately a third of which are missing, a Laconian high-footed drinking vessel was recently donated to the University of Zurich’s Archaeological Collection (color fig. 44, figs. 1–2).¹ Its quality and well-preserved purple paint,² and particularly its unusual interior motif executed in minute detail, merit a closer analysis.

In terms of size, this carefully-made, thin-walled kylix would have measured around 11 cm in height (preserved height 9.8 cm) and approximately 17–18 cm in diameter – without handles – (preserved 16.5 cm), and can be classified as a medium-sized cup.³ It is worth noting the slight curvature in the middle of the bowl at the point where the foot met the underside, which can easily be seen in the cross section. The overall shape (fig. 2) – relatively high trumpet-shaped foot with a plain clay band around its top, the relatively shallow bowl with its (only partially preserved) straight edge, and the delicate handles with a slight upward drift – corresponds to cup categories V and VII, as defined by Conrad Stibbe.⁴ Group V is characteristic of the Boreads Painter; the rather high foot, on the other hand, is more indicative of Stibbe’s slightly more recent Category VII. Based on its shape, our cup falls within the first generation of Laconian black-figure vase painting.

* (Translation by Isabelle Esser)

1 Archaeological Collection, University of Zurich Inv. 5942. From the Ines and Hans Jucker-Scherrer Collection (1960s). Brown clay, Munsell 7.5 YR 5/4 brown; light beige slip Munsell 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown; dark black slip. The site where the Zurich cup was discovered is unknown. The cup’s fragmentation into many rather small, yet well-preserved pieces, many of which fit together, could be indicative of a sanctuary find, as has often been the case with Laconian ceramics; alternatively, it may have been discovered in a grave.

2 Purple paint is preserved in two variations; first, on Dionysos’ clothes on the inside and on the stripes and handle palmettes on the outside (Munsell 7.5 R 3/6 dark red), and, second, on the inside wine and must (Munsell 2.5 YR 4/3 reddish brown).

3 Stibbe 1972, 15–43.

4 Stibbe 1972, 21–28.



Fig. 1: Laconian kylix by the Boreads Painter (exterior), Archaeological Collection, University of Zurich Inv. 5942. Photo: Frank Tomio, Institute of Archaeology, University of Zurich.

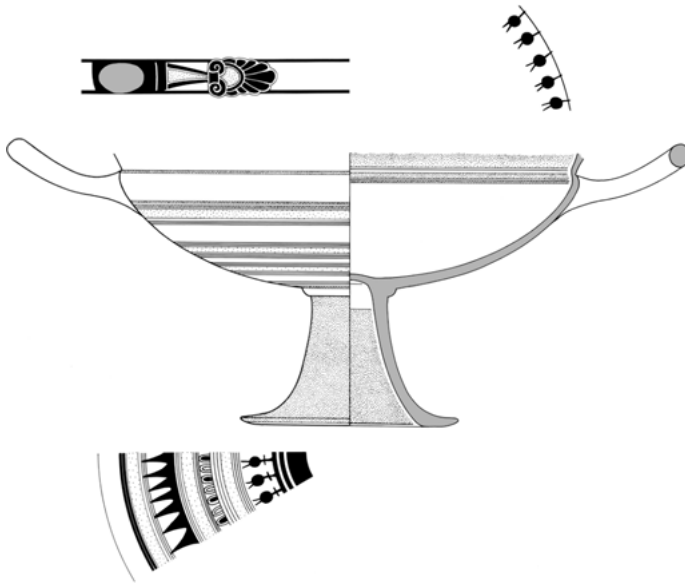


Fig. 2: Laconian kylix by the Boreads Painter, Archaeological Collection, University of Zurich Inv. 5942. Drawing: Martin Bürge.

Despite the regrettable absence of several missing pieces, the interior image can be almost completely reconstructed on the basis of the remaining fragments (color fig. 44); only the black rim is missing although it can be just distinguished in some places. The rim's width can only be surmised, and it is likely to have been relatively narrow, in keeping with common practice. The interior image depicts a fairly good tondo composition featuring an animated group of four figures with various pieces of equipment in front of a large enthroned figure on the left-hand edge. The entire scene is framed to the left and the top by a mighty vine and a circumferential row of pomegranates. The figures stand on a narrow baseline underneath which there are four uniform vessels featuring distinctive rims, groups of incised horizontal lines, and conical bases; the two middle vessels are larger than the two on either side and all four form part of the scene above. Of the vessel on the left, only a small section of its body and the rim are preserved, whereas only a tiny fraction of the shoulder belonging to the right-hand vessel is visible along the broken edge. The tondo has quite sensibly been arranged into a main scene and a smaller segment below, separated by a line running along the axis of the two handles, a practice which, according to Stibbe, was invented by the Boreads Painter and became conventional in later Laconian production.⁵

On the left-hand side of the tondo, a mighty Dionysos is depicted on his throne and his feet rest on an angular footstool. The front leg of the throne is shaped like a lion's paw, whereas the back leg is slim and extends backwards (only a small portion is still visible, as is a fraction of the slightly arched backrest⁶ on the small triangular fragment that also features part of the vine on the left-hand edge). The god is wearing a long chiton with large purple sections. His right arm is stretched forward, ostentatiously holding a large, carefully-drawn kantharos with a large trumpet-shaped foot, reminiscent of the well-known Laconian "Hero reliefs"⁷ and positioned roughly at the centre of the composition in a free space, thus drawing the onlooker's attention to it. The fragment missing from the Zurich cup, featuring the god's bearded head with large eyes, part of his torso, and right arm, has been identified in a private collection in New York.⁸ Its exterior displays the same decorative sequence, while the shape of its outline fits the missing section, which strongly indicates that it belongs to our cup. Behind Dionysos the scene is bordered at the top by a sturdy vine with large, hanging grapes and upwardly protruding leaves that are not drawn with incision. In front of him, a group of four considerably smaller, naked, portly, bearded and non-bearded men are busily pressing wine. Three of them are standing inside a large convex vessel, which has an accentuated edge, two slightly bent legs, and a horizontal lower stay, probably depicting a metal tripod. The abdominal muscles of two of the men are executed in short, curvy, incised lines. The pronounced buttocks of the man on the

5 Stibbe 1972, 88–89.

6 Similar to the Boreads Painter's cup from Olympia, Kunze-Götte 2000, 29–32 no. 11 pls. 8–9.

7 E.g., Förtsch 2001, 178–180, 218–219 figs. 150, 151, 206–208.

8 Stibbe 2004, 41, 160 (Dionysos?), 212 no. 23 (no. 89) pl. 17.7–8.

left emphasize the “grotesque” character of these figures. The three men are squeezed inside the tripod, which is far too small for them. The men on the right and left have one leg lifted, as though poised to tread the grapes. The middle and right figures, characterized by a pointed chin and probably lack of beard, are holding onto crescent-shaped loops suspended in the air, which is a relatively common motif in wine-treading scenes.⁹ The diagonally positioned man on the left, who is probably bearded (his beard is contoured by incision above his right upper arm), bends his left knee as he reaches up with his right arm, probably for a grape, whereas his left hand extends forward, perhaps in an attempt to grab the loop. He is facing upward – his mouth and tip of his nose can almost be made out on the worn surface – and it looks as though he is practically falling out of the crowded vessel.

The freshly pressed grape juice is flowing through a solid, diagonal spout in the lower part of the vessel into a separate receptacle set below the baseline, reminiscent of a krater, with a large foot, no handles, and decorated with incised horizontal lines. In contrast to later images with the same motif,¹⁰ there is no evidence of a strainer here. The fourth apparently beardless figure standing in front of the vessel, bends slightly forward and holds onto the tripod’s leg with his right hand. He is pouring a liquid into the same receptacle as the juice from a carefully executed, small, full wineskin that he carries over his left shoulder.¹¹ The red juice from the vessel and the wineskin is indicated with widely painted purple stripes with one or two alternating incised lines. The richer, almost reddish-brown color of the juice differs from the red in Dionysos’ cloak, demonstrating the great care taken by the painter.

The ornamentation on the exterior (fig. 1) is typical of Laconian vase painting. Horizontal palmettes with purple fill, elongated with volutes and perched on long, triangular bases flank the handles on each side.¹² The entire band between the palmettes is left undecorated. Starting at the foot, a wide slip-coated band and two narrow stripes are followed by a pomegranate band¹³ and a group of three narrow lines; then, come a wide purple-coated band, a compact tongue frieze, delimited by narrow lines with alternating purple and slip-colored tongues,¹⁴ and a frieze of rays, enclosed on both sides by a wide purple and several thin-slip stripes.¹⁵ Beneath the handles are two additional narrow slip stripes that can also be found on various other cups.¹⁶ With the

⁹ E.g., Sparkes 1976, figs. 4, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 26.

¹⁰ E.g., Sparkes 1976, fig. 4.

¹¹ See the Laconian depictions of wineskins, Fortunelli/Manca di Mores 1986, pl. 10 and Faustoferri 1986, pl. LXIV 1.

¹² They correspond to Stibbe 1972, 92 no. 17 pls. 46.4, 47.4, 49.12; Stibbe 2004, pl. 16.2–3.

¹³ Stibbe 1972, 91 no. 3.

¹⁴ Stibbe 1972, 91 no. 10.

¹⁵ Stibbe 1972, 92 no. 2.

¹⁶ E.g., Stibbe 1972, pls. 17.2, 27.1, 38.1, 40.4, 41.3, 44.3, 47.4, 61.1, 62.1, 64.1, 67.2; Kunze-Götte 2000, pls. 8.11, 9.11–12; Stibbe 2004, pls. 13, 16.3, 17.4, 50, 51.2.

exception of the centre of the join, the foot's interior is covered in black slip; the underside has been left with the natural clay except for the narrow stripes on both edges.

The masterful incised lines, particularly the representation of heads¹⁷ and hands (knees are not rendered with incision), the pomegranates in abundance surrounding the tondo, the ornamentation of the exterior, and, above all, the type of handle palmettes, all clearly indicate that the cup can be attributed to the highly productive and imaginative Boreads Painter (formerly also known as the Hephaistos Painter).¹⁸ The Boreads Painter, who ranks among the “great” painters of Early Laconian black-figure vases, active around the middle of the first half of the sixth century BCE, specialized in the production of kylikes (he is not known to have painted any other shapes) that were widespread throughout the Mediterranean. However, none of his cups has ever been found in Laconia.¹⁹ His work is characterized by high quality, steady incision, the absence of animal friezes, and an interest in human figures. And, now, thanks to the appearance of this new cup, his artistic vocabulary is complemented with an additional representation of a deity (the first representation of Dionysos to be found in Laconian vase painting!), and a new motif: the innovative wine-treading scene. The Boreads Painter's repertory does not usually include Dionysiac scenes or komasts, with the exception of some dancers on a cup fragment in Brussels,²⁰ even though revelers were otherwise a popular motif in Laconian vase painting.²¹

The oeuvre of the Boreads Painter comprises 112 cups, according to the most recent study.²² Its classification has proven difficult: Stibbe has defined various groups based on ornamentation and the way in which the application of purple paint was used,²³ which do not necessarily have any chronological relevance or sequence, as Stibbe himself has stressed on several occasions.²⁴ The Zurich cup falls into the largest category, Group Cb,²⁵ although overlaps with other groups also occur. Attempting a chronological classification of the Boreads Painter's work, which Stibbe claims – though not convincingly – was produced within the space of no more than a decade,²⁶ does not seem worthwhile at the present time. It seems plausible to suggest

17 Closely related to the head of Dionysos is the head of Bellerophon in the interior of a cup by the same painter at the J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE 121: Stibbe 2004, 211–212 no. 18 (no. 84) pl. 16.1.

18 On the painter, see Stibbe 1972, 87–106; Hoyt-Grimes 1986; Fortunelli/Manca di Mores 1986; Stibbe 2004, 31–43: “faszinierende Malerpersönlichkeit.”

19 Stibbe 2004, 31, 33–34.

20 Stibbe 1972, 234, 277 no. 141 pl. 45.1.

21 Pipili 1987, 71–75; Smith 1998; Förtsch 2001, 145–154.

22 Stibbe 2004, 31.

23 Stibbe 1972, 88, 95–104.

24 Stibbe 1972, 90 and 2004, 32.

25 Stibbe 1972, 99–102 and 2004, 39–40.

26 On chronology, see Stibbe 1972, 90 and 2004, 32.

that his high-stemmed cups, including our kylix, are more recent than those with a short foot.

Thanks to an examination of the cup's shape and its attribution to the Boreads Painter, we can date the Zurich kylix to ca. 575/565 BCE. This suggested date follows Stibbe's "high" chronology of Laconian vase painting, which – with a few exceptions – is widely accepted and chiefly based on burial finds in Taranto.²⁷ This early date, around 570 BCE or shortly thereafter, gives the Zurich cup even greater weight within the corpus of representations of Dionysos and wine-treading scenes in Greek vase painting. These episodes are familiar to us mostly through Attic vases, and primarily the amphoras by the Amasis Painter. The earliest representation of Dionysos, depicted standing on a Parian (?) ("Melian") amphora from the late seventh century BCE,²⁸ is followed by the first epigraphically secure depiction of the god on the well-known dinos by Sophilos in the British Museum from around 580 BCE, where the wine god is portrayed walking and holding a vine twig in his right hand.²⁹ The sitting Dionysos on our cup, which is iconographically reminiscent of the famous larger-than-life Late Archaic sitting statue from Icaria,³⁰ is the first representation of the god in Laconian art, and possibly the earliest preserved image of a seated Dionysos in Greek art to date. Until now, the oldest, somewhat clumsy, representation of the wine god decorated a Tyrrhenian amphora by the Guglielmi Painter in the Louvre.³¹ Like other gods in Laconian vase painting – especially Zeus³² – Dionysos is depicted here on a throne, whereas in the earliest vases from Attica, he is usually portrayed in a standing or walking pose. Perhaps this is also the first time in Greek vase painting that a vine is represented, albeit rather clumsily; after all, the Tyrrhenian amphoras by the Prometheus Painter and the Timiades Painter in Cerveteri, at the Louvre and in Copenhagen, respectively, are likely to have been created at roughly the same time or probably only slightly later.³³

The Zurich kylix is just as significant in terms of its wine-treading scene, which is relatively uncommon in Greek art.³⁴ The earliest, non-canonical example dates from the Middle Corinthian period and decorates the top side of the handle plate of a

27 Stibbe 2004, 32; Stibbe's chronology is chiefly based on burial finds from Taranto. The absolute date for the Boreads Painter is fairly convincing, given the fact that a kylix by his hand was found in a child's grave in Halieis along with a Middle Corinthian handled, globular, plastic aryballos in the form of a woman's head: Rudolph 1976; Amyx 1988, 444.

28 Isler-Kerényi 2001, 28–29, 35 figs. 1–2.

29 Shapiro 1989, pl. 16a; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 83–87, 109 fig. 38.

30 Despinis 2007.

31 Paris, Musée du Louvre E 831; ABV 103.108; Para 35.39; LIMC III (1986) 453 no. 325 pl. 333, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri); Kluiver 1996, 21 no. 211: 555/550 BCE. For early depictions of Dionysos' sculptural images on Attic vases, see here Hedreen.

32 Pipili 1987, 46–49.

33 ABV 102.97, 684; 103.111; Para 38; Add² 7; Kluiver 1995, 59 no. 6 and no. 13, 67 no. 48.

34 On the motif, see Hemelrijk 1974, 152–155; Sparkes 1976; Carpenter 1986, 92–94; Hedreen 1992, 85–88 (with a list of Attic black-figure depictions: 185–186); Isler-Kerényi 2004, 63–70; Lynch 2012.

column krater.³⁵ This scene already displays several elements found in later paintings, such as groups of people working, partial nudity, supports, and a large basket (basin?). The Zurich kylix, however, is the first work to portray the motif in a uniform and convincing composition comprising a multi-figural scene. Furthermore, it dates before the first corresponding Attic scenes, which started to emerge around or shortly before the mid-sixth century, and whose best versions are by the Amasis Painter, dating from 540 BCE onwards. In non-Attic art of the Archaic period, besides the aforementioned Corinthian krater, we only know of a Caeretan hydria bearing this motif.³⁶ The Boreads Painter, therefore, succeeded in being particularly innovative, even though he drew from models already familiar to him, such as the motif of an enthroned god³⁷ or the dancing, albeit mostly dressed, komasts, for his wine-treading figures. The portrayal of the wine-pressing process, however, is a product of his own imaginative skills. The result is a sophisticated image, full of references and meanings, giving it an important place in the Laconian imagery of the Archaic period.

In Laconian vase painting, Dionysos played a secondary role compared to other Olympians and in select mythological topics; in general, he is rarely found in other forms of Laconian art, as Maria Pipili and Reinhard Förtsch have clearly illustrated.³⁸ While there is evidence for Dionysiac practices in Laconia and Laconian vase painting, as is demonstrated by the abundance of drinking shapes (particularly kylikes) and the relatively frequent komos and symposion scenes, the god himself is almost completely absent from Laconian imagery. By contrast, his presence in Spartan cult was widespread, as we know from the sources available to us: Dionysos had a temple in the city on Kolona hill dating possibly from the sixth century BCE, possibly a second one *en limnais*, in the proximity of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia on the Eurotas River, and was also worshiped in various places in rural Laconia.³⁹ Thanks to the Zurich cup, we have gained a new portrayal of Dionysos as the god of wine. Iconographically, this cup heralds the later Attic works, and this underlines its importance for Greek imagery in the Archaic period. The close connection between the god and the wine is emphasized by the large vine growing directly behind Dionysos, forming a kind of baldachin over the entire scene. The sacral aspect is perhaps evoked by the wine pressing being performed in a large, possibly metallic tripod vessel, a form well known to us from

35 Sparkes 1976, 48, 57 fig. 1.

36 Sparkes 1976, 48–49; Hemelrijk 1984, 20–21 no. 9 fig. 9 pls. 48–49. The Deianeira lekythos in Tampa (Florida) mentioned in Sparkes 1976, 48, 57 fig. 2, is not Boeotian but Attic and is attributed to the Painter of Munich 1842: Para 198.

37 Stibbe 1972, 276 no. 140 pl. 44.1 (Zeus); Kunze-Götte 2000, 29–32 no. 11 pls. 8–9 (Zeus).

38 Pipili 1987, 52–54; Förtsch 2001, 150. The connection proposed in LIMC III (1986) 440 no. 152, 467 no. 520, 498, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri) between two seventh-century BCE ivory carvings and the god is highly doubtful.

39 Wide 1893, 156–170; Stibbe 1991 and 1996, 222–234. Cf. the only existing description in literary sources of the relief representation of the youthful Dionysos on the throne in the Amyklaion is Pausanias 3.18.11.

Laconian art and corresponding literature, as an exclusive victory prize, gift, and, above all, prestigious votive offering (some of which came in large sizes with diameters of up to 1.6 m!), particularly in the Archaic period.⁴⁰ Dionysos is depicted here as a cultural hero, as the “inventor” of the ritual consumption of wine, who taught mankind the art of winemaking; this meaning is accentuated even more by the carefully drawn kantharos Dionysos offers ostentatiously.

The wine treaders here are not satyrs, as was commonly the case in later Greek art. They are, in fact, naked, stout, and thus “odd-looking” men with accentuated buttocks, such as we frequently encounter – albeit usually dressed – on many Corinthian vases, which probably served as inspiration for Laconian painters.⁴¹ On the Zurich cup, there are no indications that hybrid creatures are being portrayed: the painter clearly made a conscious decision to use this form of representation, placing quasi-“Dionysiac” dancers from the artistic vocabulary at hand inside and in front of the tripod vessel, in order to express the “temporal” and ambivalent situation. In this period of Laconian art, komasts and dancers appear more frequently in the context of the symposion, a theme our painter is known to have used only once.⁴² Thus, our scene, painted on a drinking vessel, prospectively evokes the idea of the symposion.

The early, rare examples of Laconian satyrs, dating from the same period as our cup, are portrayed as wild, hairy creatures with large phalloi and, from an iconographic point of view, have nothing to do with our wine treaders. Satyrs do not appear in their canonical form, namely, with a horse’s tail, pointed ears, and human feet, until relatively late in Laconian art and are not very frequent prior to the late sixth century BCE.⁴³ In Spartan small-scale sculpture, they have been found in bronze representations, particularly on utensils connected with the symposion.

Wine pressing first appears as a motif alongside the grape harvest in the early Archaic⁴⁴ pseudo-Hesiodic narrative of the *Shield of Heracles* (301), which was clearly based on the famous Homeric narrative of the shield of Achilles forged by Hephaistos that features a wine harvest scene (*Il.* 18.561–572) but omits wine treading. Wine treading is briefly mentioned in the *Odyssey* (7.125) in the description of Alkinoos’ palace. The corpus of Archaic and Classical wine-treading scenes in Greek vase painting was compiled and discussed by Brian Sparkes more than 30 years ago⁴⁵ and has since been joined by only a handful of new images, including the Siana cup by the Vintage Painter in Bochum.⁴⁶ The Zurich kylix significantly enriches this corpus both

⁴⁰ Förtsch 2001, 51–55, 192–193.

⁴¹ Smith 1998; Förtsch 2001, 146–154; Isler-Kerényi 2004, 27–33.

⁴² See above n. 20.

⁴³ Pipili 1987, 65–68; Isler-Kerényi 2001, 63 and 2004, 127–129.

⁴⁴ Janko 1986, 40–44: around 590–570 BCE.

⁴⁵ Sparkes 1976.

⁴⁶ Brijder 1983, 260 no. 255 pls. 48 a–e, 52 a; CVA Bochum, Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität 1, 58–59 pls. 48.1.3, 49.1–7.

on account of its early date and its innovative composition. The majority of well-known wine-treading scenes are Athenian and appear roughly as often in black- as in red-figure painting; only three examples originate outside Athens, from Corinth, Cerveteri, and now also Sparta.

As the corresponding vase lists show, this theme was particularly popular in Athenian black-figure vase painting on amphoras and in red-figure painting on column kraters, from the third quarter of the sixth until shortly after the middle of the fifth century BCE. It is found more rarely on black- and red-figure cups. The fact that the motif was found on a drinking vessel in Sparta is in keeping with the functional context of this kind of shape. A glance at the few available images shows that the representations contain much attention to detail even with regard to the tools, and either fall within the category of “workshop pictures,” or, and more frequently, in the Dionysiac category. The god himself and his thiasos are also featured and portrayed as active protagonists.

By contrast, the oldest wine-treading scene, decorating a Middle Corinthian krater by the Memnon Painter in the Louvre,⁴⁷ falls within the category of “workshop scenes,” which is in turn found again on the earliest Attic representation, the Siana cup in Bochum from ca. 560–550 BCE, and then later on in the tondos of several red-figure cups dating from around 500 BCE.⁴⁸ The lower frieze on the exterior of the eponymous Siana cup by the Vintage Painter in Bochum depicts a sequence of images from left to right showing various stages of wine making with naked male workers; the scene is being observed by an older cloaked man sitting on a chair on the right, who is probably the owner or overseer.

Besides its relatively early date, the Bochum cup is also remarkable in that it depicts a frieze-like workshop image, displaying the sequence of a work process with someone overseeing it and with all the detail that later became commonplace. The iconography and intention are very different from the Laconian kylix in Zurich.

With the Amasis Painter and the roughly simultaneous appearance of the modest Deianeira lekythos, the Dionysiac thiasos is added to the wine-treading scenes around 540 BCE. Dionysos is frequently present, while satyrs appear as “workers” for the first time. It was not until the Amasis Painter chose this motif four times⁴⁹ that wine-treading scenes became popular (as also indicated by Alan Shapiro⁵⁰) and took the form that eventually became frequent around the second half of the sixth century BCE. The majority of black- and red-figure examples known to us today tend to include several satyrs; grapes are being trodden in a basket (less frequently in a basin) set on a press that channels the juice through a spout into a large vessel usually

47 Sparkes 1976, 48, 57 fig. 1; Amyx 1988, 234 no. 2, 650.

48 Sparkes 1976, 60–61 figs. 15–17; Lynch 2012, 151 figs. 1–2.

49 Amphoras in Basel, Würzburg, Kavala, and Samos: Bothmer 1985, 47 fig. 40a; 113–118 no. 19 figs. 70–71.

50 Shapiro 1989, 91.

sunken in the ground. Only rarely do older and younger men carry out the work in lieu of satyrs.⁵¹ The scenes are generally extremely detailed, enabling us to identify various stages of the wine-making process.

As described above, the wine-pressing container on the cup by the Boreads Painter is probably a tripod vessel⁵² with a spout on its underside, channeling the must into one of the four awaiting storage vessels. Whether or not such tripod vessels were actually used to make wine is impossible for us to ascertain. The dark, freshly pressed must is not strained but the grape juice is channeled into the receptacle together with the remainder of the berries, i.e., the grape mash; this indicates that the scene depicts the production of red wine.⁵³

The storage vessels are different from those found on the slightly more recent depictions by the Vintage Painter⁵⁴ and the Amasis Painter in Basel and Würzburg.⁵⁵ they are similar in shape, not sunken in the ground, but set in full view beneath the baseline. Even so, the Boreads Painter may have tried to allude to storage vessels being sunken in the ground or at least stored in an underground chamber. This is based on the actual ancient practice of fermenting the freshly pressed must into wine in large ceramic storage vessels. The method has been attested from the early sixth millennium BCE in Georgia and in Iran.⁵⁶ In the Aegean region, wine fermentation was introduced by the mid-third millennium BCE⁵⁷ to Minoan Crete,⁵⁸ and was commonly used across the Mediterranean until late antiquity.⁵⁹ This method is still employed today in the making of traditional wines in Georgia.⁶⁰ The fermenting must

51 Siana cup in Bochum, see above n. 46, and cup fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale, CVA Paris Bibl. Nat. 2, 61 pl. 82.2, 82.4 (France 468); column krater from Spina in Ferrara, Sparkes 1976, 55, 63 fig. 24.

52 A large tripod vessel of similar shape also appears between two dancing komasts in the interior image of a cup by the Allard Pierson Painter (previously in the Hirschmann Collection, Zurich), Stibbe 2004, 242 no. 28 (no. 340) pl. 89.

53 On the basic principles of red wine production, see Ribéreau et al. 2006, 327–395.

54 See above n. 46.

55 Sparkes 1976, 49–50, 57–58 figs. 4–5.

56 McGovern 2007, 40–84; summarising P. E. McGovern, in: Brun/Poux/Tchernia 2004, 34–37.

57 In the East Macedonian Dimitra, grape pips from the cultivated subspecies *Vitis vinifera* subsp. *vinifera* were already in evidence in the Late Neolithic period (around 4300–2800 BCE): Renfrew 1995, 261; McGovern 2007, 256–257.

58 E.g., the earliest preserved complex in Myrtos (southern Crete) dating in the Early Minoan IIB (around 2200 BCE) and several complexes in the Late Minoan period: McGovern 2007, 247–252 fig. 10.1 and 252–254 fig. 10.3.

59 Well evidenced in Gallia: Brun/Poux/Tchernia 2004, 211–223 (J.-P. Brun/F. Laubenheimer) and 233–249 esp. 239 fig. 256 (J.-P. Brun/A. Tchernia). For Magna Graecia and Sicily: Brun 2011; Greece: Foxhall 2011; Turkey: Aydınoğlu/Şenol 2010.

60 Georgian *kvevri* for *pithoi* and *dolia* respectively; for a vivid description of the *kvevri* method, see Johnson 1990, 14–16; see as well McGovern 2007, 21–22 and the video <http://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=306824529342537> (last view 20 May 2013).

is naturally cooled by the surrounding soil, which partially absorbs the warmth created during fermentation.⁶¹ Particularly in warmer climates, such simple methods can be used to prevent quick fermentation whilst avoiding overheating, which has a positive effect on the quality of the wine and precludes a stuck fermentation, which would probably have led to the complete loss of the wine.⁶²

In Attic wine-treading scenes dating from the last quarter of the sixth century BCE onwards, the must from the wine press is usually channeled into conical two-handled vessels that are set on the ground⁶³ or are slightly sunken.⁶⁴ Red-figure vase paintings, which started appearing at the end of the sixth century BCE, show similar vessels found mostly on tondo images of younger men or satyrs, who are working naked.⁶⁵ This is likely to have represented a later stage of vinification, specifically for red wine, such as was recently proposed by Kathleen Lynch:⁶⁶ that is, not the crushing of the grapes, but the *pigeage*, the punching down of the cap with a view to achieving optimum extraction of the tannins, aromas, and colors from the grape skins.⁶⁷

Unique to our cup, since it is never depicted subsequently, is the must pouring from the wine press into the storage vessel together with juice from a wineskin. The use of the same paint for both liquids,⁶⁸ which differs in color from the red paint elsewhere on the vase, strongly suggests that the juice from the wineskin is also a grape product. Fresh must can be left out of the equation since the laborious task of bringing it to the wine press would have made little sense, not least because must in a wineskin starts fermenting almost immediately,⁶⁹ a fact well known to ancient authors.⁷⁰ Moreover, the motif placed by the painter at the centre of the picture must have been assigned an important role.

If the painter was referring to partially fermented grape juice, from a modern-day oenological point of view, the focus could have possibly been on adding good yeast, such as *Saccharomyces cerevisiae* (brewer's yeast). Almost completely gone from the ripe grape, this kind of yeast has yet widely prevailed in spontaneously half-fermented must, gaining preference over less favorable types of yeast.⁷¹ Perhaps this method triggered a better and more reliable fermentation of the fresh must.

61 On the release of heat in the alcoholic fermentation process, see Ribéreau et al. 2006, 58, 99.

62 On the temperature increase, see Ribéreau et al. 2006, 99–102; on stuck fermentation and its causes *ibid.*, 106–108.

63 Sparkes 1976, 58–64 figs. 8, 9, 25, 26.

64 Sparkes 1976, 58–63 figs. 6, 10, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24.

65 Sparkes 1976, 53, 60–61, 63 figs. 15–18, 25; Lynch 2012, 151, 154 figs. 1, 2, 5.

66 Lynch 2012.

67 On maceration, see Ribéreau et al. 2006, 345–358, and on *pigeage*, today mostly accomplished by pumping-over, *ibid.*, 349–350.

68 See above n. 2.

69 On fermentation kinetics, see Ribéreau et al. 2006, 83–84.

70 On the literary tradition, see Immerwahr 1992, 128–132.

71 On the ecology of yeasts in the fermentation process, see Ribéreau et al. 2006, 40–43.

If the juice is in fact wine from the previous year, the winemaker must have intended to add alcohol. Modern trials have shown that in the early stages of fermentation the addition of alcohol to the fresh must initially hinders and then slows down the fermentation process,⁷² which is certainly desirable for controlling purposes, especially in warmer climates. By using this method with skill, the alcohol content of wine, and thus its shelf life, can be increased quite considerably.

The beardless man with the wineskin could not, of course, have known about the details of such effects. Experience did, however, lead to the use of certain methods of refinement in the ancient world, as described in considerable detail by Pliny⁷³ – even though, from our modern-day perspective, we would not classify many of them as refined wines. The fact that the Boreads Painter illustrates certain details of wine production is remarkable and bears witness to his profound knowledge of wine making in his day.

Central to understanding the Zurich tondo is the fact that the wine treading and adding of half-fermented must or wine takes place under the supervision and with the approval of Dionysos seated on the left. The god understands the right vinification method and is the guarantor of its success. This is indicated by the way in which he extends the kantharos towards the wineskin. Only by following the correct procedure will the desired drink actually be created, brought by the god to the people.

The cup by the Boreads Painter, with the earliest representation of a seated Dionysos and the second oldest wine-treading scene in Greek vase painting, bears witness not only to the ability of Spartan craftsmen to represent a complex theme on a tondo in an innovative, albeit imperfect form, but also to the great imagination of Laconian painters, who ranked among the most stimulating artists of their time. It must have been a magical moment when the symposiasts, who once held our cup in their hands, watched not only the god of wine but also the making of wine appear inside the bowl as they drank!

⁷² Ribéreau et al. 2006, 95–96 with Table 3.6.

⁷³ Pliny, *HN* 14.24–25.

Deborah Lyons

Arion the Methymnian and Dionysos Methymnaios: Myth and Cult in Herodotus' *Histories*

The poet Arion of Methymna is the protagonist of one of Herodotus' most beloved tales (1.23–34), which he incorporates into his account of the reign of the tyrant Periander of Corinth. Herodotus presents the poet's rescue by a dolphin as a historical event, which he ties into his larger chronological framework by labeling it the greatest miracle (*thôma megiston*) to take place in Periander's lifetime. At the same time, a number of elements in the tale point to Arion's heroic and even divine connections. The mixture of historical, mythic, and cultic information in the text raises the following question: to what extent does this mixture of historical and non-historical elements constitute a conscious strategy on Herodotus' part?

In what follows, I interrogate the relationship between historical, literary, and mythic elements in Herodotus' story, and I argue that – as elsewhere in this author – a wealth of mythic patterns can be found lurking under the surface of this ostensibly historical account.¹ Using linguistic and literary evidence to elucidate the Dionysiac elements in the account, I highlight what I take to be the most important of Arion's divine connections.² This identification, which has been observed by others before me, may perhaps be reinforced by a pun hidden in Herodotus' text, to which I will later return.

While laying out my case for a Dionysiac reading of the Arion episode, I also address the question of how much Herodotus knew about the traditions surrounding Arion, and to what extent his hints at cultic elements were intentional. As Deborah Boedeker has observed of another episode, "Herodotus' account may preserve traces of meaning of which the *histor* himself is not aware but which may have been important to his sources and to the context in which the *logos* was originally generated."³ I argue that the Arion episode contains similar "traces of meaning."

1 See Griffiths 1989 for an analysis of folkloric elements in Herodotus' account of Kleomenes. Stadter 2004 offers a more comprehensive analysis of Herodotus' use of mythic patterns to shape history as well as his propensity for "drawing mythic events into history" through the use of contemporary references. Both these methods can be seen in the Arion episode. Boedeker 1988 suggests a less conscious use of mythic elements (discussed below).

2 Burkert 1983, 199 takes the Dionysiac connection for granted, calling Arion a "Dionysiac poet." He does not present much evidence beyond the identification of Arion as the inventor of the dithyramb, which he takes as unproblematic. His discussion of Arion is embedded in a wide-ranging treatment of dolphin myths (196–204).

3 Boedeker 1988, 33 and 2002.

Other recent accounts have emphasized Herodotus' conscious employment of mythic and other traditional elements. Alan Griffiths, for example, says:⁴

Herodotus knows very well what he is about ... he would have no problem with our differentiation of material between the categories of mythical and historical ... he is aware how much suggestive depth can be added to a narrative by the selective inclusion of stories with an aura of the irrational. His only problems were how to choose the right stuff from the wealth of popular tradition which was available to him, and how to manipulate and arrange it to best effect.

Charles Chiasson says something similar:⁵

I will argue that Herodotus incorporates such features of traditional story-telling and custom into his narrative with complete authorial awareness and control. He alerts his audience at the outset to the legendary nature of the story to follow and deploys its mythical and ritual elements to serve both the specific functions of the narrative within the Lydian *logos* and the broader purpose of Herodotean *historie* – to perpetuate the communal memory of remarkable human deeds.

Boedeker, Griffiths, and Chiasson are speaking about different episodes, but the issues are relevant to the entirety of Herodotus' work. I therefore return at the end of this piece to a consideration of these two different approaches in light of the Arion episode.

The tale, in summary, is this: Arion, the greatest kithara player and singer of his time, and a sometime courtier of the tyrant Periander of Corinth, sails to Italy to enhance his fortune. Returning to Corinth, he is forced to jump ship by greedy sailors who plan to steal the money he has made abroad. He performs one last time on deck before leaping into the sea in all his finery, only to be rescued by a dolphin (an animal considered in antiquity to be both *philomousos* and *philanthropos*).⁶ Upon his return to Corinth, Arion surprises the sailors, whose astonishment at seeing him alive betrays their guilt. Herodotus tells us that a small statue of a man on the back of a dolphin at Taenarum commemorates this miraculous event.⁷

Were it not for Herodotus, we would know little of Arion, whose own poetry does not survive.⁸ The ancient testimonia to Arion's life and achievements are scant and contradictory, but some of them credit him – as does Herodotus – with the invention of the dithyramb, a genre closely associated with the god Dionysos.⁹ The scholiast to Aristophanes' *Birds* 1403, after establishing that circular choruses and dithyramb are one and the same, lists him among other possible inventors of the circular chorus,

⁴ Griffiths 1999, 182.

⁵ Chiasson 2005, 42.

⁶ Aelian, *NA* 12.45 also calls them *philoidoi* and *philauloi* – “lovers of song” and “lovers of the aulos.”

⁷ Burkert 1983, 199 assumes that this must have been at the temple of Poseidon.

⁸ The fragmentary thanksgiving hymn to Poseidon preserved under his name in Aelian (*NA* 12.45 = *PMG* 939) is accepted by no one as genuine. Page lists it with the *fragmenta adespota*.

⁹ The testimonia are conveniently collected in Campbell 1991, 16–25.

citing Hellanikos and Dikaiarchos as authorities. Proclus cites Aristotle to the effect that “it was Arion who originated the song [i.e., dithyramb] and that he was the first to introduce the circular chorus.”¹⁰

Others go so far as to call him the originator of tragedy. The *Suda* (s.v. Arion) says that he was “said to have been the inventor of the tragic style (*tragikou tropou heuretês*), and to have been the first (*prôtos*) to organize a chorus, sing a dithyramb and give title to what the chorus sang.” John Deacon says that Arion introduced the first tragic performance, citing Solon’s *Elegies*.¹¹ Admittedly, these sources are not the most reliable, and not only because of their distance from the events in question.¹² Nonetheless, the insistent use of *prôtos*, “first,” in these texts indicates that Arion was widely thought of as an inventor (*prôtos heuretês*) in antiquity, even if not everyone agrees on what exactly it was that he was first to do. The *prôtos heuretês* is often a figure of heroic status, whether that status was conferred in virtue of the invention or, on the other hand, because the importance of the invention required the prestige of a heroic inventor.¹³ What is more, the inventions all point to an association with Dionysiac genres of poetry.

In addition to the Dionysiac overtones, the story of Arion as told by Herodotus draws him into the orbit of two other divinities. As a poet, he is under the patronage of Apollo, and the last song he sings before his leap is the *orthios nomos*, a musical composition associated with this god.¹⁴ The dolphin and other marine elements of his story, meanwhile, suggest a close connection to Poseidon.¹⁵ Poseidon, however, has no monopoly on dolphins: both Dionysos and Apollo bear the title Delphinios. Griffiths comments that “Herodotus has of course rationalized the intervention of Apollo Delphinios, the Dolphin-god, out of his version of the Arion story.”¹⁶ Corinthian drinking vessels about the time of Arion show dancers with a dolphin, and there may well have been Dionysiac dancers dressed as dolphins.¹⁷ A charming Attic red-figure psykter attributed to Oltos, of a short time later (ca. 520–510 BCE), shows

10 Arion 5 (ed. Campbell) = Proclus, *Chrest.* in Photius, *Bibl.* p. 320a (ed. Bekker).

11 Arion 6 (ed. Campbell) = John the Deacon, *Commentary on Hermogenes* = Solon 30a (ed. West).

12 Campbell 1991, 23 labels the passage “of doubtful value,” citing Else 1965, 17.

13 Brelich 1958, 166–177; Lyons 1997, 30–34.

14 Clay 2004 observes that Archilochos is also closely associated with both Apollo and Dionysos. Thompson 1996, in a book whose title (*Arion’s Leap*) might imply greater interest in Arion, has only one page (167) on his leap, in which she interestingly suggests that by choosing to leap into the sea in full regalia, “even though the weight of his bardic gear will certainly make him sink like a stone ... Arion has saved himself by reaffirming his culture and creative character in a moment of crisis.” In religious terms, he has entrusted himself to Apollo, god of poets.

15 Arion’s link with Poseidon is especially emphasized by Bowra 1963. For Poseidon and dolphins, see Burkert 1983, 204.

16 Griffiths 1999, 181.

17 Parke 1977, 185. Burkert 1983, 199–200 cites Dionysiac dancers with a dolphin on Corinthian pottery of this period, and dolphin riders on Attic vases.

men riding dolphins and bears the inscription “ΕΠΙ ΔΕΛΦΙΝΙΟΣ,” which according to Gregory Sifakis may be the beginning of a choral song.¹⁸

A Dionysiac reading of Arion’s story is strengthened by a feature of Herodotus’ text that must have been quite deliberate on the author’s part. This is the clear intertextuality of his account with the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* (7).¹⁹ While Herodotus’ tale of rescue by a dolphin has many parallels in folktale and Greek myth, its closest parallel is to this poem.²⁰ Walter Burkert observes that the two texts tell the same story.²¹ And indeed, the degree to which the same elements appear in the *Homeric Hymn*, although in a different order, suggests that Herodotus consciously used the *Hymn* as a model in shaping his tale of Arion.²² Both dramas are played out on shipboard, and both are stories of thwarted piracy. To quote from the *Hymn* (7.1–12):

ἀμφὶ Διώνυσον Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος υἱὸν
μνήσομαι, ὡς ἐφάνη παρὰ θῖν’ ἄλός ἀτρυγέτοιο
ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προβλήτι νηνίη ἄνδρὶ ἐοικώς
πρωθήβη καλαὶ δὲ περισσεύοντο ἔθειραι
κῶνεια, φᾶρος δὲ περὶ στιβαροῖς ἔχεν μοῖς
πορφύρεον τάχα δ’ ἄνδρες εὐσσέλμου ἀπὸ νηὸς
ληισταὶ προγένοντο θοῶς ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον
Τυρσηνοὶ τοὺς δ’ ἦγε κακὸς μῦθος οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
νεῦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους, τάχα δ’ ἔκθορον, αἶψα δ’ ἐλόντες
εἶσαν ἐπὶ σφετέρης νηὸς κεχαρημένοι ἦτορ.
υἱὸν γάρ μιν ἔφαντο διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων
εἶναι, καὶ δεσμοῖς ἔθελον δεῖν ἀργαλέοισι.

I shall recall to mind how Dionysos, son of glorious Semele,
appeared by the shore of the barren sea
on a jutting headland, looking like a young man
in the first bloom of manhood. His beautiful dark hair
danced about him, and on his stout shoulders he wore
a purple cloak. Soon on a well-benched ship
Pirates moved forward swiftly on the wine-dark sea;
they were Tyrsenians led by an evil doom. When they saw him
they signaled to each other and then leapt out and quickly seized him
and put him on board their ship, glad in their hearts.

¹⁸ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.69: Sifakis 1967, pl. 6. See also Ridgway 1970a and Slater 1976.

¹⁹ Noticed by Benardete 1969 and Burkert 1983, 199–200, among others.

²⁰ See Forbes Irving 1990, 316–317 for a brief survey of dolphin myths (with an emphasis on transformations) in Greek literature.

²¹ Burkert 1983, 200.

²² For another example of possible influence of the *Homeric Hymns* in shaping Herodotean narratives, see Chiasson 2005, 46–47, where he compares the mother’s inadvertent heroization of her sons Kleobis and Biton to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

They thought he was the son of a Zeus-cherished king
and wanted to bind him with painful shackles. (trans. Athanassakis)

A parallel reading of the two texts reveals many thematic and lexical similarities. Dionysos' kidnappers are explicitly pirates (*leistai* ... *Tursenoi*, 7–8), while Arion's tormentors are the very Corinthian sailors in whom he had placed his trust, but their criminal intent is similar. The pirates plan to hold Dionysos, who appears as a well-dressed young man in purple finery (*pharos* ... *porpupeon*, 5–6), for ransom (presumably the *ktemata panta* of l. 30) while the Corinthians are ready to kill Arion for his money (*chremata megala*, cf. two other mentions of *chremata* in l. 24.1–2) if he will not do the deed himself. Herodotus mentions the finery (*skeue pase*) in which Arion was accustomed to perform and which he put on for this final performance, no less than four times (1.24.5–6). Miracles (*thaumata erga*, 34) begin early in the hymn, with the bonds that cannot restrain divine hands (13–14). Shortly thereafter, wine begins to flow and a sinister luxuriance overtakes the ship as vines entwine the mast. The god's transformation into a lion, and his production of a bear (43–45) lead, finally, to the transformation of the sailors to dolphins. The god controls the power of metamorphosis, and puts it to a variety of uses.

These *thaumata erga* ("marvelous deeds") have their echo in the Herodotean *thôma megiston* ("greatest marvel") that introduces the tale of Arion. But since Herodotus' protagonist is mortal, the miraculous effect is both delayed and displaced. Dionysos has multiple epiphanies, appearing (*ephane*, 2) first as a royal-looking young man (5) before ultimately making himself known at the end of the poem: "I am loud-crying Dionysos whom Kadmos' daughter Semele bore, having mingled in love with Zeus" (εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, ὃν τέκε μήτηρ / Καδμηῖς Σεμέλη Διὸς ἐν φιλότῃ τιμυγείῃ).

The magical appearance of wine, vines, and garlands is in some ways the poem's most complete epiphany: the metonymy of wine for Dionysos is made concrete, as wine flows through the ship, vines take possession of the mast, and an ambrosial scent fills the air (36–37). This is similar to the epiphany of Demeter in the *Homeric Hymn*, where she fills the doorframe with her divine stature and the air with her scent. Dionysos' miracle produces astonishment (*taphos*) in the men (37), but only when he appears as a lion do they experience fear (*ephobethen*, 48). When the lion attacks, the pirates are *ekplegentes*, just as the Corinthian sailors are *ekplagentas* when Arion, presumed dead, appears (*epiphanenai*) before them in what is clearly figured as a divine epiphany. The pirates escape by leaping into the sea, where they are transformed into dolphins. As in Herodotus, a sea leap brings forth a dolphin, but here the elements are arranged quite differently.²³ In Herodotus, the hero is the one who is forced to leap; since he is human

²³ Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 8.1 brings the two stories together explicitly, and has the dolphins complain that it was not nice of Dionysos to change them. I thank Ewan Bowie for bringing this passage to my attention.

and cannot save himself, a dolphin is required. This leap, however, connects Arion to a whole network of associations both divine and heroic.

In Herodotus' account we find many of the traditional elements of a Dionysiac persecution myth, but with a human protagonist in the place of the god. Other texts reinforce the parallels. In *Iliad* 6.130–140, Dionysos, frightened by Lykourgos' pursuit, plunges into the sea (Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθείς / δύσεθ' ἄλός κατὰ κύμα, 135–136). A sea leap is also part of the myth of Dionysos' aunt, Ino, and her son, Melikertes, who pursued by her maddened husband, Learchos, jump into the Gulf of Corinth, an act which is accompanied by a change from mortal to immortal. Marcel Detienne has noted that the verb *to leap* (*pedan* or *ekpedan*) appears frequently in connection with Dionysos, and that he is quintessentially the god who leaps.²⁴ I have argued elsewhere that the heroines associated with Dionysos enact in their own myths many of the same vicissitudes experienced by the god.²⁵ A similar process may be at work in the case of Arion. A feature that may elsewhere have facilitated ritual identification between worshipers and the god is, to quote Philip Stadter, introduced here by the author as a way of developing "his understanding of recent history by setting his historical referents ... into existing story patterns."²⁶ But, in this case, clearly, the choice of story pattern is of more than purely narratological interest.²⁷

Both the leap and the dolphin have parallels in other mythic accounts. In addition to the transformation of the impious sailors in the *Homeric Hymn*, two closer parallels exist. In one version of their myth, Ino's son, Melikertes-Palaimon, is rescued by a dolphin, coming to shore at the Isthmus of Corinth (Pausanias 1.44.8). Burkert says of the congruity of these stories, "the legends of Palaimon and Arion were likewise shaped by the polarity of Dionysos and Poseidon."²⁸ Another story especially relevant to the poet Arion is that of the murder of Hesiod. His body is thrown into the sea, only to be brought back to land by a school of dolphins (*Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 230 [ed. Allen]).²⁹

What attracts Arion into the sphere of Dionysos? As we have seen, he is often called the inventor of the dithyramb, including by Herodotus. This genre is intimately connected with Dionysos, as is clear from its first surviving appearance in Archilochos (fr. 120 [ed. West]): "I know how to sing the fair song of Lord Dionysos, the dithyramb, when my wits have been lightning-struck with wine" (ὥς Διονύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος / οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας). Herodotus' dating of

²⁴ Detienne 1989b, 53–56 and passim. See also Nagy 1973 on the meaning of leaping into the sea.

²⁵ Brelich 1958, 166–177; Lyons 1997, 30.

²⁶ Stadter 2004, 32.

²⁷ See Mendelsohn 1991–92 for an interesting demonstration of how the phenomenon of being struck by lightning, like Dionysos' mother Semele, becomes part of the experience of the drinking/singing worshiper of the god.

²⁸ Burkert 1983, 203–204.

²⁹ Burkert 1983, 203 cites this story as well, but does not relate it to the theme of divine polarities.

Arion to the thirty-eighth Olympiad places him around 629–625 BCE, later than Archilochos, who flourished in the mid-seventh century. If this is correct, Arion is too late to be the inventor of the dithyramb.

Scholars both modern and ancient have attempted to deal with this difficulty by assigning him a role in the later evolution of the dithyramb. As noted above, Arion is sometimes credited with the invention of the *kuklios choros*, the circular chorus, a “fact” reflected in a dubious genealogical note in the *Suda* making him the son of one otherwise unknown Kukleus. Others, however, assign the innovation of the circular chorus to Lasos of Hermione. Although the passage from the scholiast to Aristophanes’ *Birds* treats “circular chorus” and “dithyramb” as synonymous, others consider the circular form of the chorus a later development. In any case, the persistent linking of Arion with this genre gives him the kind of founder status usually associated with heroes. Certainly, as I have shown above, the tradition treats him as a *prôtos heuretês*.³⁰

If we consider Arion a “hero of the dithyramb,” then the association with Dionysos is well motivated. Archilochos’ description of singing the dithyramb to the god when wine has struck his wits shows that the connection with Dionysos goes back to the earliest mention of this genre. As Diskin Clay shows in his study of the hero cult of Archilochos, this poet was also strongly connected with the cult of Dionysos on Paros. It was not uncommon for the native cities of poets to establish cults in their honor.³¹ Although there is no evidence for a cult of Arion on Lesbos, the city of Methymna did commemorate him on a coin.³²

Another aspect of Herodotus’ account may strengthen Arion’s Dionysiac associations. Arion is called ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, a citizen of Methymna, a city on Lesbos famous for its wine and also for a cult of Dionysos Phallen, instituted when fishermen brought up from the sea a strange olive-wood mask of the god (Pausanias 9.19.3). While this is the obvious way for Herodotus to name this figure, comparable to his mentions of Archilochos the Parian (1.12.2) or Thales the Milesian (1.72.2), it may also lead us back to Dionysos, who is sometimes given the epithet Μεθυμναῖος (properly spelled with epsilon instead of eta). The two spellings are sometimes confused, with the result that Hesychius defines Μηθυμναῖος as ὁ Διόνυσος. This title has been connected, although without evidence, to the Methymnaian cult. Plutarch (*Quaest. Conv.* 3.2.1 [648e]) derives the name from μέθυ (wine) and the linguist Pierre Chantraine concurs, noting that the form with *eta* instead of the expected epsilon suggests a pun, whereby the association of *methu* with the place-name Μήθυμνα leads to this rather odd coinage with its anomalous -μν- infix.³³

30 D’Angour 1997, 349.

31 Clay 2004 gives a number of examples, including (in addition to Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod), Stesichoros at Himera, Pindar at Delphi, Sappho on Lesbos, and Korinna at Tanagra.

32 Clay 2004, 96–97.

33 Chantraine 1999, s.v. μέθυ.

Behind the figure of the Herodotean and presumably historical Arion the Methymnian, one seems to glimpse a heroic figure closely linked to Dionysos. The epithet calls to mind other instances in which the epithet of a god links him to a hero (e.g., Apollo Hyakinthos). While the echoes of the *Homeric Hymn* are almost certainly the result of a conscious strategy on the part of Herodotus, we are left to wonder to what extent the other mythic associations conjured up by this tale had become attached to the accounts Herodotus collected from his informants and to what extent the associations are the contribution of Herodotus himself. In this case, I would suggest that the use of this mythic pattern goes beyond the literary shaping of the historical account.

Once again, I turn to Boedeker's analysis of Herodotus' treatment of the hero Protesilaos for a parallel:³⁴

[...] if we can determine some of Protesilaos' characteristics in local myth and cult we may be able better to understand elements in the story Herodotus reports, elements which seem unimportant to the course of the Histories, and of which Herodotus himself may have been unaware, but which influenced the formation, preservation, and resonance of the story Herodotus heard. On a small scale, then, we will be considering the relationships among mythical and religious ideas, oral histories which are informed by those ideas, and the writing of a history based on local oral tales.

Herodotus, as Philip Stadter has observed, frequently guarantees the truth of his narrative with objects that are still visible in his time;³⁵ the Arion account, which ends with mention of the statue of a dolphin rider, follows this pattern. Maurice Bowra suggests that the statue at Taenarum was actually of Poseidon and only later assigned the identity of Arion.³⁶ In this context, Bowra sees Arion as a hypostasis or heroic shadow of Poseidon. While drawing on the same evidence of Arion's heroic status as I, he nonetheless is led by the statue to associate Arion with Poseidon rather than with Dionysos. Since the attribution of a small statue could easily be reassigned over time, this seems a small peg on which to hang his conclusion.³⁷ In any case, the strong Dionysiac connection does not rule out an association with other divine figures, as suggested above.

While far from unanimous about Arion's achievements, the testimonia are consistent in connecting him with the dithyramb and sometimes with tragedy – in other words, with Dionysiac genres. Taking this association together with his story, which is modeled on an exploit with the god as protagonist, I argue that, *pace* Bowra, Arion appears in Herodotus' account as a heroic hypostasis not of Poseidon but of Dionysos.

Exactly how the connection between the poet Arion and the ecstatic god of wine came about, and how it found its way into Herodotus' text is harder to answer. Did

³⁴ Boedeker 1988, 43.

³⁵ Stadter 2004, 34–35.

³⁶ Bowra 1963.

³⁷ Osborne 2002, 512 notes that in this case as in his other uses of supposedly authenticating objects, Herodotus is content to cite the object as proof, even if it does not, in fact, prove anything.

Herodotus know of a local tradition of heroic cult for Arion? Certainly the archaeological record provides no evidence, aside from the Methymnian coin showing a dolphin rider. Nor do we find any in Herodotus' text, beyond Arion's status as inventor, or *prôtos heuretês*, and perhaps the punning name of Dionysos Methymnaios. Herodotus is not averse to telling miraculous tales of heroes, but he clearly viewed Arion as a historical figure. In some sense, it can be said that in his telling of this fabulous tale, he manages to have it both ways.

In concluding my analysis in this open-ended way, am I, too, trying to have it both ways? *Mythos* or *logos* – to use the terms of a recent article by Glenn Most – which will it be?³⁸ Of course, I may conclude, like Herodotus, that some of each is the right mix. But before proceeding to that step, let us consider the possibilities. Either Herodotus was aware of local traditions about Arion as a cultic figure associated with Dionysos, or not. If not, then we must assume that he chose to use the Dionysiac master narrative because of Arion's association with the Dionysiac genre of the dithyramb – no doubt also inspired by the dolphin motif. If he was aware of these traditions, he used them to shape his narrative in the ways I have delineated, but chose only to hint at them, perhaps burying the pun on Methymnaios as a *sphragis* in his text. If he was not aware of them, did they enter the text smuggled in through the local traditions told to him by native informants? Or is the answer perhaps a little bit of all these things? Griffiths and Chiasson have postulated a Herodotus who knowingly makes use of mythic elements in his histories, and my analysis in no way overturns their assumptions about the author's methods of composition. Their analyses, however, do not consider the cultic elements, which, I hope to have shown, are detectable in Herodotus' narrative.

Each of the three different elements – narratological, mythic, and cultic – might well require a different answer. That Herodotus was aware of using a Dionysiac master narrative in telling the story of Arion is not to be doubted. That he meant by this to portray Arion as a heroic hypostasis of Dionysos is harder to know. Finally, that he was aware of local traditions tying the two figures together in local cult is impossible to prove. Herodotus, even if he was aware of these cultic traditions, might have deliberately chosen to downplay local particularities that would make his histories less universal in their scope and appeal. Herodotus was clearly a literary artist capable of blending myth and history with a high degree of self-awareness. That said, I find myself in agreement with Boedeker that his text may contain traces of local myth and cult of which he was only partially aware. Herodotus may have told less than he knew, while at the same time knowing less than he told.

38 Most 1999.

Clemente Marconi

The Mozia Charioteer: A Revision*

Thirty years after its discovery, and about twenty different attempts at identification later,¹ the only plausible interpretation of the Mozia Youth (figs. 1 and 3b) is that of a charioteer.² This identification can be made based on comparanda offered by fifth-century Sicilian coins, especially those from Syracuse, depicting chariots and their drivers (fig. 2). These coins provide excellent parallels in particular to three elements of our statue's attire: the diaphanous *xystis*, the high chest-band,³ and the headgear, which one has to restore on its head (possibly of valuable metal, and, therefore, not necessarily heavy).⁴ These same coins show a significant variety of solutions concerning the outfit of drivers, which, one would assume, could vary from individual to individual. This fact has often been overlooked by the opponents of the identification of the Mozia Youth as a charioteer, who have often used the differences between our statue and the Delphi Charioteer as evidence against that interpretation,⁵ and as a springboard for identifications, which are themselves lacking proper iconographical parallels.

More precisely, given that our statue stood outside of the chariot, rather than in it, as one would deduce from the accurate treatment of the lower body and its drapery,⁶ it is quite likely – based on Pausanias' presentation of monuments celebrating victories in chariot races at Olympia, in Book 6 of his *Periegesis*⁷ – that our youth was not a

* I would like to thank Amalia Avramidou and Denise Demetriou for the opportunity of contributing, wholeheartedly, to this Festschrift in honor of Alan Shapiro. My essay was delivered as a paper at the workshop on the Mozia Youth held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on April 27th 2013. Many thanks in particular to Andrew Stewart and Rosalia Pumo for discussing with me several points of my presentation. I am also grateful to Marya Fisher for her help in the editing of my text.

1 In short: *contra* Punic readings of the statue (a priest, Hamilkar, Hannibal, a hero, or Herakles-Melqart), see esp. Bisi 1988 and Greco 2009, 534; *contra* the identification with a dancer or an actor stand both the lack of fitting iconographical comparanda and the long *xystis*, particularly abundant between the legs; *contra* the identification with a transvestite god, Apollo, Adonis, Daidalos, or Pelops stands the lack of iconographical parallels; *contra* the identification with Telines, Gelon, or a seer stands also the lack of a beard, unsuitable for the image of a high priest or a ruler.

2 See esp. La Rocca 1985; also Bell 1995, 1–4 and Pavese 1996, 7–33.

3 See esp. the tetradrachms in Rizzo 1946, pls. 40.6 (= fig. 2, here) and 51.2.

4 These types of headgear, barely visible given the size of the coins and often unidentified, are generally regarded as helmets (cf. Pavese 1996, 16–17): see esp. the Syracusan dekadrachm (“Damar-eteion”) in Rizzo 1946, pl. 35.1; in some instances, however, they look like hats (see the Syracusan tetradrachms in Rizzo 1946, 35.4, 6) and narrow-brimmed ones (see the tetradrachm of Leontinoi in Rizzo 1946, pl. 22.22).

5 See more recently Palagia 2011, 286.

6 See esp. Smith 2007, 132.

7 Pavese 1996, 17–19.



Fig. 1: The Mozia Charioteer.
Mozia, Museo Whitaker. Photo: author.



Fig. 2: Syracusan Tetradrachm. Source: Böhringer 1929, pl. 25 no. 671.

chariot driver, as is generally assumed by most of the literature favoring the interpretation of the Mozia Youth as a charioteer. Drivers, in fact, were always featured in their chariots, unlike the owners, who could be featured not only in their chariots,⁸ but also standing on the ground next to them⁹ or without them altogether.¹⁰ In light of this, our figure should be identified as a charioteer who was also the owner of the chariot: either Thrasyboulos, son of Xenokrates of Akragas, or a Thrasyboulos-like figure of the Sikeliote *jeunesse-dorée* that never made it into the literary record.¹¹ Hence, the difference in posture and ethos between our statue and the Delphi Charioteer would have more to do with social standing than with artistic freedom and Western Greek hubris.¹²

In addition to the identification, I would like to suggest a revision to the style and historical context of the Mozia Charioteer, as well. Of course, in the case at hand, our understanding of style is seriously undermined by the lack of knowledge about various facts, including the original polychromy of our statue (which was exposed to a fair amount of weathering soon after its discovery, when blue was detected on the

⁸ Pausanias 6.9.5 (Gelon) (?), 6.10.6 (Kleosthenes), 6.18.1 (Kratisthenes).

⁹ Pausanias 6.1.6 (Kyniska), 6.4.10 (Lampos).

¹⁰ Pausanias 6.1.4 (Troilos), 6.1.7 (Anaxandros and Polykles), 6.2.1 (Lykinos, Arkesilaos, and Lichas), 6.2.8 (Timon), 6.17.5 (Archidamos).

¹¹ For the substantial gaps in the documentation concerning Sikeliote victories at Panhellenic games in the fifth century BCE, see Adornato 2013.

¹² Cf. La Rocca 1985, 460–461.

head and purple-red on the back;¹³ this red may be taken as an indication of the purple color that characterized the *xystis* worn by charioteers)¹⁴ and display condition/s (if it was, in fact, looted in antiquity). To these issues, I will also add function, apart from the ultimate use of the sculpture in the fill and leveling in Area K, an event that I would date to between the taking of Motye by Dionysios in 397 BCE and the siege by Himilcon the following year (Diodorus Siculus 14.55.4).¹⁵ The question, however, of the original placement and function of the image are bound to belong to the realm of hypotheses, given the evidence at hand.

A discussion of the style of the Mozia Charioteer must start with the issue of dating. In the literature, three different dates have been proposed for our work: a high chronology oscillating between 480–460 BCE,¹⁶ a middling one of around 450–440 BCE,¹⁷ and, finally, a low one of the end of the fifth-beginning of the fourth century.¹⁸ This is surprising, considering how time-specific sculptures produced in the decades between 480 and 450 BCE generally are in their style. In fact, in my opinion, there should be no doubt about a dating of our statue to the Early Classical period, and more precisely to the years 470–460 BCE, based on three features, namely the head, the posture, and the drapery.

The stylistic dating of the head of the Mozia Charioteer has never presented a problem, because of the close parallel offered by the head found near the Sacred Gate in Athens (fig. 3a),¹⁹ dated to the early- to mid-470s, based on the comparison with the head of Harmodios, which is similar, but slightly earlier. The head of our statue shares the same general proportions with the one from the Kerameikos; in particular, it has the almost rectangular shape of the Early Classical face, determined by the hair, which is arranged very far down the forehead, and the strong lower jaw. To this, one may add the relatively narrow eyes with thick lids and limited indication of the lacrimal caruncle, as well as the narrow mouth with full lips. The main point of comparison with the Kerameikos head, of course, is the smooth cranium, meant for a metal attachment, and the Late-Archaic-looking snail-curl coiffure, with only roughly

13 Falsone 1988, 27. At the Getty, the presence of blue has been confirmed by Jerry Podani, who presented on the results of his new analyses at the workshop held in Malibu in April 2013.

14 Scholia to Aristophanes, *Nub.* 70b: ξυστίς λέγεται τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον, ὅπερ οἱ ἡνίοχοι χρώνται τῇ ἱππικῇ: cf. Pavese 1996, 8. Workshops for the production of murex purple have been found on Mozia: Ciasca et al. 1989, 40.

15 Some have considered the fill to be one of the barricades – mentioned by Diodorus Siculus 14.51.5 – set up by the Motyans during the siege of 397 BCE (see esp. Famà 2013). However, the stratigraphy illustrated in Falsone 1988, fig. 4, and the materials found in the various levels (arrowheads and a large number of disintegrated mudbricks under the floor no. 5622) is best interpreted as a massive leveling of the area near the fortifications after the destruction of 397 BCE.

16 Bell 1995, 13 (480–470 BCE); Smith 2007, 131 (480–470 BCE); Palagia 2011, 283 (480–470 BCE).

17 Dontas 1988, 62 (440–430 BCE); Ridgway 1995, 41 (440–430 BCE).

18 Di Vita 1988, 48 (400 BCE).

19 Knigge 1983, pls. 11–15; Stewart 2008b, 583–586 fig. 3 (with the dating to the early-mid-470s).



Fig. 3a: Head from near the Sacred Gate. Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. no. P 1455. Photo: author.

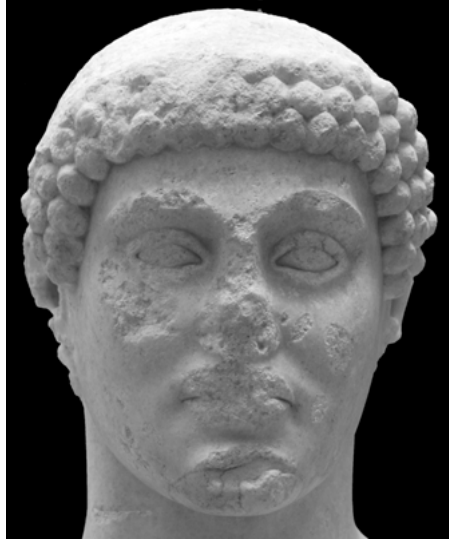


Fig. 3b: Mozia Charioteer, head. Photo: author.

carved beads. But I would like to insist, here, on the rendering of the face, for which there are other parallels. In particular, there is a head in the Volos Museum, another from Palaiokastros in Thessaly,²⁰ and a third from Cyrene that represents an unsuccessful attempt at replicating the same basic format.²¹ All these pieces are dated in the literature to the 470s, and with good reasons, to which I would add a comparison with an earlier, unprovenanced head at the Metropolitan Museum,²² and a later one from Aegina, in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.²³ As noted by Ursula Knigge for the Kerameikos head, we are clearly dealing with a particular facial type developed in the early stages of Early Classical sculpture, characteristic of youthful, athletic figures, which would ultimately lead to the head of Myron's *Diskobolos*. This would seem to speak against interpretations of the face of the Mozia Charioteer as portrait-like.²⁴ On the other hand, this rendering of the face agrees well with the emphasis, in our statue, on the muscles, veins, and body line, as indications of a youthful, well-muscled, hard-trained athlete, to use R. R. R. Smith's words.²⁵

²⁰ Ridgway 1970b, 58 figs. 76–77; Rolley 1994, 326–327 fig. 334.

²¹ Ridgway 1970b, 58 figs. 80–83; Rolley 1994, 327.

²² Rolley 1994, 326 fig. 333.

²³ Walter-Karydi 1987, 77–78 no. 40 pls. 30–31; Rolley 1994, 326.

²⁴ As suggested esp. by Bell 1995, 13 and Smith 2007, 132.

²⁵ Smith 2007, 132–133.

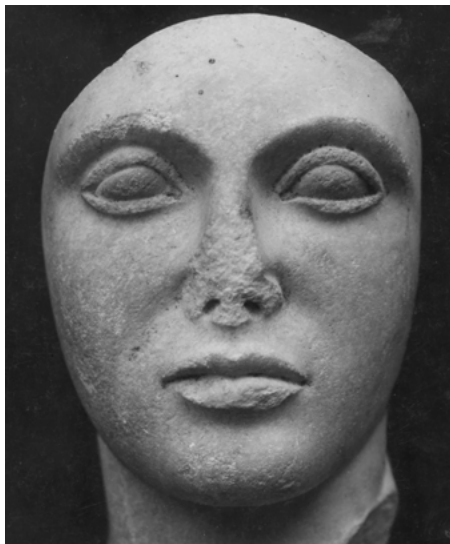


Fig. 3c: Marble head from the metopes of the Temple of Hera (E) at Selinunte. Palermo, Museo Archeologico "A. Salinas," inv. no. 3883. Photo: author.

Unlike the head, the dating of the posture of the Mozia Charioteer has proved very controversial, and has led to the statue being regarded as either Early Classical or post-Polykleitan. My impression is that this split in opinion depends on the spatially ambiguous pose of our figure, which is reflected in the different proposals concerning its original primary view. However, once one considers the back of our statue, the posture becomes clearer, and allows for better comparisons. The most productive comparison is to be made with the Riace statues A and B:²⁶ a look at the back of the three statues reveals that the stance of the Mozia Charioteer is almost identical to Riace A, which is not nearly as Polykleitan in its posture as Riace B. On the basis of the comparison with Riace A, the argument that the contrapposto of our statue is not Early Classical should be discounted. Even more so considering that Early Classical bronze statuettes of athletes, like the ones from Ligurio and Adrano, showcase a kind of contrapposto anticipating that of the Doryphoros.²⁷ This confirms that images of athletes were one of the main fields of experimentation with lifelikeness, and one in which posture played an essential role in this particular period of Greek art.

²⁶ Rolley 1994, 347–350 figs. 361–363. For the comparison, see esp. H. P. Isler in Bonacasa/Buttitta 1988, 139.

²⁷ Hurwit 1995, 8 fig. 6, 10 fig. 8.

Last but not least comes drapery, strangely the most contentious issue, for quite some time. Strangely, because I really do not see how one could compare the rendering of the thin, sleeveless, high-belted, foot-length chiton of the Mozia Charioteer with the figures on the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike, ignoring the fact that the basic principle of Rich Style drapery is the contrast between areas with ridges and areas in which the drapery lies flat against the skin, virtually disappearing, and producing the effect of transparency. No less problematic are comparisons between the drapery of the Mozia Charioteer with the Artemis on the Parthenon frieze, which do not seem to realize how Archaic pattern still looms large over the former. Besides the general texturing of the fine line garment, very close to that used for linen in Archaic statues (and is still in use for the little bride in the West Pediment at Olympia), it may be useful to point out that the outline of the overlapping mass of folds between the legs seen in our statue, is strongly reminiscent of sculpture of the end of the Late Archaic period, such as the running female from Karthaia.²⁸ That said, it may be emphasized that the rendering of the diaphanous drapery of the Mozia Charioteer, namely, its particular form of grooving, finds very few comparanda, in spite of many references in the literature to various monuments, such as the Athena on the metopes of the Temple of Hera (E) at Selinunte and the stele from the Esquiline: basically, we are mainly talking about the Aphrodite on the Ludovisi Throne (fig. 4), emerging from the Ocean, in a scene in which the sculptor is clearly showing off his talent in rendering the qualities of different materials of clothing. Both sculptures belong to a new phase of experimentation with filmy drapery in marble sculpture, which, in our case, serves to make the Mozia Charioteer seem dramatically, carnally present.²⁹ Here, it may be noted that, as regards clothing, exposure, and eroticization of the male body in Greek statuary, Sicily was a front-runner in the early fifth century, if one only considers the draped kouros from Syracuse, in which the cloth covers the back and part of one side, and opens up like a curtain revealing the beautiful body in the front.³⁰ Nor can one be surprised at the eroticization of the body of a charioteer, after reading Pindar's *Pythian* 6, a poem celebrating Thrasyboulos, which opens with a reference to Aphrodite, best understood as a celebration of the young charioteer's beauty, and taken by most modern commentators as a reference to the *philia* linking the poet and the Sicilian aristocrat.³¹ On the other hand, it is essential to take into account the contribution of painting in a consideration of the drapery, including both Malcolm Bell's reference to transparent drapery in Attic red-figure vase painting³² (but

²⁸ Walter-Karydi 1987, 114 figs. 182–183.

²⁹ Neer 2010, 143–144.

³⁰ Rizza/De Miro 1985, fig. 228.

³¹ Vetta 1979; Gentili et al. 1995, 184.

³² Bell 1995, 11.



Fig. 4: Aphrodite. Ludovisi Throne.
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano.
Palazzo Altemps, inv. no. 8570.
Photo: author.

I would point to the Dokimasia Painter, rather than the Brygos Painter)³³ and Pliny's reference to Polygnotos as the first painter depicting women in transparent drapery (*HN* 35.58).

On balance, the rendering of the head and face of the Mozia Charioteer finds close comparanda with works of the 470s, while the pose and drapery are best compared with works dated to about 460 BCE. In light of these observations, the best option for the dating of our work is to the decade 470–460 BCE. This chronological frame is further confirmed by a comparison with the metopes of the Temple of Hera (E) at Selinunte, dated archaeologically, with their building, to 460–450 BCE.³⁴ These reliefs have often been used as a point of comparison for our statue and, when closely looking at the head of Herakles fighting the Amazon, one can only feel a sense of familiarity, due to inspiration from similar sources and possibly a workshop connection. On the other hand, when it comes down to attribution, it is safer to compare

³³ In particular the Boston Oresteia krater: Para 373.34quater.

³⁴ Marconi 1994, 137.

marble with marble, since the rendering of anatomical details in the less compact limestone can produce different results. Thus, comparison has to be made with the marble female inserts of the metopes, and obviously those of the more progressive east frieze (fig. 3c):³⁵ this comparison shows that the rendering of eyes and lips is more advanced in the marble, metope heads, confirming the somewhat earlier dating of the Mozia statue and speaking against an attribution of both to the same hands.

In conclusion, I would argue here for a dating of the Mozia Charioteer to 470–460 BCE and thus to the early phase of Early Classical sculpture. This is a particular stage in the development of Greek sculpture, characterized, as pointed out by Evelyn Harrison, by an audacity of experimentation in forms, dimensions, and range of subject matter, and by the use of strong, simple, emphatic forms to express character and action.³⁶ In architectural sculpture, the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia stands as one of the best examples for this opening up of new possibilities for communication for the artists of this period. The Mozia Charioteer (often compared, not by chance, with the Oinomaos from the Olympia pediment) could be taken to represent one of the most significant documents of the same trend for freestanding sculpture.

But it is precisely here, in trying to envisage the larger implications of our image, that we hit the wall represented by the lack of information concerning the original display context of the Mozia Charioteer. As already noted, it should be excluded that the figure was in a chariot; rather, the statue is best restored as standing on the ground. The charioteer has the left hand on its hip, and it is clear that it had the right hand raised and held something. That something, however, is difficult to identify, especially when one considers the creativity that artists could display in providing attributes for charioteers and their assistants (e.g., the monument of Polykles at Olympia – Pausanias 6.1.7 – in which the winner was represented holding a ribbon in his right hand, with two children beside him, one holding a wheel, and the other begging for the ribbon). In any case, the comparison with the Sounion relief,³⁷ particularly as regards the position of the head, which in our statue is kept horizontal, would seem to speak against the reconstruction of the gesture as one of self-crowning.³⁸ Some have considered our statue as a self-sufficient, independent monument,³⁹ but based on the statue's general outlook, particularly its opening to the left, one cannot exclude the possibility of a second figure to the viewer's left (not unlike the Polykles' monument, which consisted of three figures standing on the ground).⁴⁰ In terms of narrative context and ethos, we are left only with speculations.

³⁵ See esp. Marconi 1994, 88–89 no. 14 and 90–91 no. 15.

³⁶ Harrison 1985, 42.

³⁷ Rolley 1994, 360 fig. 374.

³⁸ As suggested by Bell 1995, 9; *contra* see also Palagia 2011, 285.

³⁹ So Smith 2007, 132.

⁴⁰ Cf. Palagia 2011, 287.

This brings me to historical context. Two fallacies have often governed the discussion about the Mozia Charioteer. The first is that, since it has a Greek, rather than a Punic subject, the statue should have nothing to do with Motye, and must have reached the island as booty from one of the Greek cities sacked by the Carthaginian army between 409 and 406 BCE.⁴¹ War booty, particularly from Akragas (Diodorus Siculus 13.90.4), is a distinct possibility in the case at hand, based on literary sources.⁴² Nonetheless, one should not ignore the literary,⁴³ epigraphic,⁴⁴ and numismatic⁴⁵ sources pointing to the significant presence of Greeks on Motye in the fifth century and the high degree of cultural interaction between Greeks and Punics throughout this period. A look at the archaeological record confirms this state of affairs, including fragments of Greek monumental architecture – both Ionic⁴⁶ (fig. 5) and Doric in order⁴⁷ – and stone sculpture of distinctive Greek style,⁴⁸ not to mention the many terracotta figurines from the Tophet of Greek production,⁴⁹ or, finally, the fragments of *louteria* from Selinunte featuring, among other subjects, chariot races (on display in the local museum): all materials which are, strangely, never mentioned in this connection. Within this state of affairs, a dedication of our statue by a Greek in dealings with Motye,⁵⁰ or by a local, wealthy merchant,⁵¹ are both possibilities. The second fallacy concerns patronage, and the view that, since it is of such high quality, our statue could only have been commissioned by the Deinomenids or the Emmenids. The Leontini-Biscari kouros⁵² shows that from the early fifth century onwards, other elite members on the island – not just those two families from Gela and Akragas –

⁴¹ Bell 1995, 4.

⁴² Miles 2008, 34.

⁴³ Diodorus Siculus 14.53.2, 4; Ampolo 2012, 25–26.

⁴⁴ See Ampolo 2012, 27–29 for both the funerary inscriptions with Greek names from Birgi, on the mainland facing Mozia – generally referred to individuals from Selinunte in dealing with the Punics on the island – and the graffiti in Greek from the island itself.

⁴⁵ See esp. the coins with the eagle and crab of Akragas, with the legend in either Greek or Punic characters (Head 1911, 158; Cutroni Tusa 1969, 100–101, 110 pl. 54.1a–b). Taken in the past as evidence for Akragantine control over Motye after the victory at Himera (so Dunbabin 1948, 430–431), these coins are now generally regarded as evidence for strong commercial ties between the two centers (de Waele 1971, 120 n. 608).

⁴⁶ Ionic base from the House of the Mosaics: Whitaker 1921, fig. 26.

⁴⁷ Sima lion-head waterspout of Akragantine type: Mertens-Horn 1988, 93, 188 no. 19 pl. 26a; Doric capital comparable to those of Temple F at Selinunte: Isserlin/du Plat Taylor 1974, 70–72 pl. 24.1; Doric capitals from the House of the Mosaics: Whitaker 1921, fig. 25. Add also the several gorgoneion antefixes produced at Selinunte: Conti 2012, 284, 287.

⁴⁸ See esp. an unpublished marble female hand on display in the Mozia museum (M 3186), plus the relief in Isserlin/du Plat Taylor 1974, 75 pl. 25.3.

⁴⁹ Cf., for example, Ciasca et al. 1969, pl. 64.

⁵⁰ As suggested by La Rocca 1985, 463.

⁵¹ As suggested by Tusa 1988, 59.

⁵² Lyons/Bennett/Marconi 2013, 160–161 figs. 96–97.



Fig. 5: Ionic base from the House of the Mosaics. Mozia, Museo Whitaker. Photo: author.

could afford some of the best marble sculpture of the day (likewise, also a Psamis of Kamarina could commission odes by Pindar – *Ol.* 4, 5 – not just Hieron or Theron). The way I would like to frame the Mozia Charioteer, finally, is by looking at the use of marble in Sicily between the Late Archaic and Classical periods.

Let me address, first, the provenance of the marble, which is Parian, not Anatolian, as originally suggested by the authors of the isotopic and chemical analysis of four samples from our statue.⁵³ Later investigation has shown that the values obtained in that analysis correspond with those of the marble quarried in the valley of Choradaki, SW of Marathi, on Paros.⁵⁴ The same marble, also known as Paros 2, was used for some of the inserts of the metopes of the Temple of Hera (E) at Selinunte⁵⁵ and, more importantly, for a marble roof (including sima and tiles) datable to about 480 BCE, according to the results of the analysis by Lorenzo Lazzarini of a fragment found in excavations on the Acropolis of Selinunte being carried out by the Institute of Fine Arts-NYU.⁵⁶ Being non-lychnitic, Paros 2 has often been considered a less prized variety of marble, but recent studies by Lazzarini on Greek marble sculpture from Cyrene, southern Italy, and Sicily attest to its great importance as an import material in regions devoid of this type of stone. Particularly significant, in this regard, is that this same material was used for the three kouroi from Syracuse, Leontini, and

⁵³ Alaimo/Carapezza 1988, 36.

⁵⁴ Gorgoni/Pallante 2000, 503. Identification of the marble confirmed by the more recent analyses of the statue by Jerry Podani at the Getty.

⁵⁵ Marconi 1994, 191.

⁵⁶ On this roof, see esp. Gàbrici/Tusa 1956, 277–278.

Grammichele, as well as for the roof of the Athenaion in Syracuse, a major commission by the Deinomenids.⁵⁷ With this, I come to a third fallacy in the literature on the Mozia Charioteer. Namely, that our statue would be a rare case of the use of marble on the island during the fifth century. Marble is documented in Sicily beginning in the late seventh-early sixth century. It is only during the first two decades of the fifth century, however, that the investment in this material becomes particularly significant, first in association with statuary and later with both statuary and temples (Syracuse, Gela, Akragas, and Selinus), which marks a shift in patronage from elites to larger, civic communities.⁵⁸ The period that sees an increased use of marble on the island are the years between 490 and 460 BCE, when the use of this material for statuary includes both individual statues and groups. The Agrigento warriors⁵⁹ and the large horse's tail from Selinunte⁶⁰ are part of this evidence, pointing to the importance of marble as a medium for large dedications at sanctuaries in the second quarter of the fifth century. Considered from this perspective, the Mozia Charioteer, far from representing an exception, conforms to a dominant cultural fashion on the island, which leads me to one last consideration.

In the years directly following its discovery, some scholars regarded the Mozia Charioteer as an average work,⁶¹ but I suppose everyone would agree today that we are dealing, in fact, with a remarkable piece of sculpture. My concluding observation concerns precisely this, namely, the fact that one of the finest free-standing marble statues of the Early Classical period comes from the periphery of the Greek world. I do not think this is a coincidence, and I would like to explain this fact with the major shift in materials, from marble to bronze, for prestige dedications in mainland Greece. What I would like to suggest, is a connection between the decline in patronage for marble sculpture in mainland Greece and the Aegean during the Early Classical period, and the rise in number and quality in the use of this material in the West.

In particular, given the provenance of the marble from Paros, and the virtuosity shown off by the carver in working this material, the attribution of our statue to a Parian, argued most recently by Olga Palagia⁶² (versus earlier attributions to bronze workers such as Kalamis⁶³ or Pythagoras of Rhegion⁶⁴), would appear very compelling, especially when framed within the larger context of the marble trade between Paros and the West during this particular period. The lack of close stylistic parallels

⁵⁷ Lazzarini/Basile 2012.

⁵⁸ For statuary, see Marconi 2013, 159; for temples, see Heiden 1998. See also the various essays in Adornato 2010.

⁵⁹ Adornato 2003.

⁶⁰ Lyons/Bennett/Marconi 2013, 163 fig. 100.

⁶¹ Di Vita 1988, 46.

⁶² Palagia 2011.

⁶³ See esp. Bell 1995, 26.

⁶⁴ See esp. Frel 1985.

from Paros comparable to the Kerameikos head need not speak against such an attribution, to the advantage of an Attic sculptor, considering the presence of Parian sculptors in Athens after 480 BCE, like Euphron,⁶⁵ and the influence of Harmodios on a relief from the Cycladic island.⁶⁶ It is within this web of relationships between the different shores of the Mediterranean that one may identify the genesis of the Mozia Charioteer.

⁶⁵ E. Walter-Karydi in Vollkommer 2001–2004, I: 230–231, s.v. Euphron.

⁶⁶ Zapheirou 2011.

Carlos A. Picón

An Ancient Plaster Cast in New York: A Ptolemaic Syncretistic Goddess*

In honor of an esteemed colleague and collaborator who has furthered our appreciation and understanding of so many aspects of ancient Greek iconography, it is indeed a pleasure to introduce this unusual representation of a syncretistic Ptolemaic deity (figs. 1–2), an object originally acquired in Cairo in October 1950 by Professor Maurice Bouvier (1901–1981) and recently purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹ Professor Bouvier taught at the University of Alexandria from 1929 until 1959 and formed an important and extensive collection of Coptic textiles, among other antiquities. It remained in the family until recently, and I am grateful to Professor Bouvier's son for the provenance information recorded here.²

Our piece is an ancient plaster cast of a metal emblemata, or central medallion, modeled in high relief and originally would have decorated a larger luxury object, most likely fashioned of gilt silver, rather than bronze. The roughly circular cast measures 10.8 cm in height, 8.4 cm in width, and 3.6 cm in depth; it is broken off at the top and along the bottom edge, and a section is missing to the left of the figure's helmet. The cast's back is fairly flat and there are no suspension holes. In terms of makeup, technical analysis undertaken at the Museum revealed in the object the

* I would like to extend my gratitude to Maxwell Hearn and John Guy (Metropolitan Museum of Art) and to J. Michael Padgett (Princeton University Art Museum) for permission to publish objects in their care; to De Abramitis (Metropolitan Museum of Art) for the scientific analysis of the plaster cast; to Elizabeth Wahle (Somerville) for the drawing published here as fig. 2; to Jean-François Bouvier (Peseux), Jean-Pierre Montesino (Paris), and J. Robert Guy as well as Jean-David Cahn (Basel) for their help in establishing the collecting history of the plaster cast; to Kiki Karoglou (Metropolitan Museum of Art) for bibliographical assistance; and to Andrew Kepler (New York) for a critical reading of this paper.

1 Acc. No. 2012.385, Marguerite and Frank A. Cosgrove Fund, 2012.

2 Jean-Pierre Montesino kindly put me in touch with Professor Bouvier's son, Jean-François Bouvier, who wrote me (5 April 2012): "My father, Maurice Bouvier, was born in 1901. In 1929 he was taken on as a teacher at the College of Commerce, and later at the Law University in Alexandria. At the end of his contract in 1959 he bought a house in Switzerland, where he was to live until his death in 1981. Between 1940 and 1959 he became interested in antiques, and collected Coptic fabrics, Greek and Roman antiques, as well as a number of pharaonic objects. He started transferring his collection in 1952, sending objects to his brother in Lausanne, Switzerland. By the time he came to live in Switzerland in 1959, his whole collection had been shipped over, and once he settled in Switzerland my father bought no more antiques." Some of the Coptic and later textiles from the Bouvier Collection are published in Stauffer 1991 and in Cornu/Martiniani-Reber/Ritschard 1993.



Fig. 1: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 2012.385. Ancient plaster cast, seated deity.

presence of sulfur as well as calcium, consistent with gypsum plaster, with the addition of what appears to be fine sand.³

Depicted within a circular field, presumably the central medallion of a vessel such as a plate, deep bowl, or phiale, is a variant of the syncretistic deity Isis-Tyche. Winged and helmeted, she appears in three-quarter view to her right, her torso frontal and her head turned back to our left. Long side-locks of hair are dressed in corkscrew ringlets, a distinctive trait of the Egyptian goddess Isis. The deity is shown sitting atop a shield, pressing down her right hand against its offset rim for support. Within her left arm she carries a large cornucopia overflowing with nature's produce, a traditional symbol of abundance and a powerful image of wealth and prosperity well suited to ornament a luxury object. Isis-Tyche wears a heavy mantle that envelops her legs, its upper edge fashioned into a thick roll of cloth. Beneath this, she is dressed in a thin chiton whose folds are secured over her right shoulder in a typical Isis-knot (*katazosis*) leaving the breasts exposed. The lower legs of the figure are missing, and there is no trace of her right wing.

Tyche (Fortuna), the goddess of chance or luck, was regularly shown with a rudder and a cornucopia; in Ptolemaic Egypt she was often fused with Isis, whose characteristic knotted dress, corkscrew wig, and feathered sun-disc crown render her instantly

³ De Abramitis of the Museum's Department of Objects Conservation examined the plaster cast and analyzed it with non-invasive x-ray fluorescence. She noted traces of red color scattered in the interstices of the surface.



Fig. 2: Drawing of plaster cast, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. no. 2012.385.

recognizable.⁴ The iconography of the resulting syncretistic deity Isis-Tyche (or Isis-Fortuna) allows for numerous variations from the norm, but seldom in the bewildering combination attested in our plaster cast.⁵ What is arguably most intriguing about the iconography of our figure is that she looks remarkably like a seated Athena with her shield. To be sure, Athena normally sits with her shield resting against her side and not under her figure; in our piece the artist may have opted to show the goddess sitting on the shield in order to better accommodate the piece of armor within the circular composition of the emblema, as seems to have been the case on the bezel of a Classical Greek gold ring now in London.⁶ The cornucopia she carries belongs, of course, primarily to Tyche; and, both Greek Athena and Roman Fortuna can be depicted winged. The inclusion of the dress and wig of Isis, moreover, makes for a truly hybrid creation that seems to reflect a uniquely Ptolemaic Egyptian tradition. In fact, the closest iconographical parallels for the figure in our plaster cast are small Hellenistic terracotta clay sealings found at Cyrene and Delos, for the most part

⁴ For the iconography of Tyche, see most recently Matheson 1994; LIMC VIII (1997) 115–125, s.v. Tyche (L. Villard) and 125–141, s.v. Tyche/Fortuna (F. Rausa). For Isis, see especially Walters 1998; LIMC V (1990) 761–796, s.v. Isis (T. T. Tinh); Albersmeier 2004.

⁵ For Isis-Tyche/Fortuna, see especially Walters 1998, 13 n. 51; De Salvia 1987, 7–15 and n. 6; LIMC V (1990) 784–786 nos. 303–318, s.v. Isis (T. T. Tinh); Meyboom 1995, 90, 160, 210–211 n. 37, 319 n. 153.

⁶ London, British Museum R 52: LIMC II (1984) 976 no. 203, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); Boardman 2001, pl. 668.

unpublished. They depict a syncretistic Athena-Isis-Nike-Demeter and have been associated with Alexandria.⁷

The Metropolitan Museum's Greek and Roman collection includes three ancient plaster casts from Egypt purchased together in 1931 from the prominent Cairo dealer Maurice Nahman. They were promptly published and are by now reasonably well known,⁸ but another example at the Museum, a roundel with a charming purely Hellenistic scene of Aphrodite and Eros (fig. 3), was presented to the Department of Asian Art in 1996 and has not yet entered the Classical literature.⁹ Such plaster casts taken from Greek metalware have been found throughout the Hellenistic East, from Egypt to Afghanistan and the Black Sea regions. They were originally made familiar by two important ensembles that came to light last century: those found at Memphis in 1907 (now at the Hildesheim Pelizaeus Museum) and the group excavated at Begram (ancient Kapisa in present Afghanistan) in 1938 and in the early 1940s.¹⁰ To these two primary groups one must add countless individual examples in museums and private collections.¹¹ It would be both fascinating and useful to attempt a pictorial corpus of the relevant extant material, which seems to grow by the decade. There is no doubt that the casts served as artists' models for craftsmen working in every medium, not just bronze, silver, or gold.

Given how much precious ancient metalwork has been lost, these plaster impressions give us a valuable glimpse into the market of Hellenistic luxury goods as well as the history of collecting and copying in antiquity. Most scholars agree that the metal originals and presumably the plaster casts themselves were made in the Mediterranean region; easily transported and widely distributed, they facilitated the dissemination of Hellenistic decorative patterns throughout the ancient world and into some of its most distant lands.¹²

The plaster casts themselves are usually impossible to date with any degree of precision; in theory, they could have been manufactured soon after the production of their metal prototypes. One suspects, however, that most of them were made in late

7 LIMC II (1984) 981 no. 263, with references, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne), and 1044–1048, s.v. Athena (In Aegyptio) (H. Cassimatis). For Isis-Athena, see also Hölbl 1978, 63. For a Roman silver emblemata showing Isis-Fortuna-Athena, see Beningson/Coplin 2005, 33 (illustration).

8 Acc. nos. 31.11.15–17: Alexander 1932, 197–98; Richter 1953, nn. 71–72 pl. 109h; Richter 1958, 373 pl. 93 figs. 25–26.

9 Acc. no. 1996.472, Gift of Alexander Goetz, in honor of Samuel Eilenberg. Behrendt 2007, 11 fig. 6.

10 Richter 1958, with earlier literature, to which add: Blome 1977, 43–53; Reinsberg 1980, Thompson 1984; Menninger 1996, reviewed by Whitehouse 1998; Pfrommer 1996, 175–77; Hiebert/Cambon 2008, 140–141, 182–185.

11 See, for example, Richter 1960; Thompson 1964; Reinsberg 1980, *passim*, with numerous individual entries; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1984. For clay impressions of ancient metalwork, see also Williams 1976.

12 See especially Whitehouse 1998, 640.



Fig. 3: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1996.472. Ancient plaster cast, Aphrodite and Eros.



Fig. 4: Princeton University Art Museum, acc. no. y1948–52. Ancient plaster cast, seated male warrior, and trophy.

Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial times, when interest in and demand for earlier Greek luxury works were at their peak. Leaving aside the chronology of the casts themselves, we can attempt to date the prototypes reflected in the plaster creations. In terms of style, one of the closest parallels for our syncretistic deity is the figure on a fine almond-shaped plaster relief in Princeton (fig. 4), a cast from the metal nose-piece of a horse's bridle (*prometopedion*).¹³ Represented is a male nude warrior seated before a tall anthropomorphic trophy, surrounded by other armor, and shown in a dynamic pose comparable to that of our Ptolemaic goddess; curiously, he too sits atop a shield, even as his left arm rests on a second upright shield. The prototype of the Princeton relief has been assigned to the third or the second century BCE. I would endorse the same general date for the metal emblema reproduced in our ancient plaster cast. Some specialists might venture a more specific date, but I believe the evidence presently at hand hardly warrants such accuracy. And, I would like to think that Alan Shapiro would agree: far more fruitful to publish the unknown than to argue what cannot be readily confirmed.

13 Princeton University Art Museum, acc. no. y1948-52; Richter 1959; *Selections from The Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton 1986) 31 (illus.); Reinsberg 1980, 124-125, 209-210, 344 fig. 103; Rabe 2008, 133, 189-190 no. 77 pl. 42.3. The back of the plaster cast bears an incised inscription which has been variously dated to Hellenistic or to Hadrianic times: Raubitschek 1959, 60; and notes on the Princeton Museum's object card.

Claudia Zatta

The Non-Human Paradox: Being Political in Aristotle's Zoology

When in Aristophanes' *Birds* Peisetairos proposes to found a city of birds, his plan is less outlandish than one may think at first. A walled city suspended on air certainly belongs to a comical utopia. And so does an avian population which is so diverse that wild birds coexist with domestic, carnivorous with non. In Cloud-cuckoo-land, hawks and eagles live together with geese and ducks and form a community, which, despite its composite nature, is able to communicate through the mastery of a common language, Greek. And yet, at the core, Peisetairos' utopia expands on a feature of animal life, which in the course of Greek literature both poets and philosophers have recognized, to a different degree and from diverse perspectives. Animals are supposedly "political." Homer, for instance, evokes it when describing the action of the Greek army: the soldiers are in turn like swarms of clustering bees or flocks of cranes, swans, and geese that land on the meadow by the Scamander River.¹ Synchronized, coordinated movement, a shared direction and purpose are the pivots around which these Homeric similes between humans and animals turn. In Plato's *Phaedo*, in contrast, Socrates claims that men who have followed the social and political virtues of moderation, *sophrōsunē*, and justice, *dikaiosunē*, by nature and habit, and not by reason, will be reincarnated as bees, ants, and wasps, gentle and political species, *politika genē* – he adds.² Indirectly, here Socrates lets us understand that these animals form communities that function on the same principles as human ones. The only difference with men, though, is that non-human animals do not enact any choice and live unaware of the virtues, which cement their community and in which each member of the group spontaneously partakes. For them being "political" is an existential mode that is inborn, and practiced and reinforced through habit. Aristotle also famously discusses the topic of political animals, this time in an explicit way, though, and unlike Homer or Socrates, elaborating on the difference that separates humans from the other animals. In a well-known passage of *Politics* he states:³

And why man is a political animal, *politikon zōon*, in a greater measure than any bee or any gregarious animal is clear. For nature, as we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man alone of the animals possesses speech, *logos*. The mere voice, it is true, can indicate, *esti sēmeion*, pain and pleasure, and therefore is possessed by the other animals as well (for their nature has been developed so far as to have sensations of what is painful and pleasant and to signify,

¹ See, respectively, Homer, *Il.* 2.87–94 and 459–463.

² Plato, *Phd.* 82a–b.

³ Aristotle, *Pol.* 1253a2–20, trans. by H. Rackham with slight modifications.

sēmainein, those sensations to one another), but speech is designated to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong; for it is the special property of man in distinction from the other animals that he alone has perception of good and bad and right and wrong and the other moral qualities, and it is partnership in these things that makes a household and a polis.

From this passage, we understand that man is one of the political animals, but occupies a unique position among the other fellows on account of his mastery of articulate speech, *logos*, and the resulting recognition of good and bad, and right and wrong. The possession of these talents enables him, alone among bees and the other unidentified political fellows, to give rise to household and polis. Such an account contains, however, the seeds of an apparent contradiction. How is it possible to call animals other than man “political” if indeed only humans live in poleis? And further, given that *politikos* defines animals also in Aristotle’s zoology, how do we explain the introduction of a man-generated concept into it? For a long time scholarship has dealt with this paradox. On the one side, the answer has been to take the use of *politikos* in the context of non-human animals as a metaphorical extension of the term and to make it indicate membership “to a polis-like association.” In this case, “political” has been intended to describe a quintessential feature that all political animals, humans included, partake, namely the engaging as a community in a common activity.⁴ On the other side, however, *politikos* has been considered a matter of degree: some animals are more political than others, and man in particular is most political of them all.⁵ Consequently, scholarly attention has been directed at using Aristotle’s ethics to understand the source, and manifestation of the distinctly “political” in the context of the human animal, giving voice to that “more” that distinguishes it. Under the influence of reason, and the possibility of choice, humans are claimed to experience the “political” in ways other animals cannot: in “consciously pursued gain,” the “latitude and indeterminacy” of their behavior, the “combination of reason and passions” and the role of spiritedness, *thumos*, and, again, in the presence of civic friendship or the “reasonable perception” of interest.⁶

This essay takes a different direction and aims, instead, at exploring the particular lives of non-human political animals in Aristotle’s zoological treatises. It does not focus on the more that qualifies the human experience of the “political,” thereby letting emerge by contrast the negative difference that marks the non-human animals. The other animals, I claim, are not just simply less political than humans. Nor does this essay merely pinpoint the common denominator of all political animals in a common activity that each kind undertakes as a group. Cooperation is, in fact, a basic

⁴ Mulgan 1974, 439.

⁵ Depew 1995, 162–163 n.16.

⁶ See respectively Kullmann 2005, 99–102; Lord 1991, 57–60; Cooper 2005, 74–80; and Salkever 2005, 40.

starting point in this discussion as we will soon see,⁷ but does not exhaust the manifestation of the “political” among non-human animals. This paper aims, instead, at identifying those actions, practices, and modes of interaction – both within a group of non-human animals and in turn of the group itself with the environment – that enable each kind of non-human political animals to step up so close to humans; ultimately, it explores the possibility whether non-human political animals may, in fact, embody other models of the “political.” Whatever we will discover in this respect, their being “political” will acquire a clearer and more tangible sense than it previously has, as it will emerge not from the perspective of what animals lack *vis-à-vis* their fellow humans, which was, in part, Aristotle's perspective and that of his modern interpreters, but rather in spite of it.

The political life of fellow animals

In the context of non-human animals, *politikos* has been usually translated as social. Saunders, for instance, claims that it is absurd to call non-human animals political.⁸ But, of course, the degree of absurdity depends on the semantic boundaries we set for this concept, whether, for instance, we make it strictly identify with the urban setting of the polis, its institutions, and the status of being a citizen, or we assign to it a broader definition. In the context of non-human animals, “political” seems still to be an acceptable and more appropriate translation for *politikos* than social, if we consider that in his zoological treatises Aristotle engages in a systematic study of all living beings, *zōa*, from the point of view of the most complete creature, man.⁹ His analysis takes shape as an ongoing comparison between animals and their fellow humans in terms of anatomy, physiology, ways of life, dispositions, and activities.¹⁰ Thus, when Aristotle speaks of political animals, humans included, the accent is on their political life, *zēn*, which may or may not strictly take place in the polis. Or, stated in other words, the human polis may well present a distillation of the “political,” but this can be recreated and lived under different forms in other environments. And so the point, I argue, is not that of denying a political life to non-human animals, but to understand how, and even where, it takes place.

A passage in *History of Animals* has often been taken to illuminate the elusive remarks on bees and non-human political animals we found in *Politics*. Aristotle introduces other members of the group: ants, wasps, and cranes. At the same time, he also provides a general classification of all living creatures in terms of their ways of

⁷ See below.

⁸ Saunders 1995, 69. See Cooper who stresses that only here, unlike other passages mentioning *politikos*, the idea of the polis or citizenship is absent (2005, 68), but *contra* Mulgan (1974, 439).

⁹ Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 608b4–8; cf. Vegetti 1993, 127–128.

¹⁰ Dumont 2001, 219.

life, *bioi*. From it we understand that animals live either alone, *monadika*, or in groups, *agelaia*, or politically, *politika*.¹¹

Here are some further differences with respect to animals' manner of life, *bioi*, and activities, *praxeis*. Some are gregarious, *agelaia*, some solitary, *monadika*: this applies to footed animals, winged ones, and swimmers alike. Some of the gregarious animals are 'political,' *politika*, whereas others are more dispersed. Examples of the gregarious animals are: birds – the pigeon class, the crane, the swan (no crook-taloned bird is gregarious); swimmers – many groups of fishes, e.g. those called migrants, *dromadas*, the tunnies, the pelamy, and the bonito. And man dualizes, *emphaterizein*. The political animals, *politika*, are those which have some one common activity, *koinon*; and this is not true of all gregarious animals. Examples of social animals are man, bees, wasps, ants, cranes. Some of them live under a ruler, *up' egemona*, some have no ruler, *anarcha*; examples, cranes and bees live under a ruler, ants and innumerable others live not, *anarcha*.

The key to a political life is to undertake a common activity. And since working together requires physical proximity, humans, bees, wasps, ants, and cranes constitute, in fact, a subgroup of the gregarious animals. The type of work, *ergon*, non-human animals attend to may vary, but, as the examples cited below indicate, it is directed to the welfare of the community.¹² Bees form the most complex community; their activities center around the production and preservation of food, and the foundation of colonies, requiring different forms of interaction: from the construction of their dwelling place and the protection of it to the many complementary tasks that lead to the production of honey. Among the non-human animals, Aristotle observes, bees are the only ones that produce their food, for they feed on honey.¹³ Ants cooperate to collect food and store it in a place underground prepared to that effect, while wasps construct their nest together.¹⁴ Cranes, on the other hand, cooperate in the migration they undertake every year to find a more livable habitat, from the Scythian plains in the far North to the marshes above Egypt in the South.¹⁵ Called in Euripides "partners of the racing clouds,"¹⁶ cranes fly very high in order to command a wide view, and if they see clouds and stormy weather they fly down and rest, observes Aristotle.¹⁷ Aelian, on the other hand, comments on the geometrical shape of

11 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 1487b33–488a11, trans. by A. L. Peck with slight modifications.

12 *Contra* Cooper for whom non-human animals as well as human ones "live together in cooperative communities in which each benefits from the work of the others as well as from his own," but only humans work together for the good of the community (2005, 79).

13 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 623b18–20.

14 See respectively Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 623b13–14 and 628a13–15. In the case of wasps, it should be remarked, it is a specific category – that of "leaders" – within the larger group which attend to the construction of the "wasperies." For a discussion of bees, wasps, and ants, their lives and varieties, in the ancient sources at large, see Beavis 1988, 187–217.

15 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 597a5–7.

16 Euripides, *Hel.* 1487–1488.

17 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 614b19–22.

their flight, for us a visual expression of their ability to undertake a common activity: "They form an acute-angled triangle so that when they take to the air they may cleave it and most easily complete their journey."¹⁸ Among the birds their migration is the longest one as it extends from *eschata* to *eschata*, furthest points to farthest points.¹⁹ And it may be perhaps on account of this that in his list of political animals Aristotle mentions only the cranes among the migratory species. For in moving between extreme areas of the world cranes are the most representative of a successful, yet highly challenging, joint enterprise.

The *History of Animals* presents other migratory animals: not only birds like pelicans, quails, wood pigeons, and turtle-doves,²⁰ but also fish. For instance, the coly-mackerel spends the summer in the Propontis and winter in the Aegean, while the majority of shoaling and gregarious fish migrate for the summer into the Pontus because it is richer in food, inhabited by fewer predators, and the water is fresh.²¹ These fishes could nevertheless continue to live in the Aegean, but the ecosystem provided by the Pontus offers them a better life, in the form of less risk, more nourishment, and an easier process of procreation and offspring sustenance. From this it becomes clear that the common activity, which the non-human political animals undertake, allows them not only to survive, but also, in specific instances, to live better. And it is in this search for, and attainment of, a better life as a community that these species experience the "political" of their human fellows. For it should be recalled that the polis came into being not for the survival of humans, which was already provided by families and villages, but for a good life, *eu zēn*.²² At the same time, however, unlike humans, animals can lead a good life and be happy independently of being part of a political community.²³ Aristotle mentions animals that live well, *eubiota*, an adjective that, as Balme remarks, seems to denote more than food supply, but rather suggests a "successful life in the surroundings."²⁴ Inhabitants of aquatic or mountainous environments alike, the animals with a good life are all birds: the anthos, swan, brinthos, trochilos, the so-called sippe, and the kerthios. Their good life is accompanied in turn by different attributes: the beauty of their colorful plumage, the ability to sing, ingenuity, prolificacy, a good nature or one prone to fight, intelligence, and especially good parenting.²⁵ *Euteknos*, for instance, occurs in

18 Aelian, *NA* 3, 13.

19 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 597a30–32; cf. Herodotus, 2.2; Oppian, *H.* 1.621. On cranes' migration, see also Arnott 2007, 52–53.

20 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 597a9–597b30.

21 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 598a24–598b6.

22 Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 1252b30–31.

23 Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* 1253a25–29 where Aristotle claims that a human being that is unable to enter in a partnership or does not need to do it because he is self-sufficient is either a beast, *thērion*, or a god, *theos*.

24 Balme 1991, 227, a.

25 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 609b19, 615a16, 18; 616b10, 616b23, 616b29.

the context of the good life of multiple animals: swans, sippes, and phenes.²⁶ This last bird, says Aristotle, brings home dinner, *deipnophoros*, and even rears, *ektrephein*, besides its own youths, those which the eagles throw out of their nest.²⁷

The plasticity of the political animals

But apart from their ability to cooperate, non-human political animals share also a sense of space as a community. They identify spatially. In the case of bees, wasps, and ants their common activity centers around a settlement, which the community builds, uses, and inhabits. Political animals are able to carve out in nature an animal-made environment. Thus, as humans live and cooperate in the polis, so bees do in the hive – or honeycombs –, ants in underground colonies, and wasps in combs. Aristotle does not give many details about ants. He labels them with the bees as the most industrious, *ergatikōtata*, of insected animals,²⁸ so much so that they even work at night, if the moon is full.²⁹ And he mentions their action of unearthing the soil.³⁰ As for wasps, at the onset of summer they “choose a place with a good look-out and start fashioning the combs” which will keep growing in number as the procreation by the mother wasps takes place inside them.³¹ Feeding and food provision also happen there. The bees, on the other hand, construct the wax combs of their hive as if weaving a web. Starting from the top and working downward they build adjacent areas for different dwellers, working bees, kings, and drones.³² To prevent the infiltration of other creatures they fortify the floor with the gummy substance they draw from flowers and especially trees, and they narrow the entrances.³³ Their life centers on the hive, which is a place for dwelling, generation, feeding, honey production, and storage and which, as humans do with their polis, bees eagerly defend. Already Homer, in book 12 of the *Iliad*, presents a simile with bees fighting by “their homes” against hunters³⁴ and Aristotle adds that, while outside they do not attack other animals, in proximity of the hive bees become very fierce and kill anyone they would overcome.³⁵ The *Greek Anthology* even preserves for us the name of a misfortunate baby, Hermonax, who was stung to death by the bees once the little creature

26 See respectively Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 615a32, 616b23, 619b23.

27 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 619b23–27.

28 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 622b19–20.

29 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 622b27–28.

30 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 629a7–9.

31 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 628a12–19.

32 On the architecture of the hive and its areas devoted to host different grades of bees, see Aelian, *NA* 1.59.

33 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 623b30–33.

34 Homer, *Il.* 12.167–182.

35 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 626a15–18.

crept too close to a hive.³⁶ Bees attacking men that intrude into their territory are indeed protagonists of two black-figured vases. In the first, an Attic amphora from Vulci now in the British Museum and dated to 550–500 BCE, four naked men are surrounded by a swarm of bees, with some insects in the act of stinging them, others ready to.³⁷ The human characters have been identified as Laios, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios who unsuccessfully attempted to steal the honey from the cave on Mount Ida where the infant Zeus dwelled in his early age under the care of bees.³⁸ In this scene, the bees encircle the human frames from head to toe as to impede the intruders from moving further so as to immobilize them. Two men are attempting to defend themselves with branches, but the bees' attack seems to extend hyperbolically to the improvised weapons as well. A third man, depicted frontally, crouches in surrender while another on the far right is holding with both hands a honeycomb and licks the honey out of it. The scene may well carry some visual humor,³⁹ but at the same time it also effectively portrays the determination and cohesion that cement a community of bees. These political animals are able to unleash a compact and well-calibrated attack against the human intruders dividing into subgroups, each one with its own specific human target. Another Attic black-figured amphora, now in the Museum of Basel and also dated to 550–500 BCE, presents a similar scene, but with only three men (fig. 1).⁴⁰ Now one of the men is carrying an amphora likely with the intention of storing the honey. The landscape has changed. There is a tree on which what seems to be a swaddling cloth hangs. Not merely ornamental details, the tree and swaddling cloth help identify the scene as another representation of the honey-hunting men in the cave on Mount Ida.⁴¹ Interestingly, the other side of the amphora presents a battle scene with humans (fig. 2). A female figure, probably the goddess Athena, stands at the center of the scene while at her sides a couple of warriors is involved in a duel. In each case one of the fighting warriors is succumbing. Thus, both sides of this amphora capture a moment in fighting when balance between the two parties is broken and one adversary is overcoming the other. Yet, whereas side A stages individuals one fighting the other, side B multiplies the fighting parties, and substitutes one of the human combatants with a sub-swarm of bees, each sub-swarm

36 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 626a16–18; cf. also 626b12–16; *Anthologia Graeca* 9.302; 9.548.

37 London, British Museum B177: BAPD 4330.

38 The myth of the honey-hunting men appears only in a later version, a fable by Antoninus Liberalis (19). On the early identification of the characters on the amphora, see Cook 1895, 2.

39 Mitchell 2009, 148–149.

40 Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Z 364: BAPD 340559.

41 In Hyginus (*Fab.* 139) the goat Amaltheia hang the infant Zeus on a tree so that Kronos could not find him neither in the sky nor in the earth nor in the sea while a single tree stood in front of the Idean cave (Theophrastos, *Hist. pl.* 3.34; Pliny, *HN* 16.110); see LIMC Suppl. (2009) Add. 31–32, s.v. Aigolios (F. Caruso).



Fig. 1: Bees attacking men, Attic black-figure amphora (side B), Z 364, Antikenmuseums Basel und Sammlung Ludwig/A. Voegelin, Basel.



Fig. 2: Fighting warriors with female figure (probably the goddess Athena), Attic black-figure amphora (side A), Z 364, Antikenmuseums Basel und Sammlung Ludwig/A. Voegelin, Basel.

in turn being part of a larger whole. Once again, like in the amphora at the British Museum, the bees' common activity is strikingly apparent.

If bees along with wasps and ants share a spatial identity, cranes do not. Their inclusion in the list of political animals, Richard Mulgan remarks, makes clear that in order to be "political" non-human animals do not need "permanent territorial unity"⁴² since these birds, one of the four species cited in *History of Animals*, migrate between North and South and do not live in a compact settlement. Cranes are "political" on account of their organized navigation across continents as a group. It is tempting then to consider them and other migratory animals as the ultimate embodiment in the realm of zoology of that precept of Athenian ideology⁴³ – later endorsed by Aristotle – that as long as they existed as a community of men the Athenians existed as a polis,

⁴² Mulgan 1974, 439.

⁴³ On this claim voiced by Nikias during the expedition in Sicily (Thucydides 7.77.7) and its endorsement by different Athenians politicians, see Zatta 2011, 341–344.

no matter how far they were from the space of their city or whether it be destroyed.⁴⁴ For the Athenians, however, this deracinated mode of political life could only be temporary, and lived out in a time of extreme danger, while for migratory animals like cranes it is a permanent condition of their political life. And, it should be remarked, this ability of cranes to feel and act like a community, independently of a sense of place, transpires well from the myth, already present in Homer, narrating their fight against the pigmies upon their arrival onto the Southern lands of Egypt.⁴⁵

Cooperation with an eye to the community welfare, a sense of spatial identity, or, by contrast, the ability to survive and even live well independently of it, however, are not the only elements that characterize the lives of non-human political animals. There is one more fundamental element, which Aristotle provides but which does not seem to have received adequate attention in subsequent studies. Political animals are considered also in terms of power, *archē*. For some of them are under a ruler, *up' ēgemonā*, others "anarchical," *anarcha*. Bees, wasps, and cranes, along with man, belong to the first subgroup, while the "anarchical" one comprises ants and innumerable other animals. In power-structured communities leaders are in charge of activities on behalf of all the other members. For instance, in the case of wasps it is the leaders who decide where to establish the nest. A leader directs the cranes in their migrations and, when they settle, keeps guard while the other fellows are sleeping. Subordinate to the leaders, but still playing a special role in the community of cranes are the "signalers" which whistle among the last birds of the flock so that everybody may hear their cry and not get lost.⁴⁶ Bees offer an interesting scenario of leadership, and class division in general. Aristotle reports that different *genē* of bees coexist in the same community: working bees, drones, leaders, and thieves,⁴⁷ each playing a definite, irreversible role. It is the leaders, at times called kings, *basileis*, who lead out the swarms. Without leaders swarms do not fly, and, in the event a leader dies, sooner or later the swarm, which was under him, perishes too.⁴⁸ Thus, for political animals living in a power structure, leadership cannot be easily replaced and the absence of a leader results in the destruction of the community. When not fulfilling their tasks, the leaders remain in their combs letting the regular bees attend to their differentiated work in the chain of honey production.⁴⁹ And yet, despite occupying a position of

44 This precept proved to be true when, in 480 BCE, facing the Persian invasion, the Athenians abandoned their polis to fight the enemy from the fleet (Herodotus 7.141–143; 8.41; 8.61).

45 Homer, *Il.* 3.3–7.

46 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 614b22–27. Aelian makes this hierarchy coincide with different generational layers in the community: "To lead their flight they appoint those that have already had experience of the journey; these would naturally be the older birds, and they select others of the same age to bring up the rear, while the young ones are ranged in their midst" (NA 3.13, trans. by A. F. Schofield).

47 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 624b22–27.

48 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 624a27–34.

49 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 624a26–27.

privilege and prestige – one would think – the leaders are still subjected to the crude control of the community. If there are too many of them or if they lead the swarm astray, the other bees kill them. Superfluity of roles and mistakes are fatal. Death is the penalty also for the thieves caught in the act of stealing the honey, or when trapped in a comb and unable to leave because they ate in excess. If there is a shortage of honey, bees will not only expel, or presumably kill, the drones, but will also destroy their combs.⁵⁰ When food is abundant, however, drones are taken care of and fed because their parasitic presence – observes Aristotle later on – increases the bees' productivity and the health of the hive.⁵¹ Bees, then, may not possess articulate speech, but this does not imply that, as it was stated in the *Politics*, they do not have a sense of right and wrong. Whoever undermines the good of the community, on account of theft or bad leadership or simply superfluous presence, is physically eliminated. And the job must be clean. Bees do not like to kill inside the hive, and if this perchance happens they soon dispose of the corpse of the victim.⁵²

What is surprising in Aristotle's distinction between political animals under a leader and those without, at least from the point of view of the "political" for man, is not so much that animals cooperate and live successfully in a power structure, but that they are able to do so in a condition of anarchy. And so the point is not, as Mulgan notices, that for animals other than man "having rulers and subjects is not essential (many political animals have no rulers),"⁵³ but rather that animals may be successfully political and undertake a common work for the good of the community even *without* leaders. And it is that *without* which contributes to the positive difference that distinguishes the other political animals from man. Unfortunately, in Aristotle's treatises we do not find further comments on the anarchy of the ants nor do we know which other innumerable political animals are "anarchical."⁵⁴ We can still infer, however, by contrast with the role of leaders in the communities of bees, wasps, and cranes, that among ants the choice for a colony location and foundation as well as the path followed to bring the food home, are all the product of a collective mind rather than that of individual members taking charge.

Conclusion

To conclude, from this analysis emerges a rich and differentiated scenario for the expression of the "political." Animals are political because, in the same way as man, they undertake a common activity for the well-being of their community, whether

50 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 625a15–25.

51 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 627b9–10.

52 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 625a33–35.

53 Mulgan 1974, 439.

54 For a discussion of Aristotle's position on anarchism in human society, see Keyt 1993, 133–152.

through the production, and/or storage of food or a successful navigation across continents and adjacent seas. However, the way and circumstances in which this common activity is accomplished varies from species to species and, even transcends, at times, the possibility to experience the “political” available to man. To a certain degree, bees, ants, and wasps may well embody the same model at work for humans. Like their biped fellow, they live and act together in an environment they created, sharing an identity based on the inhabited space. Bees go as far as to attack fiercely any intruder, and when threatened by other bees they even acknowledge a silent alliance with the beekeeper that has come in their help and do not sting him.⁵⁵ But some of the non-human political animals stretch the boundaries of the “political” and are able to feel and act like a community without territorial identity. They live ordinarily a political life that humans may sustain only in extraordinary times. So it happens to cranes and all the other migratory animals, fish included. Likewise, while the political life of non-human animals may take place in a power structure, the distribution of power defeats human expectations. Those in authority like the kings of the bees can be demoted and immediately annihilated if they do not serve well their subordinates or if they create confusion. At the same time, also a homogeneous community like that of the ants transcends the possibility for the “political” available to humans: without leaders taking charge, without power structure, ants form a disciplined and cooperative society when for men living in a similar situation we would expect only chaos and disunion. This ability to be successfully political in conditions when humans could not – without good leaders, without territorial identity, and power structure, and, ultimately, in all cases without *logos* – represents that positive difference mentioned at the beginning of this essay that separates non-human political animals from their human fellows. Internally regulated, and seemingly always functional, the communities of non-human animals lead a life that, in its self-perpetuation, is close to that ideal, changeless condition portrayed by the exemplary polis of Plato's *Republic*, but this time without the sophistry of a noble lie.⁵⁶

55 Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 626b13–16.

56 Plato, *Resp.* 414e–415c.

Ch. Brian Rose

Are We Rome?*

The year 2007 witnessed the publication of a book entitled *Are We Rome*, wherein the author, Cullen Murphy, cited a host of political, economic, and social similarities between Imperial Rome and early twenty-first-century America.¹ Both were presented, in essence, as multicultural empires with overstretched militaries, unstable borders, and hubristic leaders in both politics and economics.

To encapsulate these proposed similarities between Rome and America, Murphy selected for the book's cover an image of Horatio Greenough's 1840 statue of George Washington (color fig. 45). Although the model for the statue is the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, the imagery that surrounds it is evocative of Roman Imperial iconography developed 2,000 years ago.² Washington's raised right hand, pointing at heaven, is juxtaposed with a lowered left hand holding a sheathed sword with the hilt extended toward the viewer. His throne is flanked by reliefs featuring Helios in his quadriga and the infant Herakles strangling the snakes sent by Hera, while two small figures atop the rear of the throne symbolize Europe and Native America – the two principal components of early American society.

All of these motifs, or at least the concepts behind them, can easily be documented in Imperial Rome. Solar imagery figured prominently in the monuments of Augustus, Nero, and Constantine, among others, as did Herakles during the reigns of Commodus and the Tetrarchs.³ The two figurines personifying the lands on either side of the Atlantic are reminiscent of the eastern and western figures who so often signified the extent of the Roman empire,⁴ and the position of the sheathed sword with extended handle was used repeatedly in Rome as a signal that war had ended, as was the spear held upside down. Even the heavenly gesture is a modified *adlocutio*, such as one sees on the Primaporta Augustus, and it was no doubt intended to counterbalance the Jupiter body type into which Washington's head was inserted.

Greenough's statue of Washington is one of many images of modern leaders that draw upon imagery, primarily sculptural, that was first developed for the Roman emperors, and my intention in this article is to bring together these two categories of

* Alan Shapiro's scholarship has often focused on the intersection of ancient art and politics, thereby providing a compelling yet flexible model for those of us who regularly write about political imagery. With that in mind, I have attempted in this article to view the ruler cult of the last two centuries through the lens of antiquity, in the hope that Professor Shapiro will view it as complementary to his own research. For assistance in the preparation of this article, I thank Barbara Burrell.

1 Murphy 2007.

2 Goode 2008, 746–747.

3 Bergmann 1994, 1998; Marlowe 2006; Stafford 2012, 150–156.

4 Kuttner 1995, 99–117; Rose 2005, 40–42.



Fig. 1: Coin of Metellus Macedonicus with the head of Roma, 125 BCE.
After Kent 1978, pl. 12.36.

monuments, highlighting the symbols of power that defined the Roman Imperial presence and then examining the adaptive reuse of those symbols in modern political iconography, not just in America, but with examples drawn from across the globe.

The first issue to be addressed is one of identity: what were the distinguishing attributes of the anthropomorphized Rome in antiquity, and how did they change as the empire grew to encompass the entire Mediterranean? The first images of Roma appear to have been created during the war with Pyrrhos of Epiros in the early third century BCE, when she appeared on Roman coinage wearing a Phrygian cap (fig. 1).⁵

That cap had developed into a sign of Trojan status during the Classical period, and the coins were clearly intended to convey Rome's acknowledgement of her Trojan ancestry, which appears to have been established by the end of the fourth century BCE.⁶ That ancestral claim was sufficiently well known by 280 BCE that it played a prominent role in Pyrrhos of Epiros' propaganda during his war with the Romans.⁷ It looks as if Pyrrhos regarded the conflict as a second Trojan War and accordingly struck coins that bore the images of his alleged Greek ancestors, Achilles and Thetis. The coins of Roma in a Phrygian cap were struck immediately after the victory over Pyrrhos, and it is difficult to view the iconography as anything other than a response to Pyrrhos' propaganda and Rome's newly established link to Troy.

The Phrygian cap continued to be worn by Roma until the issues of 225–217 BCE, when she received an Attic helmet, although she continued to appear with a Phrygian cap on occasion through the second century BCE.⁸ It was at this time that Rome became a more active and influential player in the internal affairs of Greece, and the type of Roma in an Attic helmet may have been regarded as a more modish image.

⁵ LIMC Suppl. (1997), 1050 no. 11, s.v. Roma (E. Di Filippo Balestrazzi); Crawford 1974, nos. 19.2, 21.1, 22.1, 24.1, 27.5; Schneider 1986, 123–124 n. 866.

⁶ Miller 1995.

⁷ Pausanias 1.12.1; Gruen 1990, 12.

⁸ Crawford 1974, nos. 35.6, 38.6, 38.8, 41.1, 41.10, 269.1, 288.

When the first public statues of Roma were erected during the early first century BCE, this was most likely the type that was employed.⁹

As the political and social configuration of the empire grew more complex, so too did the iconography of Roma, even within the same city, as is demonstrated by three examples from Aphrodisias in southwest Turkey. On the early Imperial Zoilos monument she was represented as an Amazon; on one of the relief panels of the late Julio-Claudian Sebasteion she was dressed in a cuirass, while a neighboring panel presented her in a modified Venus Genetrix type, although with a polos.¹⁰ Such a variety of types for a single personification at a single site within a single century illustrates how multifaceted the empire's identity had become, and the same would be true for other national personifications, both ancient and modern.

Missing in all three of the aforementioned examples as well as in others of Imperial date is the Phrygian cap, whose emphatic link to Parthian identity precluded its use on Roma's head in images of Imperial date. Nevertheless, the cap would continue to enjoy a long history in depictions of western national identity, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The period immediately after the French Revolution witnessed the creation of Marianne, the personification of France, who was generally shown wearing a Phrygian cap or lifting one up on a spear.¹¹ Whether the cap was intended to evoke the freedman's hat of Republican Rome or the Trojan ancestry to which the French laid claim, or both, cannot be determined with certainty; but immediately thereafter the cap was integrated into the iconography of Columbia, the personification of the U.S., who also represented the concept of American liberty until she was supplanted by the Statue of Liberty around 1920 (color fig. 46).¹²

The American appropriation of the cap as a symbol of its national identity is not especially surprising in light of the decision to co-opt the eagle of Jupiter as a national emblem, as well as such terms as "Senate" and "Capitol." In so doing, the portrait of the new personification of America matched that of the earliest images of Roma, and cemented the links between the two republics even though the images in question were separated by two millennia.¹³

When the Statue of Liberty began to eclipse Columbia as an emblem of America, the cap gave way to a radiate crown, and solar imagery consequently became an integral part of the visual embodiment of American freedom.¹⁴ The link between solar

⁹ Mellor 1978; Reusser 1993, 138–158 and 1995, 251; Hölscher 1988, 384–386.

¹⁰ LIMC IV (1988) 174 no. 33, s.v. Ge (M. B. Moore); Reynolds 1981, 323 no. 7; Smith 1993, 43–45 pl. 19; Rose 2005, 25–27.

¹¹ Agulhon 1981.

¹² Stewart 1945, 171–174, 286–288; Goode 2008, 147, 297.

¹³ The cap was subsequently used for the personification of a host of central and South American nations (e.g., Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, and Haiti) as a generic symbol of liberty, but not for those that claimed Trojan descent, such as Italy, Britain, or Denmark.

¹⁴ Trachtenberg 1977.

crowns and political power can also be traced back to antiquity, and specifically to the numismatic and sculptural portraits of Hellenistic and Roman rulers. Antiochos of Commagene (69–38 BCE) and the emperor Nero (54–69 CE) both appeared in reliefs with Helios, who was later regularly referred to in numismatic legends as the *comes* or companion of the emperors: *solī invicto comiti*.¹⁵

The most egregious example of a conflation between the emperor and the sun was the gilded bronze Colossus of Nero, which very likely reached the same height as the Colossus of Rhodes (ca. 31.5 m), thereby inviting the spectator to view the two images of Helios in the same conceptual sphere.¹⁶ The head of the Colossus was framed by a radiate crown and reportedly bore the portrait features of Nero himself (fig. 2), which effectively transformed the earlier representations shared by Nero and Helios into a single image.¹⁷

That link was intensified in late antiquity when Constantine situated his triumphal arch next to the Colossus and oriented it in such a way that the head of the Colossus served as a backdrop for the emperor's quadriga above the arch.¹⁸ Since the Colossus and the Constantinian quadriga both faced south and served as the area's most eye-catching gilded bronzes, the figures of Helios and the emperor would have seemed to blend together as the day progressed.

There is only one modern comparandum wherein the statue of a ruler occupies a similarly emphatic solar context: not in America, but in Turkmenistan, in the capital city of Ashgabad. The monument in question is a three-legged arch (the "Neutrality Arch") that supports a 12 m high gold plated statue of the country's recently deceased ruler, Saparmurat Atayevich Niyazov, also known as Turkmenbasi (color fig. 47).¹⁹ The base of the statue is motorized, allowing the statue to rotate during the course of the day so that his outstretched arms always face the sun. Although Turkmenbasi's statue was not as tall as the Roman Colossus, the mechanization created an even more prominent solar context for the ruler's image. Similar ideas can be found in Iraqi ruler iconography, where a few of Saddam Hussein's posters featured him and the attributes of fertility framed by the rays of the sun, but no one stretched the link as far as Turkmenbasi.²⁰

The other egregious feature of Nero's Colossus is its monumentality, a common technique used to convey the ruler's superhuman status during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.²¹ Often these monumental images were erected in or near a temple,

¹⁵ Bergmann 1994, 1998; Hijmans 1996; Reynolds 1981, 324; Halsberghe 1984.

¹⁶ Albertson 2002.

¹⁷ Bergmann 1994, 1998.

¹⁸ Marlowe 2006.

¹⁹ Gorst 2010.

²⁰ Turkmenbasi died in 2007, and the statue was subsequently dismantled and moved to the suburbs of Ashgabad, where it was rededicated in 2010. The statue no longer rotates.

²¹ Kreikenbom 1992.



Fig. 2: Reconstruction of the Colossus of Nero in Rome, by Marianne Bergmann. After Bergmann 1994, fig. 10.

such as Venus Genetrix in Rome, Augustus and Roma in Lepcis Magna, or Artemis at Sardis, where the statues of ruler and god appear to have been of comparable sizes. Such images were less frequently erected at sites beyond the confines of a city or sanctuary, but there were, of course, exceptions, or at least exceptional plans that were never executed.

The most famous of these is related by Vitruvius, Strabo, and Plutarch, among others, who describe the project of an architect named Deinokrates that involved shaping Mt. Athos into a colossal image of Alexander.²² The plans never left the drawing board, but two comparable twentieth century monuments, which were in fact brought

²² Brown 1981; Stewart 1993, 28–29 T132–138.

to completion, provide a sense of how Deinokrates' monument might have appeared. These are the heads of four American presidents carved on the cliffs of Mt. Rushmore and completed in 1941, and a colossal concrete portrait of Ferdinand Marcos constructed in the early 1980s on a cliff in the Philippines town of Tuba in Benguet province (color fig. 48a).²³ The latter monument was clearly intended as a successor to Mt. Rushmore, and was the largest of the colossi: Nero's head would have been 4–5 m high, vs. slightly over 18 m for those of Mt. Rushmore, whereas the bust of Marcos was 30 m high.²⁴ It is noteworthy that this mode of commemoration was never adopted by or for any of the Roman emperors, although the Colossus of Nero came close, at least in spirit.

The power of a Roman emperor was defined not just by his interface with the gods and heroes, but by the extent of the empire that he commanded. Ancient Near Eastern kings had devised a variety of formulas for rendering visually the components of their realms, beginning with the personifications and symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt and culminating with the reliefs decorating the Apadana, or great audience hall, in the Persian capital of Persepolis, which featured relief panels of the twenty-three subject nations of the empire.²⁵

Advertisements of the scope of Rome's empire had already been formulated by the Late Republic: Pompey's triumphal monument in the Pyrenees listed 876 defeated Spanish tribes,²⁶ while other monumental inscriptions announced his subjugation of over thirty regions throughout the Mediterranean and Near East.²⁷ The public placement of colossal maps of the Empire made the same point, as evinced by that of Agrippa in the Saepta in Rome, as did the images of conquered nations carried in Augustus' funeral in 14 CE.²⁸

Similar advertising schemes celebrating the empire's scope were developed in the provinces, the most impressive of which appeared at Aphrodisias in the city's Sebasteion, where fifty lifesize marble reliefs featured personifications of regions conquered by Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors.²⁹ Other such relief cycles were featured in the Hadrianeum in Rome and probably the Forum Transitorium, while comparable sets in painted form were most likely carried in celebrations of the 900th anniversary of Rome's foundation in 147 CE.³⁰ Mussolini embraced a similar model by erecting colos-

²³ Smith 1985; Cimatú/Santos-Doctor 2003.

²⁴ If one assumes a height of 30 m for Nero's statue, and follows the Lysippean proportional model for an ideal figure in which the total height was equal to 8 heads, one arrives at a height of 3.75 for the head; the Polykleitan model (1:7) would have produced a head height of nearly 4.30. Since the statue was so high, the head would probably have been rendered larger than normal to compensate for the optical diminution, which would favor Polykleitan rather than Lysippean proportions.

²⁵ Root 1979.

²⁶ Pliny, *HN* 7.96; Castellví/Nola/Roda 1995.

²⁷ Diodorus Siculus 40.4

²⁸ Nicolet 1991, 103–131; Cancik 1997.

²⁹ Reynolds 1981; Smith 1988, figs. 1, 2.

³⁰ Wiegartz 1996.

sal maps of the Roman Empire on Rome's *Via dell' Impero*, and by including personifications of Africa in his monuments after the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.³¹

Conquered nations could just as easily be represented by their armor and weapons, with little or no surrounding figural decoration. Beginning in the second century BCE, piles of the enemy's breastplates, helmets, and shields began to appear as relief decoration on buildings erected after a triumph. The relief with the arms of the Gauls on Pergamon's Propylon of Athena Polias is a case in point, as are the Augustan reliefs with naval weapons and the Dacian weapons used to decorate the base of Trajan's column.³² These reliefs were intended to give permanent form to a very old tradition that involved grouping the enemy's weapons together after a victory and later parading them on a litter during a triumphal procession. Filling the friezes of a triumphal monument with such weapon tableaux succeeded in dehumanizing the enemy even more than the scenes of their defeat on the battlefield.

Such an iconographic format was never popular for the architectural sculpture decorating the neoclassical buildings of Washington DC, although it does appear in the pediment of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building.³³ Completed in 1884, one might be inclined to read it, along with the other examples, as a triumphal monument following a war, but most of the weapons allude to ancient Rome, including fasces and military standards.

The original significance of this motif was, however, maintained in at least one military commemoration of twentieth century date. The monument in question was constructed in Baghdad by Saddam Hussein to commemorate Iraq's victory in the Iran-Iraq wars of the 1980s.³⁴ Two identical triumphal arches were built at either end of a parade route, each of which consists of a pair of hands, modeled directly on those of Saddam Hussein, that hold swords crossing over the route's central axis. The only iconographic features that allude directly to the 1980s war lie at the base of the colossal bronze hands, where a series of nets are filled with thousands of captured Iranian helmets. Although the inspiration for this feature reportedly came from the Stele of the Vultures (ca. 2400 BCE), the conception is not far from what one would have found in Roman triumphal monuments of Imperial date.³⁵

These allusions to the enemy were often situated in a much broader context wherein temporal cross-references lifted the status of the victor's achievement by associating it with even greater conquests and conquerors of the past. Here, too, Augustan Rome provides several excellent examples, the most significant of which

³¹ Minor 1999.

³² Charles-Picard 1957; Dintsis 1986, pls. 30, 31, 40.

³³ Goode 2008, 474 no. 10.21.

³⁴ Al-Khalil 1991.

³⁵ The influence of the Stele of the Vultures (Winter 1985) on the design of the Baghdad triumphal arches was related by Saddam Hussein to Donny George, former director of the Iraq Museum, although this observation has never been published.

occurred in 2 BCE when the emperor's eldest adopted son, Gaius Caesar, departed the city for a new campaign against the Parthians.³⁶ No other military campaign during the Augustan period featured a departure as prominent as this one, and it was framed by visual and verbal references that tied Gaius' campaign to earlier military achievements involving Persia and Parthia.

His official departure from Rome in May of 2 BCE was timed to coincide with the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus, the interior of which contained the Roman standards successfully recovered by Augustus from the Parthians 18 years earlier. Also included in the pageantry were several mock naval battles, or *naumachiae*, which were designed to strike the same chord. Thirty-six crocodiles were slaughtered in the flooded Circus Flaminius as an overt allusion to the Actium victory, although this paled in comparison to the reenactment of the battle of Salamis (479 BCE) with 3,000 gladiators in Greek and Persian costume.³⁷ Such a dazzling spectacle was clearly intended to magnify the value of the new Parthian campaign by lifting it to the same level of prominence as the climactic battle of the Persian Wars.

The same model, in essence, was followed by Saddam Hussein when he constructed the aforementioned twin triumphal arches in Baghdad. Although the arches stand as a testament to the (admittedly fictive) triumph of Iraq over Iran, the official name of the monument on the dedicatory inscription was *The Swords of Qādisiyyah*, alluding to the battle of 636 CE that commemorated the victory of Arab Muslim forces over the Sassanian Persian army.³⁸ Again, a contemporary triumph was tied to a much earlier victory against the ancestors of the regime's current opponents.

These attempts to collapse the temporal span between past and present achievements need to be viewed in tandem with a related technique that conveyed the concept of past in present even more powerfully. One might label this as the reincarnated hero technique, wherein the structure of the image emphasized the revival of an ancient hero's valor and values in the person of the current ruler, who often claimed familial descent from that hero.

The monuments of Augustus beautifully illustrate this phenomenon, and two examples effectively summarize the range of possibilities: the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion at Aphrodisias and the Ara Pacis in Rome.³⁹ The designers of both monuments were intent on stressing the links between Augustus and his alleged ancestor Aeneas, but the equation had to be configured differently due to regional variations in the ruler cult: kings had been worshiped alongside divinities for centuries in the east, but not in the west. The designers of monuments in both areas borrowed from the same iconographic repertoire, but the syntactical arrangement varied considerably.

³⁶ Syme 1978, 8–10; Wissemann 1982, 111–123; Bowersock 1984, 171–172.

³⁷ Dio 55.10.7–8; *Res Gestae* 23; Ovid, *Ars Am.* 1.171.

³⁸ Al-Khalil 1991, 10–11.

³⁹ Simon 1968; Smith 1987.

Nearly every Imperial relief from the Sebasteion is iconographically unique, but the most striking example features Augustus holding a rudder and cornucopia while flanking personifications of land and sea pay homage to him (color fig. 49).⁴⁰ The billowing drapery wrapped around the emperor's arms formed an arc over his head that echoed the similarly posed personifications of time and space placed directly opposite him (color fig. 50).⁴¹ The latter were intended to signal that the empire controlled by the Julio-Claudians had no temporal or spatial boundaries, and the duplicate poses emphasized the centrality of Augustus in the creation of that empire. The heroic nudity applied to the reliefs of Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors was used as well for images of the Olympian gods who shared the same level of the building, and the dedicatory inscription to the *Theois Sebastois Olympiois* emphasized their shared status.⁴²

Situated below the reliefs of the Imperial family were images of the most illustrious heroes of Greece and Rome (e.g., Herakles, Achilles, and Meleager), including a cycle that depicted the voyage of Aeneas from Troy to Latium, with a Lupercal scene ending the narrative.⁴³ Such a cycle attested to the bond that existed between Asia Minor and Rome while simultaneously stressing the Augustan family's descent from Aeneas and equating the Aeneas-Rome legend with the better-known heroes of Classical mythology.

The monuments in Rome that glorified Augustus could not evince such a transparent assimilation of human and divine, and the Ara Pacis serves as an excellent illustration of how far the boundaries could be pushed. The prosperity of the Roman world under Augustus' dominion is a theme that resonates throughout the altar's decoration, but its most potent expression appears in the so-called Tellus panel, where a fertility goddess, probably Venus, is flanked by personifications of land and sea holding the same kind of billowing, arcuated mantles that one finds in the Aphrodisias relief of Augustus.⁴⁴ The iconography of land and sea in the two reliefs has been structured differently, although the core message of universal fertility remains the same.

The emperor himself appears on the altar's south processional frieze as a youthful male freely mixing with the priests and magistrates of early Imperial Rome (fig. 3a). Although the wreath and veil on Augustus' head highlight his rank, he is only slightly taller than the surrounding figures and dressed in the same type of toga. The most significant differentiation mechanism lies in his gesture: inserted into his outstretched right hand were most likely two bronze laurel branches intended to recall the two laurel trees planted at the entrance to his house by senatorial decree.⁴⁵ This

⁴⁰ Smith 1987, 104–106 no. 2.

⁴¹ Reynolds 1981, 325; Smith 1988, 51–53 and 1990, 89–92.

⁴² Reynolds 1996.

⁴³ Smith 1990; Rose 1997, 167–168.

⁴⁴ Simon 1968, 26–29; Galinsky 1969, 191–241.

⁴⁵ Rose 1990, 455 n. 8.

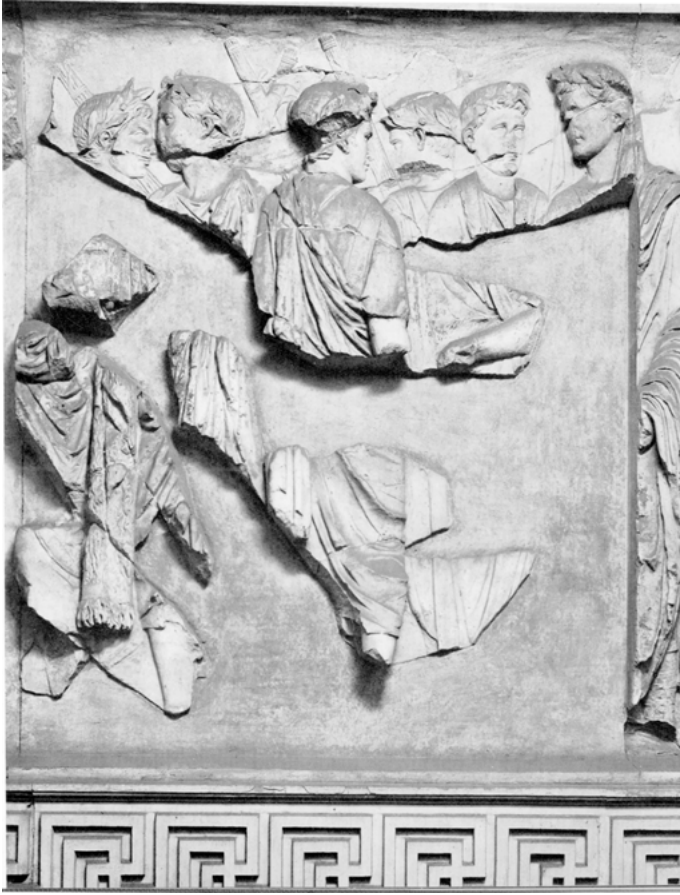


Fig. 3a: Relief of Augustus from the Ara Pacis, Rome. After Simon 1968, fig. 11

gesture echoed that of the sacrificing Aeneas, also veiled, on the altar's west side, and reinforced the links between Aeneas and Augustus that occurred with increasing frequency during the early empire (fig. 3b).⁴⁶ The duplicate poses of the two men are readily apparent if one views them side by side, but their respective reliefs were situated on different sides of the altar, and each man was surrounded by enough subsidiary figures that a direct visual comparison would have been difficult. This was a message carefully calibrated for an area with a nascent tradition of ruler worship, and designed to impact the viewer on a subliminal level.

⁴⁶ Simon 1968, 24; Galinsky 1969, 195. The left hands of Aeneas and Augustus probably also occupied the same position, holding the folds of their togas.

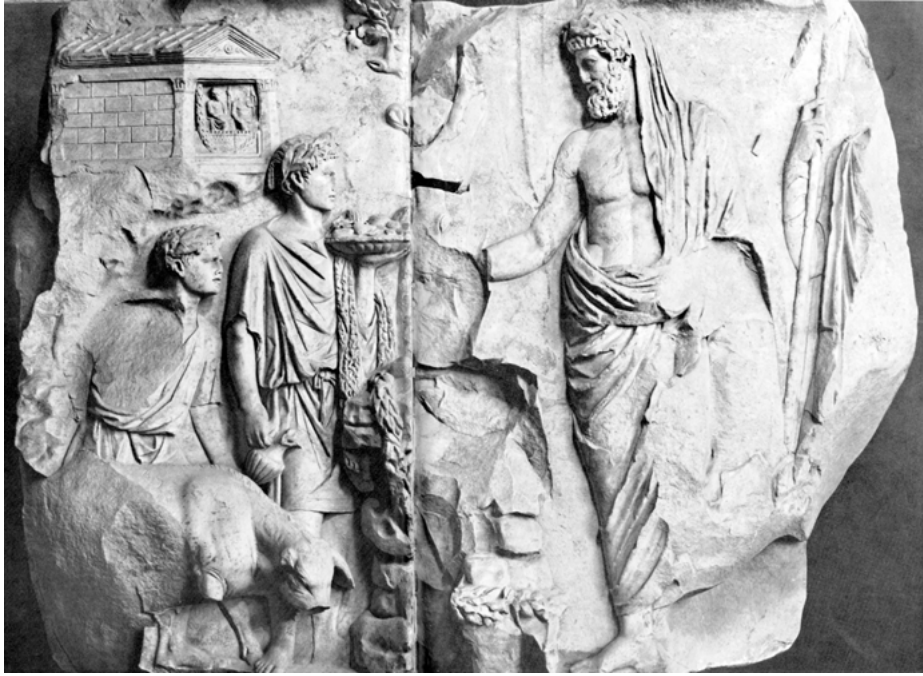


Fig. 3b: Relief of Aeneas at Lavinium from the Ara Pacis, Rome. After Simon 1968, fig. 24.

The replication of a gesture to foster a connection between a ruler and his gods or heroes was a very old technique, frequently found in the royal iconography of the Assyrians and Persians, nor was its use restricted to antiquity. One of the more famous photographs of 2006 depicts George W. Bush delivering a speech during which his gestures echo those of Jesus Christ in the painting behind him (fig. 4).⁴⁷ Such a political device is really no different in concept from the parallel poses of Aeneas and Augustus, although the subliminal links between ruler and hero on the Ara Pacis have given way in the 2006 photo to a more overt presentation much more akin to iconographic schemes first developed for rulers of the ancient Near East.

Even more emphatic visual programs intended to establish a bridge between ancient and modern sources of power can be found in the monuments and spectacles of Iraq and Iran during the second half of the twentieth century. In the former country there is no better example than the 1980s Ishtar memorial in central Baghdad, where Saddam's colossal image in military garb was depicted rising from a reproduction of the Babylonian Ishtar Gate.⁴⁸ Even in antiquity, this gate had developed into a symbol of Mesopotamia's power, and the implication was that the empire being created by

⁴⁷ Rose 2010, fig. 20.

⁴⁸ Al-Khalil 1991, 53.



Fig. 4: Photo of George Bush making a speech in 2006. After Rose 2010, 72 fig. 3.20.

Saddam would in time be analogous in scope to that of Babylon. In a sense, the monument provided a visual encapsulation of the inscription that Saddam had added to one of the walls in ancient Babylon: “To King Nebuchadnezzar in the reign of Saddam Hussein.”

Such an equation calls to mind Mussolini’s dedication of the reconstructed Ara Pacis on the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Augustus,⁴⁹ and continues the themes presented by Shah Reza Pahlavi in his 1971 celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian empire.⁵⁰ Representatives from fifty-five nations paid homage to the Shah by traveling to Persepolis, the headquarters of the celebration, including U.S. Vice President Spiro Agnew, Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie, Prince Juan Carlos of Spain, and First Lady Imelda Marcos of the Philippines. As the world’s ambassadors walked in front of the Apadana reliefs, they must have functioned, in a sense, like live-action evocations of the ancient Persian subject nations, and that was no doubt the primary goal.

Such an inclusion of province personifications in royal spectacle was also a component of ancient Roman ceremony. Depictions of the empire’s subjugated nations constituted one of the highlights of Augustus’ funeral procession, while trium-

⁴⁹ Moretti 1948.

⁵⁰ Orshefsky 1971.

phal processions featured captives marching through or near a series of arches that often celebrated earlier Roman victories in the same area, with carved or cast images of the captives on the attic or the piers.⁵¹

Despite the wealth of similarities between ancient and modern war memorials, there is one element missing from the twentieth-century examples: figural representations of the enemy. The iconography of these memorials might well convey courage and camaraderie as well as a drive against adverse conditions, but the associated human figures tend to be connected only with the monuments' dedicators, not their opponents. Ancient Rome, of course, was different. Victor and vanquished were regularly represented together, both on the field of battle or in subsequent triumphal processions, and the power relationship between Roman and non-Roman, as it existed at the time of dedication, was always clearly diagrammed in the associated texts and images.⁵²

Subjugated warriors knelt in humility before the emperors, as on the Great Trajanic frieze, and some of the scenes were unusually graphic in their attempts to document visually this imbalance of power: severed heads of enemies were lifted up as triumphal symbols or carried in the mouths of their Roman conquerors, as powerfully conveyed by the reliefs on Trajan's column, while defeated leaders were shown being led in chains through the streets of Rome, as on the pedestal reliefs of the Arch of Septimius Severus.⁵³

Although I suspect that we have passed the point where such scenes of savagery could now be rendered in sculpture and inserted into a triumphal monument, the concepts they represent are nevertheless still featured in contemporary photos and films. The Taliban's videotaped displays of their enemies' decapitated heads are eerily reminiscent of similar scenes on Trajan's column, just as the photos of leashed Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison initially remind one of the captured Parthians on the Severan arch.⁵⁴ The latter, of course, occupied a very different sphere of reception, which was both illicit and covert, but the attempt to depict the power imbalance between victor and vanquished was the same.

Other twentieth-century war memorials evince striking parallels with the triumphal imagery of Greece and Rome, even if it seems unlikely that the latter directly influenced the former. The bronze soldiers struggling to raise the flag in the World War II Iwo Jima memorial, for example, are analogous to the Roman soldiers in the lower register of the Gemma Augustea straining to lift the trophy on the battlefield.⁵⁵ Another case in point is provided by the Vietnam Memorial, where the texts dominating the walls chronicle the names of the deceased soldiers by year of death.⁵⁶ Such a

⁵¹ Cancik 1997.

⁵² Zanker 2000; Ferris 2000, 167; Hölscher 2003; Rodgers 2003.

⁵³ Kleiner 1990, 220, 330; Lusnia 2006.

⁵⁴ Otterman 2007.

⁵⁵ Goode 2008, 672–673 no. 16.9; Kleiner 1990, 70.

⁵⁶ Goode 2008, 316–319; Griswold 1998.

format is comparable to that of the *soros* at Marathon erected after the Persian defeat of 490 BCE, where the primary imagery consisted of a series of marble stelai around the mound's perimeter, each of which featured the names of the deceased soldiers organized by tribe.⁵⁷

This kind of formula did not exist in Rome: although walls enveloped by texts regularly formed part of victory monuments, the focus was exclusively on the emperor's triumph rather than his fallen soldiers, so the texts in question usually conveyed the geographic scope of the victory being celebrated. The Trophy of Augustus at La Turbie in Provence, for example, contained a list of forty-five Alpine tribes that had been subdued, and the same sort of formula was used in the decoration of the Forum of Augustus in Rome.⁵⁸

Whether ancient or modern, warfare is usually linked in one way or another to iconoclasm, wherein monuments or cities judged to be integral to the spirit of the opposition are destroyed in an attempt to wound their communities: the Persians set fire to the temples on the Athenian acropolis in 480 BCE; the Romans reduced Carthage to ashes at the end of the Third Punic War in 146 BCE; and al-Qaida selected the World Trade Center as its primary target in 2001.

The rulers who ordered that destruction occasionally suffered their own disgrace, involving the complete or partial obliteration of their names and images.⁵⁹ Such *damnationes* originated in Pharaonic Egypt, but they are attested throughout Europe and the Near East, from antiquity to the present. In many of the early examples, the representation of rulers who had fallen from favor were often battered but not completely erased, so that the viewer would be aware that a *damnatio* had occurred.⁶⁰ In other words, the mutilation was intended to be admonitory. The battered inscriptions of Nero and Domitian supply an excellent example of this phenomenon, as do the defaced images of Geta on Severan coinage.⁶¹

Nevertheless, such admonitory mutilation in the public monuments of Republican and Imperial Italy was generally avoided: the figures of Commodus and Geta on the Aurelian panels and the Arch of the Argentarii, respectively, have been completely removed and flattened so that it looks as if they were never there, while the portraits of Domitian on the Cancelleria reliefs have been transformed into those of other emperors.⁶² Their places in history have literally been erased.

Iconoclasm has also emerged as one of the defining characteristics of twentieth century ruler imagery, especially after World War II, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the Persian Gulf Wars, when potential iconoclasts weighed the same decisions as

⁵⁷ Pausanias 1.32.3; Petrakos 1996.

⁵⁸ Velleius Paterculus 2.39.2; Pliny, *HN* 3.136–137; Formigé 1949.

⁵⁹ Varner 2004.

⁶⁰ Bahrani 1995; Dorman 1988.

⁶¹ Romano 2006, 255–266 no. 123; Kleiner 1992, 322; Varner 2004, 172.

⁶² Kleiner 1992, 191–192, 288–295, 334–337.

their ancient Roman counterparts. The most common solution was to remove completely each of the painted or sculpted images of the rulers. Such a fate befell the monuments of Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, and Lenin, in particular, and finally, in 2008, Francisco Franco in Spain.⁶³ Some of these have been melted down or abandoned in remote sites; still others await transportation to museums.

Yet the partially defaced “admonitory” technique is still in evidence, of which I cite only two examples. One is the aforementioned colossal head of Ferdinand Marcos, largely destroyed but still recognizable, and still in place at the original site of dedication (color fig. 48b).⁶⁴ The other is a tile mosaic of Saddam Hussein in central Baghdad, where the iconoclast in 2003 wearied of removing all of the tiles, and resigned himself to painting a flag of Texas across the ruler’s face (color fig. 51). There are many other such examples of the partially defaced ruler portrait in Iraq, although this is primarily because iconoclasm is so time-consuming that one does not always have sufficient opportunity to finish the job, especially if the nation is still at war. In any event, the general visual effect is the same as that of Domitian’s inscriptions or Geta’s coins.

If we now return to the question posed at the beginning of this essay “are we Rome?,” the answer is both “yes” and “no,” if one views it through the lens of Imperial iconography. The twentieth century has witnessed the continual construction of ruler images in which colossality, solar attributes, and fertility symbols were often utilized in tandem with the incorporation of a god or hero from which the ruler drew inspiration. Bronze and marble statues of rulers have also continued to be made, with the former far more common than the latter since the production costs were cheaper, which meant that a higher status was usually attached to the marble images. This, too, mirrors the situation in antiquity, when inscriptions demonstrate that marble statues conferred a higher level of honor on the recipient than bronze.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the media employed for ruler images are beginning to change, with paper and videotape gradually eclipsing stone and metal, and it remains unclear how long the ruler statue *per se* can and will continue in the digital age. The original plan for the Vietnam Memorial, for example, called for no figural sculpture, and it was added only after protests from veterans groups.⁶⁶

We are also entering a new period in the design of triumphal monuments, largely because the nature of the adversity commemorated by the monument has changed so radically. There are no longer two sides to a conflict and few, if any, indisputable

⁶³ Jones 2006; Govan 2008.

⁶⁴ Cimatu/Santos-Doctor 2003. The time lag between Marcos’ fall from power and the destruction of his image is noteworthy. The statue was completed in 1980 and Marcos’ rule ended in 1986. Attempts to deface the statue in 1989 succeeded only in creating a small hole in the ear. The bust was not destroyed until 2002, 16 years after his fall.

⁶⁵ Tuchelt 1979, 70–90.

⁶⁶ Goode 2008, 316–319 no. 7.28.

victors, which means that the choice of suitable words and images has become increasingly difficult, as the recent discord over the design of the World Trade Center memorial has demonstrated. There also appears to be a growing conviction that figural imagery can no longer adequately express the magnitude of the emotions encapsulated in the monument.

It is likely that iconographic elements with a Classical pedigree will continue to appear in public monuments from time to time, since the memorials of the twentieth century have proved the relevance of ancient solutions to the commemoration of war, but the redefinition of traditional conflict is now beginning to stimulate responses to violence, identity, and memory very different from what one would have experienced in antiquity.

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Color Plates



Fig. 1: Embassy for Helen: Menelaos, Odysseus, and Talthibios on steps of altar at Troy. Detail of Late Corinthian I krater (560 BCE), name vase of Astarita Painter. Once Astarita Collection 565, Naples; Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 35525. Photo: Vatican Museums.



Fig. 2: Embassy for Helen: Theano, Dia, Malo, and Trophos receiving Greek envoys at Troy. Detail of Late Corinthian I krater (560 BCE), name vase of Astarita Painter. Once Astarita Collection 565, Naples; Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 35525. Photo: Vatican Museums.



Fig. 3: Achilles at the fountainhouse pursuing Troilos, and Polyxena, Athenian black-figure overlap Siana cup, attributed to the C Painter, ca. 575 BCE (side A). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 1901 (01.8.6). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 4: Tyrrhenian amphora, attributed to the Guglielmi Painter. Obverse: Herakles battling the Keryneian Hind, watched by Zeus and Athena and approached by Apollo and Artemis. Princeton University Art Museum, Carl Otto von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial Collection Fund, 2001–218.



Fig. 5: Terracotta *arula* from Sicily, 550–540 BCE: Herakles and Triton crossing the sea. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. © bpk, Paris – RMN-Grand Palais.



Fig. 6: Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 253129. Kylix by the Sabouroff Painter, from Bettolle (formerly Passerini Collection): tondo. Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.



Fig. 7: Bronze krater: an assistant and a hero. Photo: Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.



Fig. 8: Priam, from a Ransom of Hektor, fragment of a red-figure calyx krater attributed to the Black Fury Painter, Apulian, ca. 400–380 BCE. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 1920.195. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY.



Figs. 9–12: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlungen V.I. 3209, fragmentary Attic red-figure loutrophoros from Athens attributed to the Manner of the Talos Painter, ca. 440–400 BCE. Photos: Johannes Laurentius. © bpk – Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.



Fig. 13: Red-figure loutrophoros by the Painter of Bologna 228, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170 (470–460 BCE). Photo: author. © Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.



Fig.14: Metropolitan garland sarcophagus with Medea's escape on Helios' chariot. Toledo Museum of Art 2005.320.



Fig. 15: Fragment of the front long side of a Metropolitan 'Meerwesen' sarcophagus. Indiana University Art Museum 66.27.



Figs. 16–18: Metropolitan child's circus sarcophagus, once Rome, Palazzo Barberini, then lost, and now Toledo 2008.129: Fig. 16: front side; Fig. 17: left short side; Fig. 18: right short side.



Fig. 19: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 1870a, from the sanctuary of the Nymph. Photo: author.



Fig. 20: Athens, Acropolis Museum 551a. Photo: author.



Fig. 21: Athens, Acropolis Museum 552. Photo: author.



Fig. 22: Athens, Acropolis Museum 556. Photo: author.



Fig. 23: Athens, Acropolis Museum 555.
Photo: author.



Fig. 24: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 1979,
from the sanctuary of the Nymph.
Photo: author.



Fig. 25: Athens,
NA 1957 Aa
1882a, from the
sanctuary of the
Nymph. Photo:
author.



Fig. 26: Athens, Acropolis Museum 554.
Photo: author.



Fig. 27: Athens, Acropolis Museum 553. Photo: author.



Fig. 28a–b: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 661, from the sanctuary of the Nymph. Photo: author.



Fig. 29: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 1860a, from the sanctuary of the Nymph. Photo: author.



Fig. 30a–b: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 1934a, from the sanctuary of the Nymph. Photo: author.



Fig. 31a–b: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 1871a, from the sanctuary of the Nymph. Photo: author.



Fig. 32: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 2068, from the sanctuary of the Nymph. Photo: author.



Fig. 33: Athens, NA 1957 Aa 2195, from the sanctuary of the Nymph. Photo: author.



Fig. 34: Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 258, side A. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 35: Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 258, side B. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 36: Eros capturing a hare. Attic red-figure pelike attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter, ca. 470. Reproduced with permission from the Wilcox Classical Museum, The University of Kansas. Photo: Author.



Fig. 37: Man walking his dog. Reverse of fig. 36. Photo: author.



Fig. 38: Cat. No. 25, Side A, Apollo and Artemis with Poseidon and Hermes. Bryn Mawr College Art and Artifact Collections, 2011.17.2. Gift of Doreen Canaday Spitzer, Class of 1936. Photo Bryn Mawr College Art & Artifact Collections.



Fig. 39: Cat. No. 25, Side B. Pederastic courting Type γ. As color fig. 38.



Fig. 40: Attic red-figure pelike of the Meidian circle, private collection. Adonis and Aphrodite with her retinue. Photo: owner.



Fig. 41: Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209: the François Vase. Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali della Toscana.



Fig. 42: Châtillon sur Seine, Collections du Musée du Pays Châtillonnais – Trésor de Vix: the Vix Krater. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 43: Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Penelope Painter, ca. 440 BCE. Paris, Musée du Louvre G372. Architects and sacred olive tree. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. ©RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.



Fig. 44: Laconian kylix by the Boreads Painter, Archaeological Collection, University of Zurich Inv. 5942. Photo: Frank Tomio. Institute of Archaeology, University of Zurich.



Fig. 45: Marble statue of George Washington by Horatio Greenough, Smithsonian Institution. Photo: author.



Fig. 46: The personified Columbia, from a World War I patriotic poster. Original design by Paul Stahr, ca. 1917–18.



Fig. 47: The Neutrality Arch in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan, with gilded statue of Turkmenbashi. Photo courtesy of Goetz Burggraf.



Fig. 48a: Colossal bust of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippine town of Tuba in the 1980s. After Cimatu/Santos-Doctor 2003, 1.



Fig. 48b: The defaced bust of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippine town of Tuba, as of 2002. After Cimatu/Santos-Doctor 2003, 1.



Fig. 49: Relief of Augustus from the Aphrodisias Sebasteion. Aphrodisias Museum. Photo: author.



Fig. 50: Relief of the Day (Hemera) from the Aphrodisias Sebasteion. Aphrodisias Museum. Photo: author.



Fig. 51: Defaced tile mosaic of Saddam Hussein, Baghdad, 2009. Photo: author.